

**Property, ownership and
improvement in Ludlow, a
fashionable country town, 1660
to 1848**

Part 1

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

University of Wolverhampton

Submitted 2005

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David James Lloyd

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Wolverhampton for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2005

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Abstract

Property, ownership and improvement in Ludlow, a fashionable country town, 1660 to 1848

Three major themes – property, ownership and improvement - are investigated, within the context of a well preserved and well documented historic town. The relevance of these themes to urban history is shown.

Ludlow is a small market town in south Shropshire. From the 1660s population was just over 2,000, but this rose to 5,253 in 1831. Between 1660 and 1689 the town was a centre for regional administration, the Council of the Marches in Wales having its headquarters there. Ludlow then developed as a fashionable social centre, thriving especially in the early and mid-eighteenth century.

To provide historical context for the three topics under investigation, the Ludlow region is described, as are many aspects of the town's economy and society. Because of their effect on these topics, attention is given to the Corporation, and to local systems of finance and credit.

The town plan and its properties are described in detail, drawing upon tenurial reconstructions of properties. The arrangement of properties, many of them historic burgage plots, is described and analysed, and amendments to property dispositions in the period are considered. The ownership of properties is analysed in detail. Both the places of residence of owners, and their occupational and social status, are analysed, and the resulting themes and trends are illustrated by case studies. Ownership by women and for political purposes are highlighted. A wide range of improvements are reviewed and explained, and 286 known and postulated building dates are used to postulate a building sequence. Attention is given to the role of the Corporation and to the contribution of craftsmen and architects. A number of buildings and housing forms are described.

A large data base is provided in five appendices, and there are many supporting, maps, tables and illustrations.

Preface

This thesis has been a labour of love. It pulls together and seeks to analyse data on Ludlow properties that has been gathered over many years by members of Ludlow Historical Research Group since its formation in 1976. The writer was co-leader of the Group from 1976 to 1979, and chairman and leader from 1980 to 1987. He is currently Research Adviser to the group. Most of the work on tenurial history has been the writer's own.

I am most grateful to my supervisors, Dr Malcolm Wanklyn of the University of Wolverhampton and Dr Peter Borsay of the University of Wales, for help and interesting discussions during my period of registration for this degree.

I am grateful to them both, and to those concerned at the Graduate School of the University of Wolverhampton, for the understanding they have shown me during the prolonged family difficulties that overhung the preparation of this thesis.

I also acknowledge with thanks the constructive criticisms of the first submission of this thesis by the examiners: Professor Penelope Corfield of London University, and Dr Laura Ugolini, Senior Research Fellow at Wolverhampton University.

David Lloyd

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Abbreviations

BR	Burgage Rental
C	<i>Chancery</i>
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CL	<i>Country Life</i>
Col. of Arms	College of Arms
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
CTB	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
DWB	<i>Dictionary of Welsh Biography</i>
Foster	<i>Alumni Oxonienses</i>
Griffiths	Scrapbook of Thomas Griffiths, printer, 1816-26
HCP	<i>House of Commons Parliamentary Papers</i>
HD	<i>Hereford Diocese</i>
Henning	<i>History of the House of Commons</i>
HER	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Hist.J	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HRO	Herefordshire County Record Office
HT	Hearth Tax
IBG	Institute of British Geographers
JHC	<i>Journal of the House of Commons</i>
JHG	<i>Journal of Historical Geography</i>
KB	<i>King's Bench</i>
LB	Ludlow Borough Collection
LHRG	Ludlow Historical Research Group
LPR	<i>Ludlow Parish Registers</i>
LTC	Ludlow Town Council
MH	<i>Midland History</i>
MI	Memorial Inscription
NLW	National Library of Wales
PR	Parish Registers
PRO	Public Record Office
RCHM	Royal Commission of Historic Monuments
SA	Shropshire Archives
SH	<i>Southern History</i>
TIBG	<i>Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers</i>
TRS	<i>Transactions of the Radnorshire Society</i>
TSAS	<i>Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society</i>
TWNFC	<i>Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club</i>
UBD	<i>Universal British Directory</i> (1794)
UHYB	<i>Urban History Year Book</i>
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>
Venn	<i>Alumni Cantabrigienses</i>
WRO	Worcestershire County Record Office
WT	Window Tax

Modern property addresses are used throughout, as street numbering did not begin in Ludlow until the early 1860s.

Most street names are unchanged, but where there are differences, the current names are used, unless otherwise stated in the text.

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by David Lloyd



Fig.1: A view of Ludlow from Whitcliffe, painted in 1722 by Isaac Vogelsanck, an immigrant Dutch artist, and Bernard Lennox. Members of the Salwey family, who commissioned the picture, can be seen on Whitcliffe Common in the foreground. The Salweys were land owning gentry from Richard's Castle, two miles south of Ludlow. They had town houses in Ludlow and played a part in its affairs.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Section 1 of this chapter outlines the aims of the thesis. Reasons are given in section 2 for the choice of terminal dates: 1660 and 1848. Section 3 presents the demographic and economic background of towns during this period. The objectives of the thesis, relating to property, ownership and improvement, are then outlined in section 4. In sections 5, 6 and 7 each of these is considered in turn, with a summary of research published by other scholars. The methodology to be used is briefly presented in section 8, though more detailed descriptions and evaluations are given in later chapters.

1: The aim of this thesis

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the developing understanding of the growth of small towns in the two centuries after the Restoration. The 'new wave of early modern urban history' identified by Borsay in 1981, has since gathered momentum, producing a wealth of academic studies.¹ The publication in 2000 of *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol.II, 1540-1840*, was a landmark, with a number of articles in parts II and III embracing small towns. In his chapter 'Small Towns 1700-1840', Clark sees 'the long eighteenth century as a golden age for most of Britain's small urban communities'.² 'Urban Renaissance', a key phrase in a book by Borsay published in 1989, has been at the heart of the debate on the processes by which towns develop and on the causes of that growth.³

The focus of this study is the town of Ludlow. It is situated in south Shropshire, a few miles from the Welsh border. In 2001, it had a population of 9,944,

¹ Borsay, P., 'The English Urban Renaissance: Landscape and Leisure in the Provincial Town, c.1660-1770', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1981, p. 3. Publications include: Clark, P. (ed.), *Country Towns in pre-Industrial England* (Leicester, 1981); Corfield, P., *The Impact of English Towns, 1700-1800* (Oxford, 1982); Clark, P., *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns* (London 1984); Borsay, P. (ed), *The Eighteenth Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1688-1820* (London, 1990); Clark, P. (ed.), *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995); Sweet, R., *The English Town 1680-1840* (Harlow, 1999); Waller, P. (ed), *The English Urban Landscape* (Oxford, 2000); Stobart, J. and Lane, P., *Urban and Industrial Change in the Midlands, 1700-1840* (Leicester, 2000); Ellis, J., *The Georgian Town 1680-1840* (Basingstoke, 2001).

² Clark, P., 'Small Towns 1700-1840', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, II, 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), 733-774 (p. 734).

³ Borsay, P., *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989).

but during the period under review the town was much smaller, rising from about 2,000 in 1660 to a peak of 5,253 in 1831.⁴ In 1700 Ludlow fell within Dyer's definition of a small town as 'less than 2,500', and in 1831 it was only just outside Clark's threshold of 5,000 for early nineteenth century small towns.⁵ Described by Beresford as 'a classic example of Norman town plantation', Ludlow retains its medieval street plan almost intact, and also many of its ancient property boundaries, together with a wide range of historic buildings, 422 of which are listed.⁶ For many people it is 'the perfect historic town', and this, together with a high survival rate of Ludlow Borough Corporation records and other documents, makes it an ideal setting for the proposed study on property, ownership and improvement.⁷

The thesis identifies elements of analysis which, it will be argued, have been generally neglected in small town studies. In 1980 Clark stated that 'we badly need more detailed studies of individual towns' and urged that 'monographs must be at the top of the agenda for historians of the early modern town'.⁸ In 1987 Noble reiterated this point, pleading that:

Despite the strength of small towns within the national urban system, these communities are far from proportionately represented in the large body of academic literature directed towards analysing towns and urban growth.⁹

Several studies of small towns have been made since 1987 but an in-depth study of a small but important regional centre, set within 'economic, social, political and cultural perspectives', would seem to be a timely contribution to urban historical studies.¹⁰

⁴ *2001 Census: Population* (Office of National Statistics), Table CAS 002; the population totals of Ludlow in the 1660s are considered in chapter 3; *Victoria County History, Shropshire*, 11 (London, 1973), p. 224.

⁵ Dyer, A., 'Small Towns in England, 1600-1800', in Borsay, P. and Proudfoot, L. (eds.), *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence* (Oxford, 2002), 53-67 (p. 53); Clark, 'Small Towns 1700-1840', p. 740.

⁶ Beresford, M., *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (2nd edn., Gloucester, 1981), p. 481; *List of Buildings of Special Architectural and Historic Interest in South Shropshire* (Department of the Environment, London, 1993).

⁷ Braithwaite, L., *The Historic Towns of Britain* (London, 1981), p. 120.

⁸ Clark, P., review of Patten, J., *English Towns 1500-1700* (Folkestone, 1978), in *Urban History Year Book* (1980), p. 119.

⁹ Noble, M., 'Growth and Development of a Regional Urban System: the Country Towns of Eastern Yorkshire, 1700-1850', *UHYB* (1987), p. 1

¹⁰ Carter, M. P., 'An Urban Society and its Hinterland: St Ives in the 17th and early 18th Centuries', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1988; Johnson, C., 'A Proto-Industrial Community Study: Coggeshall in Essex, c.1500 to c.1750',

2: Why 1660-1848 was chosen for study

The thesis begins in 1660 and covers selected aspects of Ludlow's history to 1848. The core of the period is 'the long eighteenth century', i.e. the years between the revolution of 1688 and the death of George III in 1820.¹¹ As Ludlow was an incorporated borough, a more relevant terminal date is 1835, the year of the Municipal Corporations Act, which replaced self-electing oligarchic corporations with elected borough councils. The 'coherence of the 1688-1835' period is noted by a reviewer of Newton's *Eighteenth Century Exeter* (1984).¹² In the case of this study, however, there were good reasons to extend the period covered: back to 1660 and forward to 1848.

This is done partly to take account of the availability of information. A major theme in the thesis is property ownership, for which productive sources are the 1669 Ludlow Borough Corporation rental and the 1843 Ludlow Borough Council rate book.¹³ The 1669 rental lists current and previous owners of freehold properties in a recoverable street sequence, and can be integrated with contemporary information on Corporation leasehold properties. The 1843 rate book includes all properties within the borough, giving owners and occupiers in street sequence. Though there are other sources of information for the intervening years, complete tenorial histories cannot be constructed for most properties without use of these two documents. Once a date range of 1667 to 1843 was envisaged, it was extended it to 1660 and 1848, for reasons set out below.

unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Essex, 1989; Smith, M., 'Tradition and Transition in the Nottinghamshire Market Town, 1680-1840', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1995. Published work includes Bestell, J.M. and Fowkes, D. W., *History of Chesterfield, Vol. 2, part 2: Restoration and Georgian Chesterfield* (Chesterfield, 1984); Clark, P. and Murfin, L., *The History of Maidstone: The Making of a Modern County Town* (Gloucester, 1995); Cooper, J., *The Well-ordered Town: the Story of Saffron Walden, Essex, 1792-1862* (Saffron Walden, 2000); Smith, J. T. and North, M. A., *St Albans 1650-1700: A Thoroughfare Town and its People* (University of Hertfordshire, 2003). The quoted phrase is from Barry, J, 'Consumers' Passions: the Middle Class in Eighteenth Century England', *Historical Journal*, 34 (1991), p. 216.

¹¹ Borsay, P. (ed), *The Eighteenth Century Town*, p. 1.

¹² Ellis, J., 'Review of Newton, R., *Eighteenth Century Exeter* (Exeter, 1984)', in *UHYB* (1984), pp. 197-98.

¹³ Shropshire Archive (SA), Ludlow Borough Collection (LB), 4/2/2, Register of Leases and Tenants, 1637-1728; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Poor Rate Assessment, 1843.

1660 was the year of the Restoration, a national event which provides a terminal date for many historical studies. One of these is Faraday's *Ludlow 1085-1660: a Social, Economic and Political History*, the most scholarly work yet published on Ludlow's history.¹⁴ Faraday shows that the town's population, which dropped sharply after 1641, was 'beginning to recover' in the 1660s, another indication that this is a suitable time to begin a study of the town's later history. The re-establishment of the Council of the Marches in Ludlow in 1661, though with reduced powers, is another marker of new beginnings.¹⁵

1848 was the year when a *Scheme for the future regulation and managemnt of the Ludlow Charities* was issued after years of litigation, forcing the sale of nearly all properties owned by Ludlow Borough Council.¹⁶ This gives an appropriate terminal date to a study for which property is a major theme. There was no political event in Great Britain in 1848 comparable to that of 1660, but the year was close to the peak of 'railway mania' which transformed the economy of Great Britain.¹⁷ The railway reached Ludlow in 1852, but it was planned in the 1840s, and Ludlovians looking back to the pre-railway age might well have agreed with Thackeray when he observed in 1860: 'What a gulf between then and now'.¹⁸

3. Towns, 1660 to 1848: the demographic and economic background

Whereas towns before 1660 had experienced fluctuating fortunes – as reflected in the debate on urban crisis – the two centuries after the Restoration were mostly years of growth and buoyancy.¹⁹ In 1700 under a quarter of the population of England and Wales lived in towns but by 1851 the proportion was over half.²⁰ In

¹⁴ Faraday, M. A., *Ludlow 1085-1660: A Social, Economic and Political History* (Chichester, 1991).

¹⁵ Skeel, C. A., *The Council in the Marches of Wales* (London, 1904), p. 169.

¹⁶ Public Record Office (PR0), E. 133/150/84, Crown v. Mayor of Ludlow, etc.

¹⁷ Perkin, H., *The Age of the Railway* (London, 1970), p. 92.

¹⁸ Roke, H., 'The Shrewsbury-Hereford Railway', *The Railway Magazine*, 22 (1908), p.58; Thackeray, W. M., 'De Juventute', Roundabout Papers, 8, *The Cornhill Magazine*, 2 (1860), pp. 503-04; cited by Tillotson, K., *Novels of the 1840s* (Oxford, 1954), p. 105.

¹⁹ Dyer, A., *Decline and Growth in English Towns, 1400-1640* (Basingstoke, 1991), p. 57.

²⁰ Corfield, *Impact of English Towns*, p.7; Law, C. M., 'The Growth of Urban Population in England and Wales, 1801-1991', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 41 (1967), p. 129.

1700 London, with an estimated population of half a million, was the second city of Europe, but provincial towns lagged far behind, the largest, Norwich, being a fifteenth of that size.²¹ By the 1840s there were seven towns with populations of over 100,000, while the number with a population over 2,500 was 450.²² Simultaneously, urban life enjoyed greater prestige and improvements were made to the fabric of towns. Borsay used the phrase 'Urban Renaissance' for the period 1660 to 1770.²³ Later, as the pace of growth quickened, the situation became more complex, though the mania for improvement continued. After 1835 it merged with municipal reform to engender the 'Civic Gospel' which addressed problems caused by rapid growth in Victorian cities and towns.²⁴

A model of four tiers of towns in late seventeenth century England and Wales has been suggested, distinguishing them by size and functions.²⁵ The towns formed a broad pyramid, with London at the apex, beneath which were a number of 'provincial capitals'. Bristol, a port for the Severn basin since the Middle Ages, was the nearest of these to Ludlow.²⁶ Then came regional centres, county towns, seaports and incipient industrial towns, with populations usually well under 10,000. Of these, the county towns of Hereford, Shrewsbury and Worcester were within thirty miles of Ludlow, while Birmingham, a rapidly growing industrial town, was only ten miles further. Forming the 'bedrock of the urban system', were smaller towns with 'mainly local spheres of influence'.²⁷ The 'relative vitality and prosperity of these, Ellis affirms, 'underpinned that of the urban system as a whole'.²⁸ There were about 500 such towns, but 'larger centres' and 'smaller towns' can be distinguished. Ludlow,

²¹ Fisher, H. J., 'London as an Engine of Economic Growth', in Clark, P., *The Early Modern Town: A Reader* (London, 1976), p. 205.

²² Law, C. M., 'The Growth of Urban Population', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (1967), 125-43 (p. 131); House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1841, XXII & XXIII, *Enumeration Abstract 1841* (London, 1843).

²³ Borsay, P., 'The English Urban Renaissance: The Development of Provincial Urban Culture, 1680-c.1760', *Social History*, 5 (1977), pp. 581-693.

²⁴ Briggs, A., *Victorian Cities* (London, 1963, 1968 edn.), p. 184.

²⁵ Lawless, P. and Brown, F., *Urban Growth and Change in Britain* (London, 1986), p. 8.

²⁶ Carus-Wilson, E. M., *Medieval Merchant Venturers* (London, 1954, 2nd edn., 1967), p. 6. Ludlow is shown as one of ten 'principal towns' in the Severn basin which traded through Bristol.

²⁷ Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, p. 4.

²⁸ Ellis, *The Georgian Town*, p. 40.

with an estimated 2,200 people in the 1670s, comes in the first category, while a ring of smaller towns around it had estimated populations of under 1,000.²⁹

Nearly all towns were market towns. Corfield sees them as ‘crucial nodal points’ in exchange distribution.³⁰ Everitt lists 874 market towns in England and Wales in 1690, but some markets had ceased to operate in what Rosen calls ‘a gradual process of rationalisation through competition’.³¹ Analysis of Lewis’s *Topographical Dictionaries*, published in the 1840s, shows that 630 markets, i.e. 72%, were still operating, though 32 of these were ‘declining’.³² Nearly all the towns had a weekly market and one or more annual fairs. Owen’s *Fairs in England and Wales* (1756) lists 1,171 fairs, with May the busiest month.³³

Everitt cites Banbury as the archetypal market town, arguing that ‘places like Banbury had....essentially a mixed economy of trades, crafts and manufactures’ and ‘a remarkably wide spectrum of small scale industries’.³⁴ It will be shown in chapter 2 that Ludlow conforms closely to this model. In some towns economic life derived primarily from service functions, as Ripley found at Gloucester.³⁵ Chalklin shows that a small town economy ‘often comprised the processing of agricultural produce by millers, maltsters, brewers and tanners’.³⁶ Small iron works were also a feature of many country towns from the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁷ Additionally, many small towns developed distinctive manufactures, called by Clark ‘a flowering of

²⁹ The process of estimating Ludlow’s population is considered in chapter 3 (pp. 59-63). The populations of Bishop’s Castle, Church Stretton, Cleobury Mortimer, Clun, Knighton, Much Wenlock, Presteigne and Wigmore have been estimated from the Compton Census Returns, using a multiplier of 1.45, adjusted where necessary to take account of the rural population in the same parish; all are under 1,000.

³⁰ Corfield, *Impact of English Towns*, p. 96.

³¹ Everitt, A. ‘The Marketing of Agricultural Produce’, in Thirsk, J. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* (Cambridge, 1967), IV, pp. 467-506; Rosen, A., ‘Winchester in Transition, 1580-1700’, in Clark, P., *Country Towns*, p. 174.

³² Lewis, S., *Topographical Dictionary of England*: 1, 2, 3, 4 (London, 1844); Lewis, S., *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 1, 2 (London, 1849).

³³ The monthly distribution of fairs listed by Owen is analysed by Edwards, P., *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 65.

³⁴ Everitt, A., ‘The Banburys of England’, *UHYB* (1974), p. 37.

³⁵ Ripley, P. J. G., ‘The City of Gloucester, 1660-1740’, unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of Bristol, 1977, reviewed in *UHYB* (1982), p. 72.

³⁶ Chalklin, C. W., ‘Country Town’, in Mingay, G. E. (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* 1 (London, 1981), 275-89 (pp. 283-84).

³⁷ Ibid.

specialist crafts'.³⁸ To the 14 urban crafts he cites, others can be added, such as carpets at Axminster, lace at Barnstaple, knives at Cirencester, shoes at Daventry and likewise through the alphabet, including gloves at Ludlow, as will be demonstrated in chapter 2.³⁹

Specialist industrial towns mushroomed, some from existing settlements, others as new plantations. No such growth areas were close to Ludlow, but those in the West Midlands, in particular, attracted migrants from the town, while there was considerable industrialisation in the Severn gorge.⁴⁰ Other specialist towns were spas and seaside resorts, chronicled in Granville's *Spas of England and Principal Sea-Bathing Places* (1841). Though a few minor spas were located near Ludlow, the spa to effect the town most notably, after Bath and Cheltenham, was Llandrindod Wells, a Ludlow bookseller being one of eight advertised vendors of *A Journey to Llandrindod Wells*, published in 1747.⁴¹ The nearest seaside resort was Aberystwyth, linked direct to Ludlow by coach in 1811.⁴²

Clark and others have shown how many towns became fashionable social centres or 'gentry towns'. They catered for 'the entertainment and service needs of local landowners, offering good inns, clubs, playhouses, libraries and the chance to consult reputable attorneys and physicians'.⁴³ Such towns thrived after the Restoration, the antiquarian Robert Thoroton (1623-78) writing of Nottingham in 1677 that 'many people of good quality from several parts make choice of habitation here'.⁴⁴ Most county towns and some smaller towns like Knutsford were 'gentrified'. Borsay includes Ludlow in a list of such places, stating that:

In addition to their formal county towns, Lancashire had Preston, Derbyshire had Chesterfield, Lincolnshire had Stamford, **Shropshire had Ludlow**, Buckinghamshire had Aylesbury and Kent had Maidstone, while the huge

³⁸ Clark, *Country Towns*, p. 17.

³⁹ Green, D., *Alcester* (Stroud, 1993), p. 43; Lamplugh, L., *Barnstaple: Town on the Taw* (Chichester, 1983), p. 112; Welsford, J., *Cirencester: A History and a Guide* (Gloucester, 1987), p. 112; Godber, J., *History of Bedfordshire, 1066-1888* (Bedford, 1969), p. 330.

⁴⁰ *VCH, Shropshire*, XI: *Telford* (London, 1998), pp. 27, 29, 30, 205.

⁴¹ *Aris's Gazette*, 12th Jan., 1747, p. 4, col. 2. The eighteenth century history of Llandrindod Wells is traced in Pryce, J., *Pryce's Handbook to the Breconshire and Radnorshire Mineral Springs* (Birmingham, 1859). Saline and sulphur springs were discovered in the 1730s.

⁴² Felton, W., *Description of the Town of Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1811), p. 139.

⁴³ Clark, *Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, p. 20.

⁴⁴ Thoroton, R., *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (Nottingham, 1677), p. 499.

expanse of Yorkshire boasted additional centres at Wakefield, Beverley and Doncaster.⁴⁵

Contemporaries certainly perceived Ludlow as a fashionable town, with a prominent gentry presence. When John Macky, traveller, letter writer and government agent, visited Ludlow in 1714, he referred to the 'very good company', highlighting the 'cheapness of boarding'. Later, when visiting Preston and praising 'the Variety of Company that come there for the Conveniency of Boarding', Macky ranked it next to St Edmund's Bury, Ludlow and Beverley as 'the prettiest retirement in England'.⁴⁶ A traveller passing through Ludlow in 1744 noted that 'the gentry dress fine, live easily, visit much and do things very grand', concluding that Ludlow was 'a very polite town'.⁴⁷ Twenty two years later Thomas Falconer, described elsewhere as 'the Meacenas of Chester', writing to his cousin Charles Grey, M.P. for Colchester, wrote of Ludlow: 'The town is most agreeably situated and if the principal street had less verdure in it, no County town would exceed it.'⁴⁸

Ludlow had the full range of amenities and entertainments associated with gentry towns, including 'arenas of display'.⁴⁹ The first public walks for 'public promenading' were around the churchyard, where Macky admired 'a fine prospect' in 1714, and where 'spreading elm trees' were eulogised by a local poet.⁵⁰ Corporation accounts show that by 1747 the castle ditch had become 'Dinham Walk', later called the Mall, while in 1771 public walks, 'resorted to as a fashionable promenade', were laid out round the rest of the castle at the expense of the Countess of Powis.⁵¹ Dancing assemblies were held regularly from the 1720s, and there is some evidence of earlier functions in the castle.⁵² In 1771 Lybbe Powys thought Ludlow's

⁴⁵ Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance*, p. 6.

⁴⁶ Macky, J., *A Journey through England* (London, 1722), p. 154.

⁴⁷ Cited by Evans, J., *Handbook to Ludlow*, 4th.edn., (Ludlow. 1869), p. 87.

⁴⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1908), VI, p. 1027; Round MS, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report 14 (London, 1896), Appendix 1X, p. 297.

⁴⁹ Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance*, p. 150.

⁵⁰ Macky, *A Journey through England*, p. 139; Marsh, P., 'A New Song in Praise of Ludlow', MS, c.1745, seen by the writer in 1984, now in possession of Mr T. Nash of Wrexham.

⁵¹ Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance*, p. 162; SA, LB, 8/1/279, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1746-47; Nicholson, G., *The Cambrian Traveller's Guide* (Stourport, 1813), p. 830.

⁵² SA, LB, 11/4/154, Quarter Sessions, 27th June, 1727, roll 2, deposition of Thomas Williams, servant, who witnessed a disturbance while 'waiting for his master, Francis Price, Gent., to come from ye Assembly or Dancing, which he did about three of the clock this morning'.

assembly ‘tolerable...with two lords and six baronets’, though ‘not so brilliant as formerly’.⁵³ It was reported in 1769, however, that ‘there is very fine company at the annual horse races’, and in 1773 that ‘the company was very genteel and the sport remarkably good’.⁵⁴ Plays were performed intermittently, first at inns, then at a succession at theatres; and there were concerts in the parish church, such as the ‘vocal and instrumental music’ performed on 13th December 1752, ‘to be followed by a ball’.⁵⁵

Though a number of towns declined during this period – Thaxted, Lechlade and Hallaton are examples – this was generally a time of ‘accelerating innovation and adaptation in provincial towns’.⁵⁶ Goose for Cambridge, Colchester and Reading and Johnson for Coggeshall show how towns adapted to changed circumstances, a theme relevant to Ludlow, as will be shown in chapter 3.⁵⁷ But towns are agents as well as victims of change, Clark asserting that ‘the older provincial towns were not just bit-players in the development of a modernising and industrialised society’.⁵⁸ In a much quoted metaphor, Braudel compares towns to ‘electric transformers... which generate expansion and are themselves generated by it’, while Corfield sees them particularly as ‘important purveyors of the consumer ethos’.⁵⁹

4: Objectives

Within the broad aim of contributing to a greater understanding of small towns in the two centuries after the Restoration, there are three specific objectives for this

⁵³ Powys, P. L., *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, ed. Climensson, E.J. (London, 1899), p. 134.

⁵⁴ Russell, P. and Price, O., *England Displayed* (London, 1769) p. 60; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 28th Aug., 1773.

⁵⁵ SA, LB, 11/4/140, Quarter Sessions, 2nd July, 1713, deposition of Thomas Carpenter of the City of Hereford, player; Powys, P. L., *Passages from the Diaries*, 134-135; *Gloucester Journal*, 28th Nov., 1752, p. 4, col. 1.

⁵⁶ Lewis, *Topographical History*, 4, p. 320; 3, p. 44; 2, pp. 376-77; Clark, *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, p. 14.

⁵⁷ Goose, N., ‘Economic and Social Aspects of Provincial Towns: a Comparative Study of Cambridge, Colchester and Reading, c.1500-1700’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1984, p. 111; Johnson, ‘Coggeshall in Essex’, p. 89.

⁵⁸ Clark, *Country Towns*, p. 2.

⁵⁹ Braudel, F., *Civilisation and Capitalism, Fifteenth Century to Eighteenth Century*, 1, *The Structures of Everyday Life* (London, 1981), p. 479; Corfield, *Impact of English Towns*, p. 96.

thesis, corresponding to the three key words at the beginning of its title: property, ownership and improvement. The three objectives are:

1. To describe and account for the changes that occurred in the number and disposition of Ludlow properties, using as a framework Conzen's 'streets, plots and buildings'.⁶⁰ The focus will be on the town plan, particularly the historic burgage plots and infilling.
2. To analyse the pattern of ownership of Ludlow properties. This will be done in various ways, including by occupational and social status groups, and by the places where the owners lived.
3. To chart the various kinds of improvements that occurred to public, institutional and private buildings and to amenities.

All three objectives will be met by amassing a great amount of detail by tenurial reconstruction, the precise methodology of which, for Ludlow properties, is presented in chapter 3. The case for this has been argued, among others, by Keene. Stating of pre-1666 London that 'the greatest quantity of records concern property holding', he argues that 'one way of making sense of this forbidding mass of information is to reconstitute it in the form of histories of the properties to which it relates'.⁶¹ If this process is to be of value, however, it must go beyond the histories of particular properties – a pursuit which though of interest can easily become 'antiquarianism'. The fact that James Smith, maltster, inherited a garden in Old Street from his uncle in 1823 and built four houses there is itself of no particular interest except for some-one compiling a detailed history of that property.⁶² When it is known, however, that those houses are part of a contemporary building boom and that their erection was financed by a mortgage for £400 from Richard Watkins, blacksmith, of Onibury, a village four miles from Ludlow, later transferred to Mary Oakly, spinster, of Leamington Spa, then interest widens.⁶³ The detail of one property becomes part of a wider picture, helping to supply information on two important processes: the chronology of building and the ways in which it was financed. Such thematic data can contribute to analyses of processes that reach beyond individual towns, and are part of the justification for single town studies.

⁶⁰ Conzen, M. R. G., *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town Plan Analysis* (London, 1960), p. 5.

⁶¹ Keene, D., 'A New Study of London before the Great Fire', *UHYB* (1984), p.11.

⁶² SA, Morgan, 5411,133/1-5, deeds of 51-57 Old Street, Ludlow, 1825-1835.

⁶³ SA, 5411/133/4-8: *ibid*.

5: Property

Property can be defined as ‘a piece of land owned’ or ‘a landed estate’.⁶⁴ Patterns of land ownership in England are complex, reflecting the feudal tenure of the Middle Ages, when no man could ‘own’ land except the King, and all free tenants held from a ‘chief lord’.⁶⁵ Duality of ownership is illustrated by Kenyon’s study of Petworth, a small town in Sussex. In the eighteenth century, there were two chief lords, the Percys, who held 110 ‘manorial’ properties, and the Rector, who had the remaining 52.⁶⁶ A 1779 survey showed that under these chief lords were 37 landlords, the largest holding being that of the Earl of Egremont, with 18 properties. Some landlords were owner occupiers but most leased to sub-tenants. At all levels of ownership the ‘sanctity of property’ was a guiding light, as voiced in 1714 by the poet Ambrose Phillips, celebrating the perceived salvation of land-holders by the Hanoverian succession: ‘O Property, O Goodness, English born’.⁶⁷

The shapes and arrangement of urban properties are expressed in the town plan, which can be studied on site and from maps. In his seminal work on Alnwick, Conzen defined a town plan as ‘the topographical arrangement of an urban built-up area in all its man-made features’.⁶⁸ He recognized ‘three distinct complexes of plan elements’: streets, plots and buildings. Adams, reviewing Scottish towns from a Conzenian perspective, reminds us that: ‘The street pattern is the element in a town plan which persists longest. Almost as durable are the plot boundaries, whilst the buildings themselves are the most vulnerable to change’.⁶⁹

The plan is a palimpsest of a town’s phases of growth. In some cases ‘a basically Saxon, or medieval, or Georgian plan provides the framework, whereas in other cases the origins of a townscape are much more complex’.⁷⁰ The recognition that many towns are composite, ‘consisting of a number of discrete plan units which

⁶⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933), Vol. 8, p. 1471.

⁶⁵ James, P. S., *Introduction to English Law* (London, 1985), p. 414.

⁶⁶ Kenyon, G. H., ‘Petworth Town and Trades, 1610-1760’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 96 (1958), 35-107 (pp. 41-44).

⁶⁷ Cited by Ogg, D., *England in the Reign of James II and William III* (Oxford, 1969), p. 77; and by Trevelyan, G., *England under Queen Anne* (London, 1936), p. 84n.

⁶⁸ Conzen, *Alnwick*, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁹ Adams, I. H., *The Making of Urban Scotland* (London, 1978), pp. 31-32.

⁷⁰ Aston, M. and Bond, C. J., *The Landscape of Towns* (Gloucester, 1987), p. 24.

reflect the particular circumstances of each creative phase', is seen as one of Conzen's contributions to our understanding of the nature of medieval towns.⁷¹

In his paper on 'The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History', Conzen used Ludlow as an example of a composite medieval town, postulating 'five distinct plan units', one of these being the castle, which served as the 'pre-urban nucleus'; while in a later paper he attempted to fit these phases into a timescale.⁷² Detailed work on Ludlow by the writer and others suggests that some of Conzen's interpretations may be mistaken, but the general concept of composite growth remains valid, and has inspired work on a number of towns, as by Bond at Pershore and Thame, Scrace at Wells and Slater at Hedon.⁷³ These studies explain the medieval and early modern development of townscapes, which in many cases provided the framework for urban development after 1660.

Another important Conzenian concept is the distinction between the kernel of a town and its accretions. In the case of Alnwick, there is 'a composite kernel or old town' of nine different major plan units, while additions to the old town 'form the accretions', arranged in a very irregular, broad and in many places discontinuous zone round the kernel. Conzen shows how these accretions, which all occurred after 1660, were shaped by the pre-existing field pattern, which served 'as a morphological frame for.....urban growth'.⁷⁴ As noted by Turner, much of the emphasis in urban studies of property over the last forty years has been on the development of greenfield sites on the urban periphery. This was the context, for example, for much of

⁷¹ Slater, T., 'English medieval new towns with composite plans: evidence from the Midlands', in Slater, T. (ed.), *The Built Form of Western Cities* (Leicester, 1990), 60-82 (p. 61).

⁷² Conzen, M. G. R., 'The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History', in Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History*, 113-30, p. 124; Conzen, M. R. G., 'Morphogenesis, Morphological Regions and Secular Human Agency in the Historic Townscape, as Exemplified by Ludlow', in Denecke, D. and Shaw, G. (eds.), *Urban Historical Geography: Recent Progress in Britain and Germany* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 262-70.

⁷³ Bond, C. J. 'Recent Archaeological Work in Pershore', *Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Paper*, 6 (1977), pp. 1-76; Scrace, A. J., 'Development and Change in Burgage Plots: the Example of Wells', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 15 (1989), pp. 349-65; Slater, T. R., 'Medieval New Town and Port: a Plan Analysis of Hedon, East Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 57 (1985), pp. 23-51.

⁷⁴ Conzen, *Alnwick*, pp. 11, 46.

Chalklin's work on 'the building process' from 1740 to 1820, and for such studies as that by Cannadine on the development of Edgbaston and Eastbourne.⁷⁵

A study of urban development in a medieval town such as Ludlow needs a different approach, for here the framework is provided by ancient burgages. In the feudal Middle Ages, a burgage was a plot of land, 'freely transferable and held by money rent', which could be sold legally as 'a property unencumbered with manorial services' but later the term was used more generally to describe a unit of town land.⁷⁶ Slater has described burgages as 'the basic cells of medieval town plans.....They are characteristically long and narrow and are arranged in series along the streets'.⁷⁷ Many studies, including work on Canterbury by Urry, have stressed the longevity of burgages, Urry commenting that 'private owners are tenacious of their rights'.⁷⁸ Archaeological excavation has shown the persistence of boundaries at Coppergate in York since the tenth century and at King's Lynn 'from the 13th century onwards'.⁷⁹ The only complete work on burgages, Hemmon's *Burgage Tenure in Medieval England*, cites a great variety of annual burgage rents, the most common being 12d, as in the towns which followed the laws of Breteuill, one of which was Ludlow.⁸⁰ As shown in chapter 3, 12d rent for a full burgage was still standard in Ludlow in 1669.

Understanding of burgages has been enhanced by excavation, by the use of documents and by site measurements. In some towns a standard burgage size and width have been identified, as by Slater at Stratford-on-Avon and by Bassett at Lichfield.⁸¹ Many burgages had dimensions which were multiples of 16 feet 6

⁷⁵ Chalklin, C. W., *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820* (London, 1974); Cannadine, D., *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967* (Leicester, 1980).

⁷⁶ Bond, C. J., 'Central Place and Medieval New Town: The Origins of Thame, Oxfordshire', in Slater (ed.), *Built Form of Western Cities*, pp. 83-108; I. Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester, 1983), p. 39.

⁷⁷ Slater, T. R., 'The Analysis of Burgage Patterns in Medieval Towns', *Area*, 13 (1981), pp. 211-16.

⁷⁸ Urry, W., *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1967), p. 191.

⁷⁹ Hall, R., *The Viking Dig* (London, 1984), pp. 67-80; Clark, H. and Carter, A., *Excavation in King's Lynn, 1963-1970*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Series, 7 (1977), p. 430.

⁸⁰ Bateson, M., 'The Laws of Breteuil', *English Historical Review*, 5 (1900), pp. 312-13.

⁸¹ Slater, T.R., *The Analysis of Burgages in Medieval Towns*, Department of Geography University of Birmingham Working Paper, 4 (1980), pp. 4-5; Bond, C. J., 'Origins of Thame', in Slater (ed.), *Built Form of Western Cities*, p. 99.

inches, the medieval perch, as Woledge found at Leeds and Rogers at Salisbury.⁸² Another common width, discerned at St Andrews, was 28 feet to 32 feet, which can be equated to ten paces and also to four bays of building.⁸³ Elsewhere, as Parker shows at King's Lynn, 'no standard plot size can be identified', whereas work in Wales, summarised by Soulsby, shows that the burgage 'varied considerably from town to town and even within towns'.⁸⁴ Whatever the original dimensions, plots were subject to division and amalgamation. At Wells, Scrace shows how many original plots were divided, especially between 1250 and 1325, often into two thirds and one third, the latter being the customary widow's dower.⁸⁵ Later, amalgamations took place, especially in the late 17th and 18th centuries. This was the case at Wells which, like Ludlow, became 'a minor centre for local gentry'. Their demands for spacious dwellings, suitable gardens and even vistas to the surrounding countryside, produced dramatic mergers and also demolitions. Not all town land was burgaged, as noted by Slater at Stratford-on-Avon, where peripheral parts of the borough were let at a lower rate.⁸⁶ Areas of institutionally-owned space could be divided into units, as shown by Hughes at Worcester, where the Corporation divided the precinct and land of the dissolved Blackfriars 'into gardens and building plots'.⁸⁷ Streets and other spaces were demesne land, used communally. Encroachment often occurred, including the partial infilling of the market place, sometimes by planting rows of stalls to increase manorial income, e.g. the 47 and a half *selda* at Bromyard.⁸⁸ Especially in the 12th and 13th centuries, the central areas of many towns were walled and ditched, with repercussions on the town plan. Turner lists 131 English and Welsh towns which were walled, of which about a fifth were clustered on the Welsh border, Ludlow among them.⁸⁹ Yet from an early date many towns developed suburbs, as identified by Keene at Winchester, where a western suburb was 'apparently fully built

⁸² Woledge, G., 'The Medieval Borough of Leeds', *Transactions of the Thoresby Society*, 37 (1945), 288-309 (p. 294); Rogers, K.H., 'Salisbury', in Lobel, M.D., *Historic Towns*, 1 (Oxford, 1969), p. 4.

⁸³ Brooks, N. and Whittington, G., 'Planning and Growth in the Medieval Scottish Burgh', *TIBG*, new ser., 2 (1977), p. 288.

⁸⁴ Parker, V., *The Making of King's Lynn* (London, 1971), p. 36; Soulsby, I., *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester, 1983), pp. 39-40.

⁸⁵ Scrace, 'The Example of Wells', pp. 355-57.

⁸⁶ Slater, *Burgages in Medieval Towns*, p. 5.

⁸⁷ Hughes, P., (ed.), *Worcester Streets: Blackfriars* (Worcester, 1986), p. 27.

⁸⁸ Hillaby, J., *Bromyard: A Local History* (Bromyard, 1970), p. 39.

⁸⁹ Turner, H.L., *Town Defences in England and Wales* (London, 1971), pp. 97-224.

by c.1100, with conspicuously heterogeneous tenure and high rents'.⁹⁰ Though some suburbs were burgaged, the availability of spacious sites could attract large houses and extra-mural institutions. In the later Middle Ages, however, as the population of many towns declined, contraction took place, as Freke demonstrates at Lewes.⁹¹ Throughout the Middle Ages, indeed, most towns retained a 'garden city appearance', as still apparent at Winchelsea.⁹²

When expansion did occur, it usually began within the existing urban area. Blake demonstrates this for Reading, where the population doubled between 1600 and 1800, most of it being 'accommodated within the existing urban area'.⁹³ Chalklin describes how 'innumerable gardens and yards were used for additional housing', a process which Conzen calls 'repletion' or 'filling-up', following the grain of an already established plan-unit.⁹⁴ In Boston, Gainsborough and other Lincolnshire towns, Wright shows how 'new houses filled courtyards and gardens', causing what Smith at Darlington stigmatises as 'the familiar Victorian mesh of dingy courts and yards'.⁹⁵ Beresford, acknowledging that 'the infill of gardens, yards and crofts took the first brunt of any pressure on urban house-space', states that 'this aspect of Georgian building is still imperfectly known'.⁹⁶ It is hoped that this thesis will go some way towards remedying this deficiency.

6: Ownership

⁹⁰ Keene, D., 'Suburban Growth', in Barley, M. W. (ed.), *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales*, CBA Research Report, 14 (1976), p. 77.

⁹¹ Freke, D. 'Medieval Urban Archaeology in Sussex', in Drewett, P.L. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Sussex to A.D. 1500*, CBA Research Report, 29 (1976), p. 89.

⁹² Pantin, W. A., 'The Development of Domestic Architecture in Oxford', *Antiquaries Journal*, 27 (1947), 120-59 (p. 121); Nairn I., and Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (Harmonsworth, 1965), p. 633.

⁹³ Blake, S. T., 'The Development of the Crown and Corporation Estates at Reading, 1828-1860', in Chalklin, C. W. and Wordie, J. R. (eds.), *Town and Countryside: the English Landowner in the National Economy, 1660-1860* (London, 1989), p. 147.

⁹⁴ Chalklin, *Provincial Towns of Georgian England*, p. 66; Conzen, *Alnwick*, p. 66.

⁹⁵ Wright, N. R., *Lincolnshire Towns and Industry, 1700-1914*, 11, History of Lincolnshire series (1982), p. 89; Smith, H. J. (ed.), *Public Health Act: Report to the General Board of Health on Darlington* (Durham, 1967), p. 1.

⁹⁶ Beresford, M., review of Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns of England, 1740-1840* (1974), *UHYB*, 1976, p. 53.

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The pattern of urban ownership – and of occupancy – can be researched by tenurial reconstruction. One of the earliest – and most impressive – examples of this approach is Salter's survey of Oxford, begun in 1912 and published posthumously in the 1960s.⁹⁷ The technique has been used by others for particular periods, such as 12th century Canterbury by Ury or for streets such as High Street, Ashbourne, by Henstock.⁹⁸

Title deeds are the chief source of information for tenurial reconstruction, though the Land Registry record only covers Middlesex and Yorkshire.⁹⁹ Collections in record offices and deeds still in private hands are, however, a rich quarry for historians, and the results can be rewarding. In his study of Pittville, the fashionable Cheltenham suburb, Blake 'minutely examined the title deeds of 184 houses', causing a reviewer to comment: 'this exercise illustrates beyond doubt the wide ranging value of this particular historical source'.¹⁰⁰ Other sources can also be used. MacFarlane, in a study of Earl's Coln, examined manorial rentals, which enabled him to 'know exactly who owned every one of roughly 650 separate parcels of property – land or housing – at any point during the last 400 years'.¹⁰¹ At Worcester, hearth-tax assessments have been used 'to reconstruct the seventeenth century city in a Pevsner-like perambulation', though other sources must be consulted for ownership.¹⁰²

Although Triffitt has stated that 'we know very little about land-owning in the vast majority of towns', there are clearly widely different patterns of ownership.¹⁰³ Beckett, using a Royal Commission Report of 1887, recognises three broad categories of towns: those with 'a single landlord owning all or most of the site'; those where

⁹⁷ Pantin, W. A. (ed.), *Survey of Oxford by the late Rev. H. E. Salter*, I, Oxford Historical Society, new. ser., 14 (1960).

⁹⁸ Urry, *Canterbury*, p. 191; Henstock, A., *A Georgian Country Town: Ashbourne, 1725-1825*, 2, *Architecture* (Ashbourne, c.1989).

⁹⁹ Goodchild, R. and Munton, R., *Development and the Landowner* (London, 1985), p. 7; Shepperd, F., Belcher, V. and Cottrell, P., 'The Middlesex and Yorkshire Deeds Registries and the Study of Building Fluctuations', *London Journal*, 5 (1979), p. 176.

¹⁰⁰ Blake, S., *Pittville, 1824-1860: A Scene of Georgian Magnificence* (Cheltenham, 1988); reviewed in *UHYB* (1990), p. 253.

¹⁰¹ MacFarlane, A., *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 47, 136.

¹⁰² Meekings, C. A. F., Porter, S. and Roy, I., *The Hearth Tax Collectors' Book for Worcester, 1678-1680*, Worcestershire Historical Society, new ser., 11 (1983); the cited phrase is from a review in *Midland History* 11 (1986), p. 144.

¹⁰³ Triffitt, M. J., 'Politics and the Urban Community: Parliamentary Boroughs in the South West of England, 1710 to 1730', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1985, pp. 16-17.

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‘one or more owners hold large blocks of land’; and those that had ‘no substantial landlord’.¹⁰⁴ Of the 261 towns which returned the Commission’s circular, ‘more than half’ were in this third group, the town having developed ‘on small sites belonging to a myriad of freeholders’. No comparable survey was made for any part of the 1660 to 1848 period, but it is likely that similar categories of towns can be recognised. This thesis will show that Ludlow belongs in the third category, though with a number of distinctive features.

Of Becket’s three groups, most scholarly attention has been given to the first group, perhaps because records of large holdings are usually held in estate collections. The gentry and titled aristocracy owned about three quarters of all land in England by 1800, some of it in towns.¹⁰⁵ There were rich estates in London, while Spring lists 26 other ‘sizeable towns’, where one or more landed families had substantial estates.¹⁰⁶ Smaller towns can be added, such as Malton, which had 1,086 houses and other tenements in 1841, 723 of which were owned by Earl Fitzwilliam and the remainder by 73 other owners.¹⁰⁷ Elsewhere, a number of gentry families shared ownership, as at Truro, where Palmer shows that several Cornish land-owners had land in the town.¹⁰⁸

In other towns, often reflecting a different manorial history, the small property owner was dominant. The 1685 burgage rental for Burford lists 143 tenements belonging to 58 owners, over half of them owner occupiers, though several lived outside the town.¹⁰⁹ Trinder describes Banbury as ‘a town of small land-owners whose property was minutely sub-divided’.¹¹⁰ Elsewhere, medium-sized ‘gentry owned’ estates were interwoven with numerous smaller holdings. Turner shows that

¹⁰⁴ Beckett, J. V., *The Aristocracy of England, 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986), p. 263. He cites House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1887, XIII, *Report of the Royal Commission on Town Holdings* (1887), pp. 677-812.

¹⁰⁵ Wordie, J. R., *Estate Management in the Eighteenth Century: The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune* (London, 1982), pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ Spring, D., ‘English Landowners and Nineteenth-Century Industrialism’ in Ward, J. J., and Wilson, R. G. (eds.), *Land and Industry* (Newton Abbot, 1971), pp. 44-53.

¹⁰⁷ Salmon, D. J., *Malton in the Early Nineteenth Century*, North Yorkshire County Record Office Publication, 26 (1981), p. 19

¹⁰⁸ Palmer, J. *Truro in the Seventeenth Century* (Truro, 1989), pp. 12-14.

¹⁰⁹ Gretton, R., *The Burford Records* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 454-62.

¹¹⁰ Trinder, B., *Victorian Banbury* (Chichester, 1982), p. 9.

in 1762, when most of Wareham was burnt, there were 280 properties.¹¹¹ Two local land owners had 71 and 42 of these; 152 properties (54%) were owned by other freeholders; while the remaining 15 (5.5%) belonged to the church and the Corporation.

In some towns institutional ownership was more important. In the Middle Ages, 'the age of faith', much land was held by the church, as at Canterbury, where Ury found that by 1200 the cathedral owned 'between a third and a half of domestic property'.¹¹² Such land often remained in ecclesiastical or charitable ownership, as Scrace shows at Wells, where 28% of the city was owned by the church in the seventeenth century, 'a relic of medieval piety'.¹¹³ Much church land, however, passed into lay hands at the Reformation. This was to individuals, as to the Levesons in Wolverhampton; to Corporations, as at Warwick; or to endow schools and other charitable institutions, as in Birmingham.¹¹⁴ Where church land was owned by a religious guild, which had social and educational roles, all or part of the endowment was usually preserved. This occurred at Wisbech, where the estates of the Guild of the Holy Trinity were taken over by the Corporation 'more or less intact until the early 19th century'.¹¹⁵ The Palmers' Guild at Ludlow, which owned about a third of the town before surrendering its estates to the Borough Corporation in 1551, is a well known example of such a guild, and the effects of its legacy on Ludlow to 1848 is a theme of this thesis.¹¹⁶

Towns were administered by a 'plethora of different authorities', but borough corporations were the largest owners of property.¹¹⁷ Beresford and Finberg list 609 medieval boroughs, but only 173 were incorporated, i.e. given the right to own land

¹¹¹ Turner, M., 'The Nature of Urban Renewal in Seven English Towns, c.1675-1810', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Exeter, 1985, p. 32.

¹¹² Urry, *Canterbury*, p. 23.

¹¹³ Scrace, A. J., 'Municipal Reform, Wells Corporation and its Estates', *Southern History*, 10 (1988), 129-141 (p. 130).

¹¹⁴ Heath, P., 'Staffordshire Towns and the Reformation', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 19 (1979), p. 9; *VCH. Warwickshire*, VIII (London, 1969), pp. 490, 500; Skipp, V., *A History of Greater Birmingham down to 1830* (Birmingham, 1980), p. 35.

¹¹⁵ *VCH, Cambridgeshire*, IV (London, 1953), p. 256.

¹¹⁶ *VCH, Shropshire*, II, p. 137.

¹¹⁷ Corfield, *Impact of English Towns*, p. 152.

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‘as a body corporate’.¹¹⁸ Ludlow attained this right in 1461.¹¹⁹ Most corporations were oligarchic and self-electing, with an upper chamber of aldermen and a larger, lower chamber of common councillors. A Mayor or High Bailiff and other officers were elected annually, usually with great ceremony, part of a public ritual to strengthen civic authority.¹²⁰ Local traders dominated some towns, such as ‘fishing merchants’ in Poole, and ‘families connected with the textile industry’ in Kendal.¹²¹ At Beverley tanners, drapers, mercers and maltsters were dominant before 1700, but then aldermen were ‘increasingly drawn from the gentry and professional classes’.¹²² In some towns ‘non-residents’ became steadily more involved in corporate life, as Rosen demonstrates at Winchester.¹²³ Dissenters were excluded from most corporations, but there were exceptions as in Coventry, called a ‘*Fanatick Town*’ by Celia Fiennes in 1697.¹²⁴

Corporations were threatened after 1660, when the Crown sought more control over Boroughs which elected Members of Parliament.¹²⁵ New charters were issued, as at Ludlow in 1665 and 1685, but most were replaced after 1688, ‘Liberty for local authority to govern or misgovern’ being one of the fruits of the Glorious Revolution. The next 150 years, until the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 replaced ‘old Corporations’ with Borough Councils elected by a limited male franchise, saw many examples of good and bad government; but the image that has persisted is generally unfavourable, Trevelyan referring to ‘municipal stagnation’ and ‘the antiquated and corrupt framework of government’.¹²⁶ This is justified in some cases. At Chipping Camden, the Corporation ‘had virtually ceased to exist’ by 1794, while at Woodstock

¹¹⁸ Beresford, M. W. and Finberg, H. P. R., *English Medieval Boroughs: A Handlist* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 41.

¹¹⁹ Weinbaum, M., *British Borough Charters, 1307-1660* (Cambridge, 1943), p. xliv.

¹²⁰ Borsay, P., ‘All the Town’s a Stage: Urban Ritual and Ceremony, 1660-1680’, in Clark, *Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, 228-58 (p. 230).

¹²¹ Cullingford, C.N., *A History of Poole* (Chichester, 1988), p. 109; Marshall, J. D., ‘Kendal in the late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 75 (1975), 188-257 (p. 233).

¹²² *VCH, Yorkshire, East Riding*, V1 (London, 1989), p. 102.

¹²³ Rosen, A., ‘Winchester in Transition: 1500-1700’, in Clark (ed.), *Country Towns*, pp. 143-44.

¹²⁴ Hurwich, J. J., ‘A Fanatick Town: the Political Influence of Dissenters in Coventry, 1660-1720’, *Midland History*, 4 (1977), 15-47 (p. 32).

¹²⁵ Miller, J., ‘The Crown and the Borough Charters in the Reign of Charles II’, *English Historical Review* (1985), 53-84 (p. 55).

¹²⁶ Trevelyan, G. M., *British History in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1930), p. 13.

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‘property was administered chiefly for the benefit of councillors’.¹²⁷ The Webbs, reviewing local government, give ‘a generally gloomy verdict’, but modern scholarship presents a more balanced picture.¹²⁸ Studies of Bath, Scarborough and Weymouth by McIntyre, of Boston, Nottingham and York by Dawson, and of seven towns in south west England by Triffitt, all give a more favourable picture, supporting Triffitt’s conclusion that the record of Corporations was ‘undoubtedly not spotless but in general respectable and efficient’.¹²⁹ An assessment of the position of Ludlow in this continuum will be made in later chapters .

• 7: Improvement

In 1782 Joseph Priestley boasted that ‘the earth itself is in a state of improvement’.¹³⁰ Improvement was one manifestation of the Enlightenment, that movement of optimistic thought and belief that swept Europe at this time, spearheaded by Descartes and Locke.¹³¹ In England this took the form of a mission to ‘civilise’ the nation, using the arts, classical architecture and other environmental ‘improvements’.¹³² The earlier Gothic style was stigmatised as ‘barbaric and chaotic’, a view which permeates the descriptions of Celia Fiennes, the late seventeenth century traveller and diarist. In 1697 she found that York ‘makes but a meane appearance.....the houses are very low and as indifferent as in any county town and the narrowness of the streetes makes it appear very mean’.¹³³ Three years earlier, in

¹²⁷ Whitfield, C., *A History of Chipping Camden* (Windsor, 1959), pp. 193-94; *VCH, Oxfordshire*, viii (London, 1990), p. 375.

¹²⁸ Webb, S. and B., *The Manor and the Borough: English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act, 1 & 2* (London, 1908); Triffitt, ‘Parliamentary Boroughs’, p. 22.

¹²⁹ McIntyre, S., ‘Towns as Health and Pleasure Resorts: Bath, Scarborough and Weymouth, 1700-1815’, unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1973, p. 410; Dawson, E. J., ‘Finance and the Unreformed Borough: a Critical Appraisal of Corporation Finance 1660-1835, with special reference to the Boroughs of Nottingham, York and Boston’, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Hull, 1978, p. 98; Triffitt, ‘Parliamentary Boroughs’, pp. 167/168.

¹³⁰ Priestley, J., *The Institution of Religion* (1782), I, p. 19, cited in *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933), V, letter I, p. 118.

¹³¹ Harris, D., ‘The Enlightenment’, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 18, (Chicago, 2002), p. 665.

¹³² Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, pp. 257, 261.

¹³³ *The journeys of Celia Fiennes, c.1682-c.1712*, ed. Morris, C., (London, 1982), pp. 90, 93.

contrast, she had found Abingdon ‘a very well built town’, and the Market Cross, rebuilt a few years previously, ‘the finest in England’.¹³⁴

Half a century later, James Massie gave ‘superior neatness, convenience, decoration and embellishments’ as aims of urban improvements.¹³⁵ These attitudes persisted into the nineteenth century, as seen in comments by Samuel Lewis in his *Topographical Dictionary of England* (1844). Louth was described as having had ‘great improvements of late years’, with the addition of ‘splendid frontages to many of the buildings’, while at Selby ‘many improvements have been recently made by widening the thoroughfares, erecting new houses and laying down pavements’.¹³⁶ Such improvements often resulted from Parliamentary Improvement Acts, at least 830 of which were passed between 1662 and 1835, most of them after 1760.¹³⁷ The roots of improvement go back to the Renaissance, but it was given great impetus by rebuilding necessitated by urban fires, especially the fire of London in 1666.¹³⁸

The appearance of many town centres was transformed by ‘improvement’, while new suburbs provided opportunities to build estates in a uniform style, as occurred in Georgian Bath or in Edgebaston, Birmingham’s elegant Regency suburb.¹³⁹ At Pershore ‘some 60% of the existing town centre frontages are of the 18th century’, and another 34% ‘of the 19th century’, many of them Regency.¹⁴⁰ New and cheaper materials, especially brick, became fashionable and the use of classical detailing spread rapidly.¹⁴¹ After the Restoration, symmetry became fashionable, and by 1750 Palladianism had spread widely, though in towns ‘the rules were not always rigidly applied’.¹⁴² Nevertheless, the availability of pattern books ensured a generally high standard of design. Later, there was more diversity of style, with

¹³⁴ Ibid, p.61; Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England: Berkshire* (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 56.

¹³⁵ Massie, J., *An essay on the many advantages accruing to the community from the superior neatness, conveniences, decorations and embellishments of great and capital cities* (London, 1754).

¹³⁶ Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of England*, 3, p. 173; 4, p. 45.

¹³⁷ Cited by Turner, ‘Urban Renewal’, p. 340.

¹³⁸ West, J., *Town Records* (Chichester, 1983), p. 194.

¹³⁹ Pevsner, N., *North Somerset and Bristol*, (Harmondsworth, 1958), pp. 90-95; Pevsner, N. and Wedgwood, A., *Warwickshire*, (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 163, 173-175.

¹⁴⁰ Bond, ‘Recent Archaeological Work in Pershore’, p. 27.

¹⁴¹ Cruickshank, D. and Wylde, P., *Georgian Town Houses and their Details* (London, 1975), pp. 82, 178.

¹⁴² Yarwood, D., *The Architecture of Britain* (London, 1976), p. 164.

eclecticism rampant by the mid 19th century.¹⁴³ Squares, terraces and crescents were prominent in Georgian townscapes, especially in urban extensions, as in Edinburgh's New Town or at fashionable resorts such as Brighton.¹⁴⁴

In historic town centres, improvement was often piecemeal, dependent on what Dyos calls 'the...acts of a multitude of small men'.¹⁴⁵ Country gentry built town houses in social centres like York, but others were for professional men or traders, as at High Wycombe, where 'new houses were built in twos and threes by the more prosperous tradesmen.....as a likely investment'.¹⁴⁶ The style was sometimes conservative and vernacular, while in many cases only re-fronting was affordable, as Pocock and Gazzard illustrate for Durham, where 'the outline of medieval form often reads through...an 18th or early 19th century reincarnation'.¹⁴⁷ In some towns, however, small terraces and groups of buildings in a unified style were erected, as at Blandford Forum after the 1731 fire, or at Stamford after 1780, due to the influence of the ninth Earl of Essex and his surveyor Thomas Lumley.¹⁴⁸

The transformation of house facades has been summarised by Borsay, but there has been no comparable treatment of house plans.¹⁴⁹ The influence of plot width has been demonstrated, and plans have been categorised for several local studies, as at Stamford.¹⁵⁰ Generally, plans changed more slowly than facades. The medieval and post-medieval arrangement of entrance into a large living hall, flanked by a smaller parlour and/or kitchen, often persisted, as at 19 St George's Square, Stamford, completed in 1674.¹⁵¹ Analysis of probate inventories at Bewdley shows that the 'traditional hall or hall house' was common in the 1660s, but none occurred

¹⁴³ Sitwell, S., *British Architects and Craftsmen* (London, 1960), pp. 262-306.

¹⁴⁴ Youngson, A. J., *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1966), p. 95; Gilbert, E. W., *Brighton, Old Ocean's Bauble* (London, 1954), pp. 98-100.

¹⁴⁵ Dyos, H.J., 'Agenda for Urban Historians', in Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968), 1-46, p. 40.

¹⁴⁶ Ashford, L., *The History of the Borough of High Wycombe from the Origins to 1800* (London, 1960), p. 200.

¹⁴⁷ Pocock, D. and Gazzard, R., *Durham: Portrait of a Cathedral City* (Durham, 1983), p. 55.

¹⁴⁸ Cox, B. G., *The Great Fire of Blandford Forum, 1731* (Blandford, 1993), p. 6; Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (RCHM), *The Town of Stamford* (London, 1977), p. lxxxii.

¹⁴⁹ Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance', pp. 35-53.

¹⁵⁰ Summerson, J., *Georgian London* (London, 1962), pp. 65-66; RCHM, *Stamford*, 'Classification of House Types', p. li, fig.7.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp. 120/121.

after 1728.¹⁵² In larger houses a common arrangement was a central entrance hall with reception rooms each side, and a prominent grand staircase. Such houses have been described in detail in Bristol, Derby and York.¹⁵³ Single room frontages were usual for narrower plots, varieties of which have been identified at Totnes and Hull, while Ison illustrates the diversity behind 'fronts of unbroken uniformity' in Bath's terraces.¹⁵⁴ There has been less attention to working class/artisan housing, though Burnett has recognised regional types, while Lowe, studying industrial housing in Wales, shows that polite architecture had some influence, 'the broad irregular proportions apparent in traditional building giving way to symmetry and upright shapes'.¹⁵⁵

Public bodies soon caught improvement fervour. Summarising the work of Corporations and Improvement Commissioners, Turner gives an impressive list of schemes for cleaning and lighting, sewers, paving, the control of nuisances, the selective demolition of infill blocks and encroachments and the creation of new streets.¹⁵⁶ By the early 19th century 'most provincial towns, old and new, had a panorama of public buildings that proclaimed an enthusiastic belief in the town as a progressive force'.¹⁵⁷ Grady shows that 623 public buildings were provided in twelve West Riding towns between 1660 and 1840, 90% of them after 1700.¹⁵⁸ Many such buildings were erected by Corporations, often as part of improvement schemes. In Stockton on Tees, for example, an order was passed in 1735 'to take down the smiths' shops and....make several shops and above them a large room for

¹⁵² Park, B., 'Bewdley Houses and Rooms', in Bewdley Historical Research Group, *Bewdley in its Golden Age: Life in Bewdley 1660-1760* (Bewdley, 1991), p. 66.

¹⁵³ Ison, W., *The Georgian Buildings of Bristol* (London, 1952), pp. 190-201, 217-20; Craven, M., *The Derby Town House* (Derby, 1987), pp. 25-27; RCHM., *South West York* (London, 1982), pp. 76-78, 83-87.

¹⁵⁴ Laithwaite, M., 'Totnes Houses, 1500-1800', in Clark (ed.), *Transformation of English Towns*, 62-98 (p. 75); Hall, I. and E., *Georgian Hull* (York, 1978), p. 28; Ison, W., *The Georgian Buildings of Bath from 1700 to 1830* (Bath, 1948), pp. 107, 109, 114.

¹⁵⁵ Burnett, J., *A Social History of Housing, 1815-1970* (London, 1978), p. 152; Lowe, D., *Welsh Industrial Workers' Housing, 1775-1875* (Aberystwyth, 1977), pp. 4-5.

¹⁵⁶ Turner, 'The Nature of Urban Renewal', pp. 342-49.

¹⁵⁷ Clark, *Transformation of English Towns*, p. 41.

¹⁵⁸ Grady, K., 'The Provision of Public Buildings in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1600-1840', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1980, pp. 96-97.

the entertainment of the mayor, aldermen and burgesses'.¹⁵⁹ Finance often came from individuals, for example Tamworth Town Hall, rebuilt in 1710 at the expense of Thomas Guy of Guy's Hospital.¹⁶⁰ Local authorities strove to ensure good standards, as Jackson shows for Hull.¹⁶¹ Yet the urge for improvement was often superseded by other forces, as in Glasgow, where a Georgian suburb at Gorbels fell victim to rapid industrialisation.¹⁶² Small towns were not immune from such processes. Ellis, reviewing work on Morpeth, states that: 'the sleepy country town shared to some extent in the problems of over-crowding, poor quality housing and high mortality rates experienced by booming industrial centres'.¹⁶³ The 'unsanitary courts, discreetly squashed behind the respectable frontages of the main thoroughfares' revealed at Brigg, also occurred at Ludlow, as will be shown in chapter 4 (p. 229).¹⁶⁴

The expansion of a wide range of urban amenities, including leisure facilities, was an important part of 'the urban renaissance'. Borsay provides 'working hand-lists' of theatres, concerts, assemblies, balls, walks, gardens and horse race meetings for the years before 1770, while Chalklin illustrates the high investment in theatres, assembly rooms, music halls, libraries and learned institutions for the 1730 to 1830 period.¹⁶⁵ The writer has been able to add 13 towns where assemblies and balls occurred before 1770 to the 66 listed by Borsay and has identified another 115 which had these facilities between 1770 and 1848.¹⁶⁶ Later in the period, a number of museums were built, most of them established by local natural history, philosophical

¹⁵⁹ Brewster, J., *The Parochial History and Antiquities of Stockton-on-Tees* (Stockton, 1829).

¹⁶⁰ Pevsner, N., *Staffordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 278;

¹⁶¹ Jackson, G., *Hull in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1972), p. 310.

¹⁶² Adams, *Making of Urban Scotland*, pp. 77-78.

¹⁶³ Ellis, J., review of Willis, J.G.I., 'The Social and Economic Structure of Morpeth, 1841-61', unpublished M. Litt thesis, University of Newcastle, 1978, in *UHYB* (1980) p.118.

¹⁶⁴ Winstanley, M. J., review of *The Courts and Yards of Brigg* (Brigg, 1983), in *UHYB* (1985), pp. 200-201.

¹⁶⁵ Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, pp. 325-367; Chalklin, C. W., 'Capital Expenditure on Building for Cultural Purposes in Provincial England, 1730-1830', *Business History*, 22 (1980), pp. 51-70.

¹⁶⁶ The pre-1770 additions are from a variety of sources including volumes of the *Buildings of England* series; the post-1770 examples are from Lewis's *Topographical Dictionaries*.

or antiquarian societies, one aspect of the 'ferment of scientific activity' identified by Porter.¹⁶⁷

Capital was essential for improvement. Crouzet asserts that 'there was no overall shortage of savings for productive investment in eighteenth century England'.¹⁶⁸ Chalklin lists the kinds of people who had 'considerable capital or access to capital', many of them living outside the town where investment occurred.¹⁶⁹ The potential for a local study linking improvement to capital is shown by Ward for Bristol and Clifton.¹⁷⁰ Spufford claims that 'credit underpins the whole of English rural society', and this is supported by regional studies from Lincolnshire and Dorset.¹⁷¹ In many cases lent capital went to the towns, which Corfield portrays as 'accumulators and circulators of investment capital'.¹⁷² Mortgages were often taken, 'the most common way of raising money for building'.¹⁷³ Arnison shows how 66 mortgagers, 19 of them from outside Warwickshire, supplied £67,777 10s for Leamington Spa.¹⁷⁴ Analysis of investment, especially through mortgages, is a part of this thesis, using title deeds and other evidence as illustrated by Beresford for Leeds.¹⁷⁵

The need for capital is a major reason why improvement is uneven in time. The chronological span of the postulated 'Great Rebuilding', is the subject of scholarly debate, but Machin, Dyer and Alcock agree that it should be extended after

¹⁶⁷ Porter, R., 'Science, Provincial Culture and Public Opinion in Enlightenment England', in Borsay (ed.), *The Eighteenth Century Town*, p. 245.

¹⁶⁸ Crouzet, F., *Capital Formation in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1972), p. vii.

¹⁶⁹ Chalklin, *Provincial Towns of Georgian England*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁷⁰ Ward, J. R., 'Speculative Building in Bristol and Clifton, 1783-1793', *Business History*, 20 (1978) pp. 3-18.

¹⁷¹ Spufford, M., 'The limitations of the probate inventory', in Chartres, J., and Hey, D. (eds.), *English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), 139-74 (p. 173); Holderness, B.A., 'Credit in a Rural Community, 1660-1800: Some Neglected Aspects of Probate Inventories', *MH* (1975), III (2), pp. 94-115; Machin, R., 'The Mechanisms of the pre-Industrial Building Cycle', *Vernacular Architecture*, 8 (1977), p. 818.

¹⁷² Corfield, *Impact of English Towns*, p. 96.

¹⁷³ Cruickshank, D. and Burton, N., *Life in the Georgian City* (London, 1990), p. 122.

¹⁷⁴ Figures calculated from data in Arnison, C. J., 'The Speculative Development of Leamington Spa, 1800-1830', unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of Leicester, 1980, pp. 173-80.

¹⁷⁵ Beresford, M. W., 'East End, West End: the Face of Leeds during Urbanisation, 1684-1842', *Publications of the Thoresby Soc.*, 60 and 61 (1988), pp. 1-170.

1660.¹⁷⁶ Work by the writer in one Ludlow street suggested two phases of rebuilding, from about 1540 to 1640 and from 1680 to 1780, but this must be modified in view of later work embracing the whole town.¹⁷⁷ Borsay cites the earlier finding in speculating that ‘the Great Rebuilding’ was part of ‘a longer process of reconstruction’.¹⁷⁸ Lewis makes an ambitious attempt to identify eight building cycles from the 1690s to the 1830s, incorporating fluctuations in the supply of raw materials after 1785.¹⁷⁹ Grady identifies four periods of ‘High Public Building’ in Yorkshire’s West Riding: 1775-78, 1785-91, 1823-29 and 1834-39, but unpublished research by the writer on 133 Assembly Rooms where building dates are known shows little correlation with these findings, nor with Lewis’s cycles.¹⁸⁰ As a contribution to this debate, a chronology of both public and private building in Ludlow will be presented and analysed in chapter 6.

8: Methodology

Sections 3, 5, 6 and 7 above have reviewed recent work on small towns and have identified a number of research areas where this study can make a particular contribution. More comprehensively, however, the thesis will inject two particular features to the growing understanding of small towns: a vast data base of statistics and a profusion of case studies of individuals and families. Both arise from the tenorial histories of properties, which in turn draw on a wide range of documents, including title deeds and more than 1,000 probates, and visual evidence, both of standing buildings and of illustrations. Maps are used when appropriate.

Series of title deeds showing ownership and sometimes occupancy also are at the core of this process. These have been found in many places: in the possession of current owners or lodged by them with banks or building societies; in collections

¹⁷⁶ Machin, R., ‘The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment’, *Past and Present*, 77 (1977), p. 54; Dyer, A., ‘Urban Housing: a Documentary Study of Four Midland Towns, 1530-1700’, *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 15 (1981), 207-18 (p. 217); Alcock, N. W., ‘The Great Rebuilding and its Later Stages’, *Vernacular Architecture*, 14 (1983), pp. 45-48.

¹⁷⁷ Lloyd, *Broad Street*, p. 38.

¹⁷⁸ Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, p. 47.

¹⁷⁹ Lewis, J.P., *Building Cycles and Britain’s Growth* (London, 1965), pp. 11, 5-36; Cairncross, A. K. and Weber, B., ‘Fluctuations in Building in Great Britain, 1785-1849’, *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. (1956-57), 9, p. 56.

¹⁸⁰ Grady, ‘Provision of Public Buildings in the West Riding of Yorkshire’, pp. 281-88.

deposited in record officers by solicitors; and, particularly, in the voluminous records of Ludlow Borough Corporation, which owned about a third of Ludlow until the middle years of the nineteenth century. Because postal numbers were not introduced in Ludlow until 1863, the matching of deeds and other documents with specific properties is often difficult. This is achieved through the production of a grid, as will be illustrated in detail in Chapter 4, section 5 (pp. 140-144).

The statistics, drawn from the data base and summarised in a number of tables throughout the thesis, are intended to give a firm basis to the descriptive and analytical material, as derived from tenurial analysis. The techniques used – addition, proportion and means – are not sophisticated, and the results, on topics such as occupational groups and building cycles, are used as indicators of general trends. The case studies are often the more illuminating, but can be most meaningful when presented within the parameters offered by the statistics.

The next two chapters provide the context for these investigations. Chapter 2 (pp.33-36) describes the countryside around Ludlow, taking its keynote from Cannadine's observation that: 'Urban historians must step outside the town for much of their evidence, subject matter and explanatory apparatus'.¹⁸¹ Chapter 3 focuses on Ludlow itself, dealing with its demographic, economic and social character. The chapters that follow are the core of the thesis. Chapter 4 deals with the town's properties, including a detail exposition of tenurial analysis. Chapter 5 examines the pattern of ownership of those properties, and chapter 6 the extent to which they were improved. All three chapters present a mass of data in statistical form and seek to illuminate it with case studies.

Chapter 7, the conclusion, begins by taking a chronological approach, rather than a thematic one, and seeks to show how Ludlow evolved in time. Secondly, the conclusion returns to the objectives set out above, and assesses the extent to which they have been met. Finally, it highlights the ways in which the understanding of small towns generally in the 1660 to 1848 period has been enhanced by this study.

¹⁸¹ Cannadine, D, review of Clark, P., 'Migration in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *Past and Present*, 83 (1979), in *UHYB* (1981), p. 108.

Chapter 2: The Ludlow region

Section 1 of this chapter explains how the Ludlow region has been defined, while its salient physical and demographic features are described in sections 2 and 3. Aspects of the region which had a particular bearing on the development of Ludlow are then considered: the economy in section 4; rural society in section 5; and the perception and accessibility of the region in section 6. Throughout the chapter the premise is that Ludlow can only be understood within the context of its wider region.

1: The Ludlow region defined

Like Cannadine, cited at the end of chapter 1, many historians have stressed the interaction between market towns and their surrounding rural areas. Fleming, working on Melton Mowbray, postulated 'an elemental economic system', while Carter, in a thesis on St Ives, took as her sub-title 'an urban society and its hinterland'.¹ Ludlow, between six and 16 miles distant from eleven other market towns, is the hub of a polygonally shaped region extending approximately half way towards each of these towns.² Such an area has been marked on Fig.2, though the desirability of incorporating parish boundaries gives it an amoeba like shape. This core zone, which includes 18 parishes as well as Ludlow itself, has an area of 108 square miles and extends furthest from the town in Corvedale to the north-east, where the distance to the nearest market town, Much Wenlock, is 16 miles, and least far to the south east, where it is only six miles to Tenbury.

Beyond this inner region is a larger outer region, an appropriate adjective for which is 'penumbral', as used by Wrightson and Levine to describe the area linked to Terling in Essex, outside the triangular core around the village.³ For Ludlow, of several criteria available, the invitation lists to the Bailiffs' Feasts and Balls in

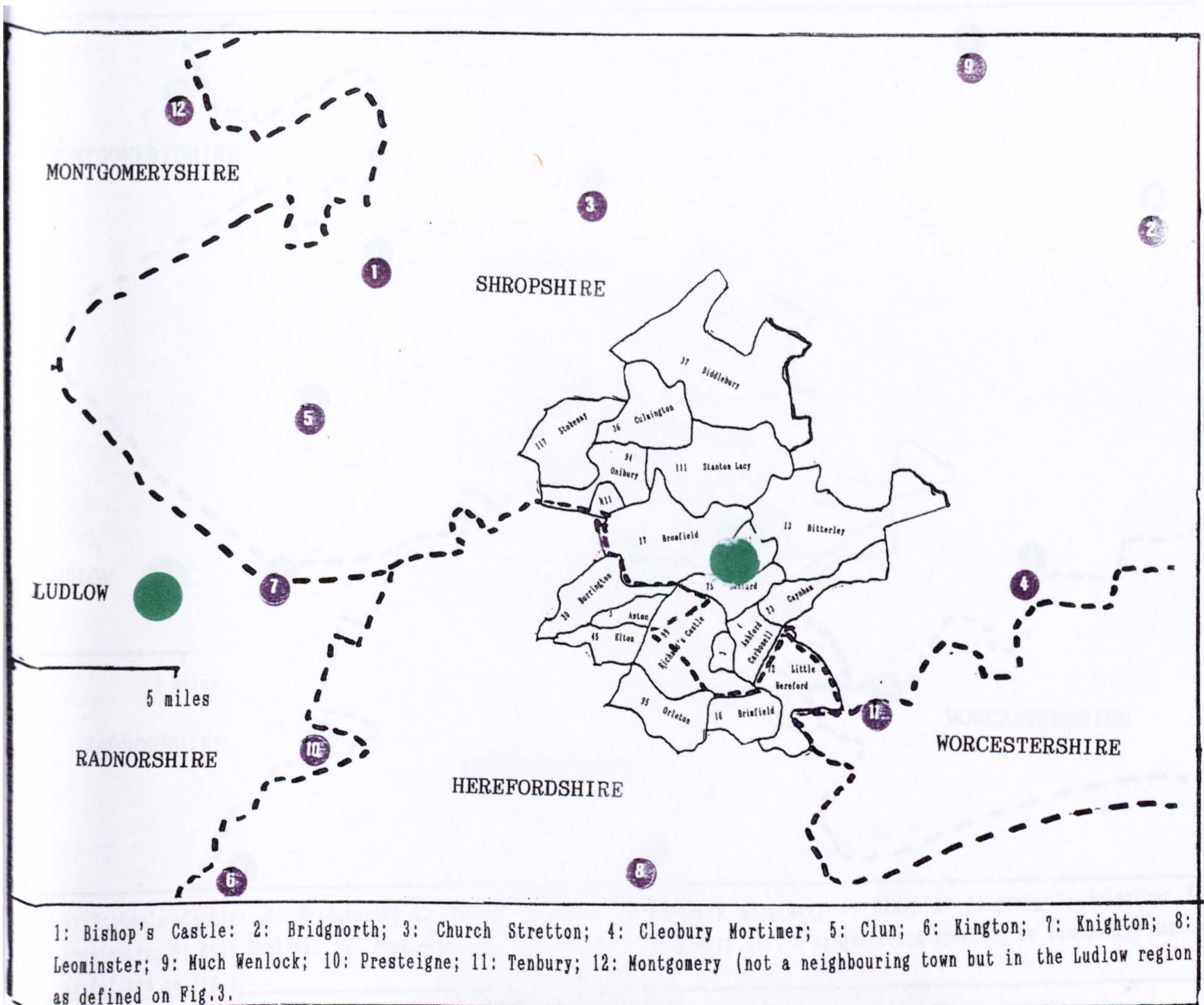
¹ Fleming, D., 'A Local Market System: Melton Mowbray and the Wreake Valley, 1549-1720', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1980, p. 6; Carter, M.P., 'An Urban Society and its Hinterland: St Ives in the 17th and early 18th Centuries', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1988, pp. 59, 99.

² This technique is used by Streeton, A., 'Potters, Kilns and Markets in Medieval Sussex, a Preliminary Study', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 118 (1980), pp. 105-118.

³ Wrightson, K. and Levine, D., *Poverty and Piety in an English Village, Terling, 1525-1799* (New York, 1977), pp. 78-79.

TEXT BOUND INTO THE SPINE

Fig. 2 Map of the area around Ludlow, showing the core parishes (zone 1), neighbouring market towns and county boundaries.



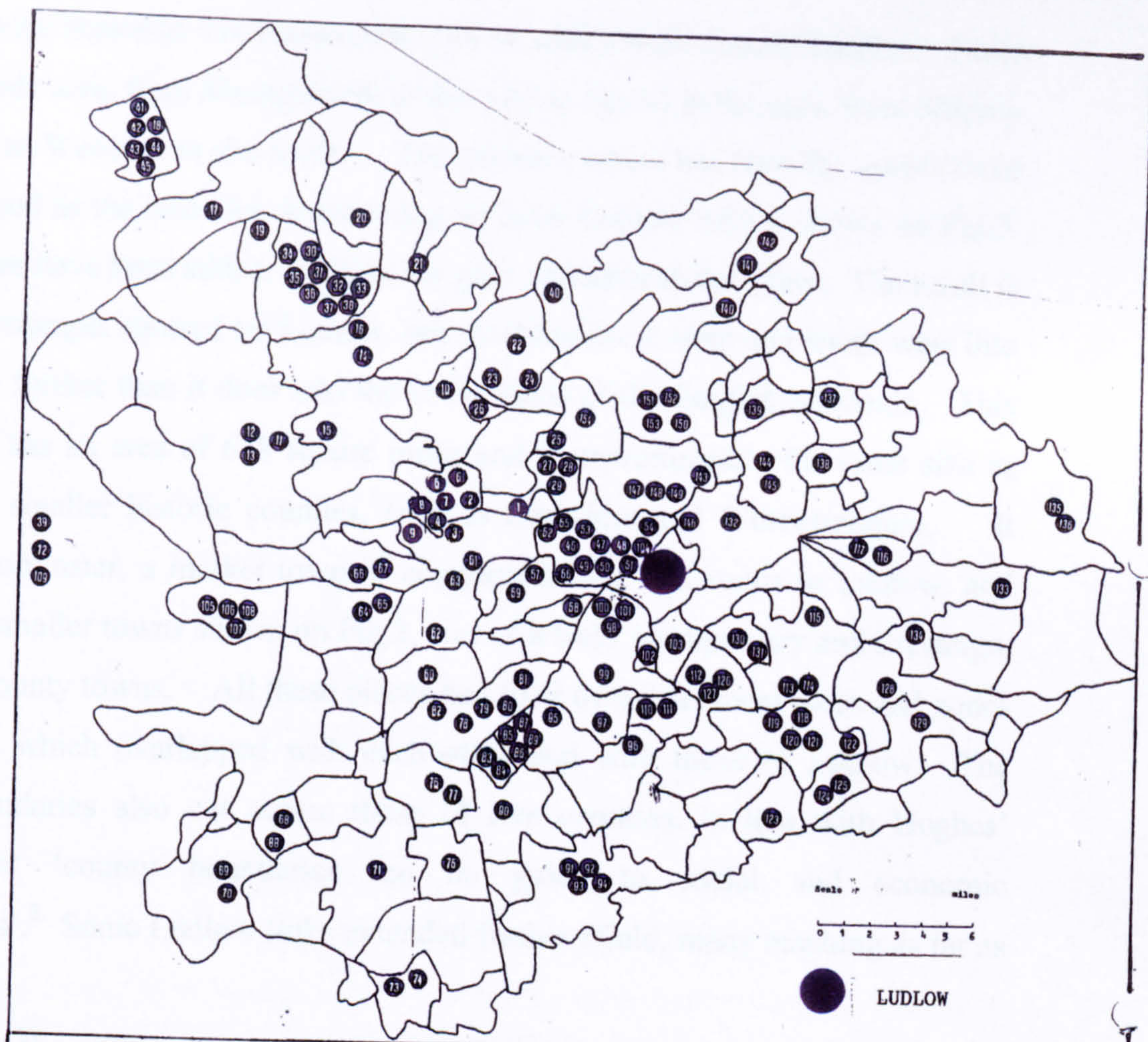
October 1770 have been used to define this outer region.⁴ These grand occasions accompanied the annual change of High and Low Bailiff, the senior officers of the Borough Corporation, and epitomise Ludlow's role as a fashionable social centre for the land-owning gentry and their associates of the surrounding countryside. In 1770

⁴ Shropshire Archives (SA), Ludlow Borough collection (LB), 7/706, 'Invitation of Herbert Cole and William Hodges, Esq. Bayliffs to their Feast on Tuesday 30th October 1770 and to their Balls on Wednesday & Thursday following at the Market House'.

Fig. 3
The Ludlow region including Zone 1 (inner region) and Zone 2 (outer region).

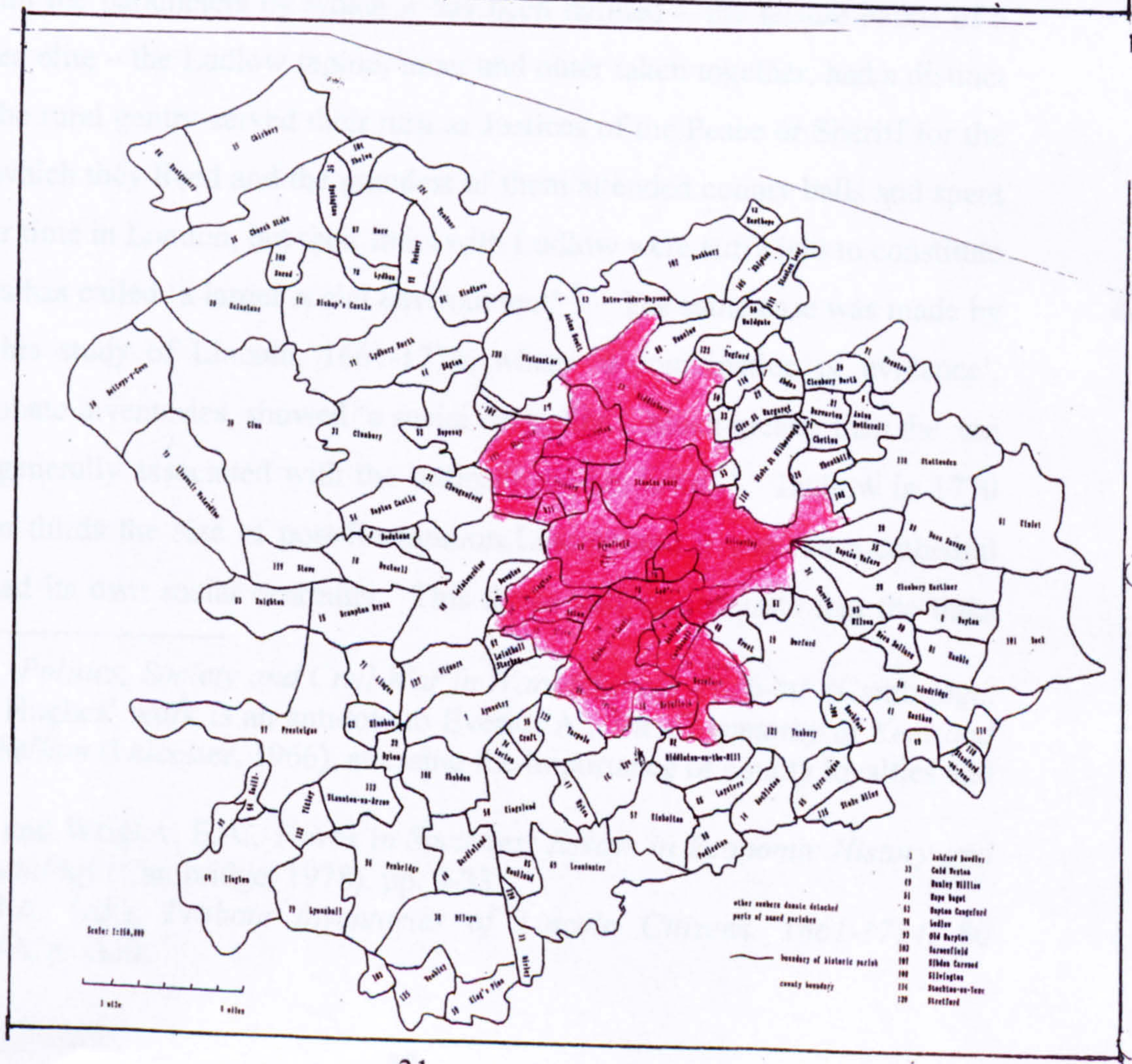
A:
The distribution of people invited to the Ludlow Bailiffs ball, October 1770.

The numbers refer to the order in which the names appear on the invitation list to the ball.



B
The parishes of the Ludlow region.

Zone 1 parishes shaded.



2: The Ludlow region

invitations were issued to 334 households, 154 of which were outside Ludlow. These covered a wide area, from Montgomery in the west to Kinlet in the east, from Shipton in the north to Weobley in the south. The parishes where the Bailiffs' guests lived have been used as the basis for demarcating an outer Ludlow region shown on Fig.3.

- Other parishes have been added, to fill in the gaps and smooth the edges. The result is an irregular triangle, centred on Ludlow, but reaching north west and south west into Wales rather further than it does into the lower lands of the English midlands. This outer region has an area of 678 square miles and is approximately the same size as some of the smaller historic counties, such as Berkshire and Worcestershire. It embraces Leominster, a market town of comparable size and status to Ludlow, and some of the smaller towns shown on Fig.2, two of which, Montgomery and Presteign, were small county towns. All these places had their own catchment areas and zones of influence, which overlapped with each other and with those of Ludlow. The region's boundaries also cut across those of five counties, in line with Hughes' assertion that 'county boundaries are no guide to social and economic characteristics'.⁵ Some Ludlow links extended further afield, many reaching as far as London.

Within the parameters by which it has been defined – the leisure habits of a broadly-based elite – the Ludlow region, inner and outer taken together, had a distinct identity. The rural gentry served their turn as Justices of the Peace or Sheriff for the counties in which they lived and the grandest of them attended county balls and spent some of their time in London, but their links with Ludlow were sufficient to constitute what Abrams has called 'a larger social environment' ⁶ The same case was made by Johnson in his study of Lincoln, 1661-1714, where 'a combination of evidence', including probate inventories, showed 'a social centrality....much greater than the ten mile radius generally associated with the ordinary market town'.⁷ Ludlow in 1770 was only two thirds the size of post-Restoration Lincoln and it was not a cathedral city, but it had its own social centrality. This thesis will demonstrate that the links

⁵ Hughes, A., *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-80* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 1. Hughes' work is an antidote to Everitt, A., *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion* (Leicester, 1966), stressing the importance of county loyalties and affiliations.

⁶ Abrams, P. and Wrigley, E.A., *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 9-33.

⁷ Johnson, J.A. (ed.), *Probate Inventories of Lincoln Citizens, 1661-1714*, 80 (Lincoln, 1991), p. xxiii.

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were political and financial as well as social, and that they involved a much wider section of society than the Ball invitees. Ludlow was shaped and moulded accordingly.

The close links of its regions with Ludlow are reflected by an analysis of probates for Ludlow residents between 1660 and 1760, showing a widespread kinship, friendship and commercial network. Of 430 references to individuals out of Ludlow, 149 (34.6 %) are to the inner region, the largest number being to Bromfield and Stanton Lacy, large parishes adjacent to the town. Another 109 (25.3%) references are to the outer region, with almost exactly the same number, 110 (25.6%), to the remaining parts of Herefordshire, Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire. Of the remaining 62 (14.4%), 41 are to London, which in the early 18th century was attracting ‘approximately ten thousand (people) a year’, the city being their ‘lodestone or magnet’, sucking them into ‘the vortex’.⁸

2: The physical environment

As shown on Fig.4, the Ludlow region is an area of mixed topography and scenery, ranging from bleak upland moorlands in the north west to the lush valley of the Teme in the south east. The many small ‘pays’ or sub-regions reflect great geological diversity, a feature of the Welsh borderland.⁹ Most of the region drains into the Teme or southwards to the Lugg, though the far north west, around Montgomery, is part of the valley of the Rea, which flows to join the Severn at Shrewsbury. The major lowlands of the area carry the larger tributaries of these rivers, such as the Corve and the Arrow, but there are myriad smaller ‘hopes’ or ‘batches’, such as Middlehope above Corvedale or Woodbatch to the west of Bishop’s Castle.¹⁰

The varied relief is matched by climatic diversity. The Welsh massif reduces the moderating influence of the sea, and temperatures are much affected by height and aspect. The region is bisected by the 41 degrees January and 61 degrees July isotherms, with the average annual rainfall ranging from 55 inches in the western

⁸ Ackroyd, P., *London the Biography* (London, 2001), p. 305.

⁹ Sylvester, D., *Rural Landscapes of the Welsh Borderland: A Study in Historical Geography* (London, 1969), p. 319.

¹⁰ Gelling, M., *Place Names in the Landscape* (London, 1984), pp. 12, 111.

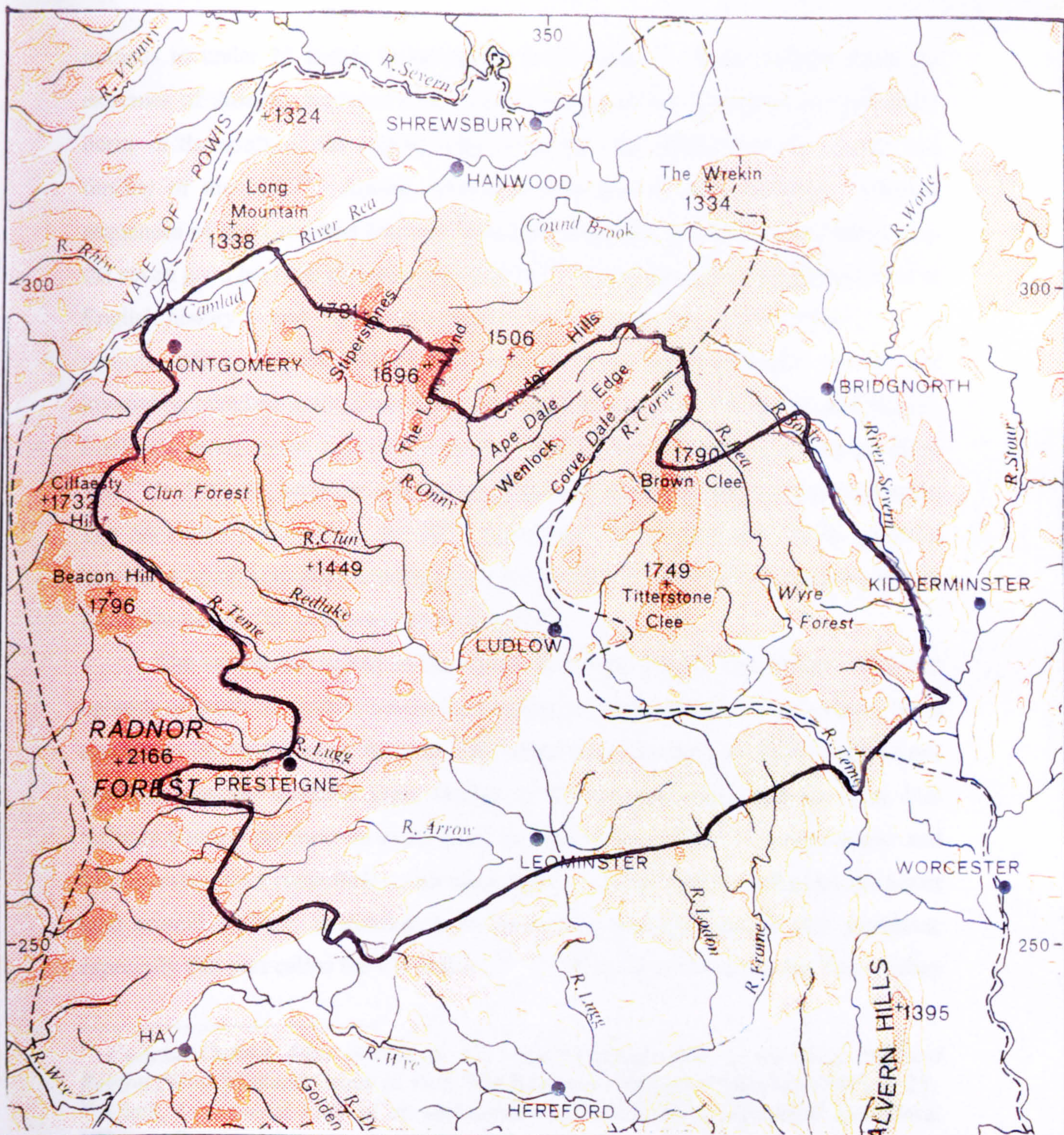
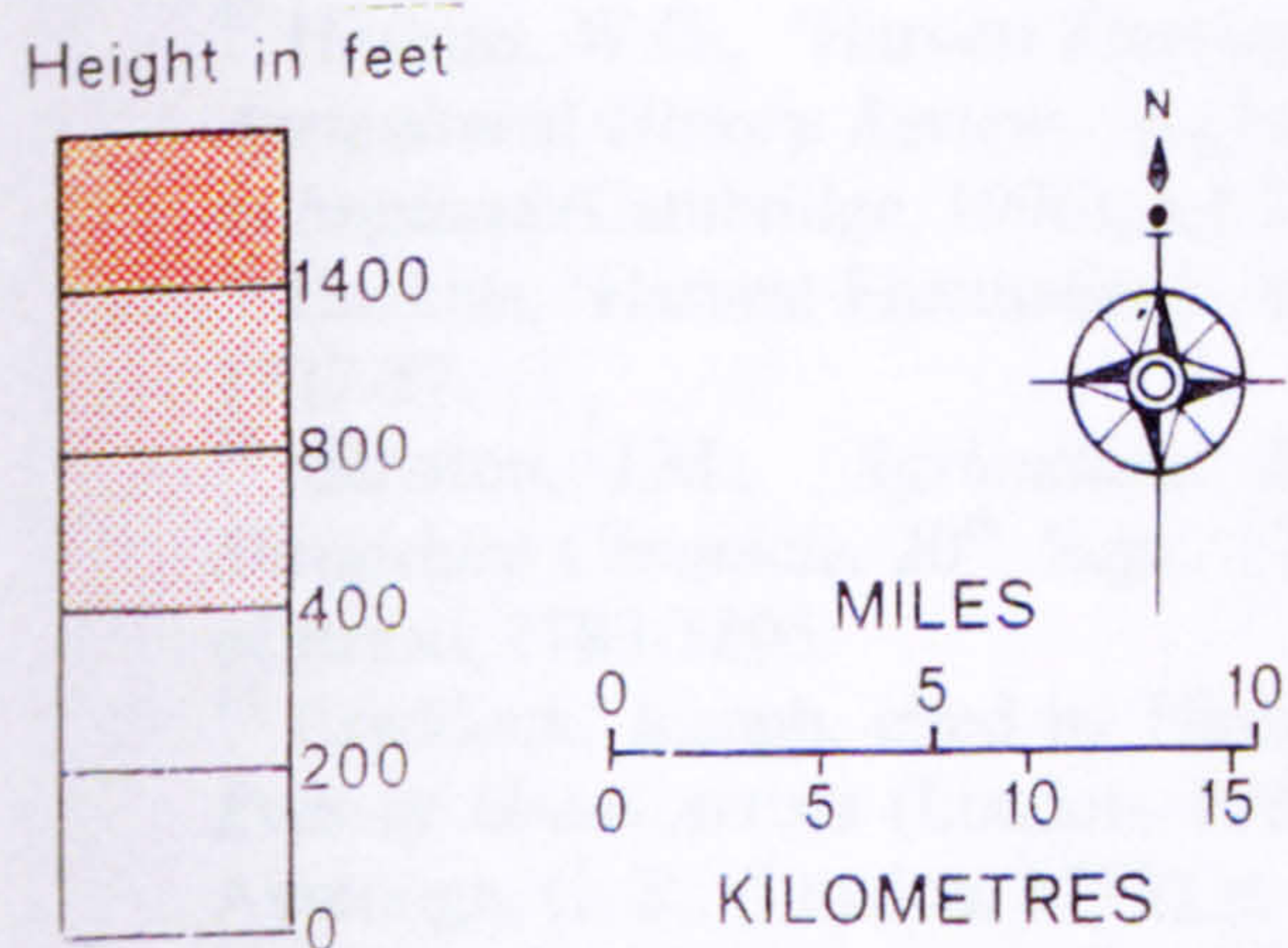


Fig. 4 Topography and drainage of the central Welsh Marches, showing the approximate extent of the Ludlow region.



Earp, J.R. and Hains, B.A., British Regional Geology: The Welsh Borderland, 1971, facing p.1.

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uplands to under 25 inches in the lower Teme valley.¹¹ Such statistics mask the extremes of drought, heat and cold. The most favourable conditions for agriculture occur in the south of the region, long noted for 'the mildness of the climate and fertility of the soil'.¹² Annual variations were also of great moment. National sequences of good and bad harvests have been identified by Hoskins and others, e.g. the seven good harvests between 1665 and 1672 – 'a bounty perhaps unprecedented in English history' - and 'the runs of particularly bad harvests in the 1790s'.¹³ Local records, when available, show that national trends were generally, though not invariably, matched in the Ludlow region. In 1740-41, a year of 'dearth' and 'crisis', Ludlow's bread assize rocketed to 8s 4d, nearly twice the nine year average of 4s 10d.¹⁴ In 1783-84, however, when crops nationally were 'reasonably good' and when *The Shrewsbury Chronicle*, on 20th September 1783, called the 'recent plentiful harvest' a 'great consolation to the poor', the Ludlow assize was 7s, suggesting that in south Shropshire the yield was less favourable.¹⁵

The variety and beauty of the region were often noted. The remote moorland uplands of south Shropshire lacked the 'cataracts and craggy precipices' which lured tourists to North Wales in the later 18th century, but as early as 1756 George Lord Lyttleton, having travelled from Hagley to Caernarvon, wrote that the Clee Hill 'affords a lovely prospect on every side', and found the country between Ludlow and Montgomery 'very romantickin many spots'.¹⁶ Other writers eulogised the lower land around Ludlow, describing it as 'exceeding pleasant, fruitful and populous, especially that part called the *Corvedale*'.¹⁷ In 1802 a traveller along the Teme valley

¹¹ *Concise Oxford Atlas* (1958), p. 11; *Land Classification in the West Midland Region* (West Midland Group of Post-War Reconstruction and Planning, 1947), p. 23.

¹² Clark, J., *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hereford* (Hereford, 1794), p. 9.

¹³ Hoskins, W.G., 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620-1759', *Agricultural History Review*, 16 (1966), p. 21; Overton, M., *Agricultural Revolution in England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 172.

¹⁴ Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations', p. 31; SA, LB, 7/1050, Book of Assize of Bread, 1727-57.

¹⁵ Stratton, J.M., *Agricultural Records, AD.220-1968* (London, 1969), p. 86; *Shropshire Chronicle*, 20th Sept., 1783, p. 3, col. 2; SA, LB, 7/1051, Book of Assize of Bread, 1783-1805.

¹⁶ Craddock, Joseph, cited by Humphreys, R., *The British Landscapes through the Eyes of Great Artists* (London, 1989), p. 145; Lyttleton, Lord George, *Works*, ed. Ayscough, G. E., (London, 1775), p. 714.

¹⁷ *England's Gazetteer* (London, 1751).

2: The Ludlow region

in the Ludlow Mail Coach enthused that ‘the windings of the road gave us every moment a different prospect’, with ‘plantations of hops’ and ‘fine crops of wheat and barley’ climbing the hills ‘to meet the hanging woods’.¹⁸

3: Settlement and Population

In the late 17th century the Ludlow region, like much of the Welsh border, had a dispersed settlement pattern of isolated farmsteads and hamlets, with some nucleated villages and a few small towns.¹⁹ The basic unit was the township: a group of houses and associated land. The Hearth Tax assessments of the early 1670s list 348 townships, many of which recur in the returns of the 1841 census.²⁰ The units used for most administrative purposes were ecclesiastical parishes, of which there were 129 in the Ludlow regions, as shown on Fig. 3.²¹ The parishes varied greatly in size, from small, single township parishes of under 1,000 acres, such as Eyton, Hopton Cangeford and Snead, to very large parishes of more than 10,000 acres, where there were a number of townships, as at Aymstrey, Clun and Pembridge.²²

The Hearth Tax returns and the Compton Census of 1676 can be used to postulate population totals, though Whiteman, in her standard work on the latter, stresses that these can be ‘nothing but estimates’.²³ For the whole area, the estimated totals are 10,262 households listed in the Hearth Tax assessments and 219,664 adults in the Compton Census. The former figure includes the households exempt by certificate (estimated at 43%) and the much smaller of ‘omitted poor’, those excused

¹⁸ *The Monthly Magazine*, Oct. 1802, p. 228.

¹⁹ Sylvester, *Rural Landscape of the Welsh Borderland*, p. 166.

²⁰ Public Record Office (PRO), Exchequer (E), 179/119/493, transcribed in Faraday, M.A., ‘The Hearth Tax in Herefordshire’, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists’ Field Club*, 41 (1973), pp. 77-90, citing, inter alia, the return of Michaelmas, 1671; Faraday, M.A., ‘The Radnorshire Hearth Tax Return of 1670’, transcribed in *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 59 (1989), pp. 29; PRO., E.179 260/10, 25/26 Charles II, Worcestershire Hearth Tax Lady Day 1674; PRO., E.179/168/216, transcribed in Watkins-Pitchford, W. (ed.), *The Shropshire Hearth Tax Roll of 1672*, (Shrewsbury, 1949); Stanford, S.C., *The Archaeology of the Welsh Marches* (London, 1980), p. 238.

²¹ Humphrey-Smith (ed.), *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers*, (Chichester, 1984).

²² House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1841, XXII and XXIII, *Population Enumeration Abstract 1841* (London, 1843), pp. 116, 248, 446, 235.

²³ Whiteman, A., *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition*, British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, new ser., 10 (1986), pp. lxvii, ciii, cvi.

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because of extreme poverty.²⁴ These totals have been multiplied by 4.25 and 1.45 respectively, the figures favoured by Whiteman, to give estimated population totals of 43,613 and 44,496.²⁵ To avoid spurious claims of accuracy, it is probably only safe to say, however, that the population in the 1670s was between 40,000 and 50,000. The figures from the 1801 census, though not totally reliable, are 62,000, while by 1841 the total had reached 77,538.²⁶

In the 1670s nearly 22% of the population of the Ludlow region were living in small market towns, a figure that rose to approximately 26% by 1841. As shown on Fig.5 (p. 38), most of these towns were very small, nine of them having populations under 750 in the 1670s and under 1600 by 1841. Ludlow and Leominster were substantially larger, while Kington, where the market was praised by Blome in 1673 as 'the best in the county for corn, cattle and provisions', occupied an intermediate position.²⁷ The relative positions of the towns with regard to population changed only slightly between the 1670s and 1843, the most striking event being the decline of Weobley.

The Hearth Tax returns show other differences between the countryside and the towns and between Ludlow and other towns. Assuming that the 'exempt' and the 'omitted poor' all lived in houses of one or two hearths, as did many of their chargeable neighbours, the proportion of country-dwellers with one or two hearths was 88%, whereas in the other towns this dropped to 81% and in Ludlow to 64%. Conversely, the proportion of those living in houses with three, four or five hearths was higher in the towns than in the countryside and higher again in Ludlow, while the proportion of people living in houses of six hearths or more was close to 2% in both countryside and in other towns, but in Ludlow was dramatically higher at 11%. These discrepancies are partly due to the small number of large rural houses in the Ludlow region – a feature which will be considered below – but they are also a

²⁴ Husbands, C., 'Hearth Tax Exemptions and the Assessment of Poverty in the Seventeenth Century', in Aldridge, N.J., *The Hearth Tax: Problems and Possibilities* (Hull, 1983), p. 47.

²⁵ Whitman, *The Compton Census of 1676*, pp. lxxvii, ciii.

²⁶ House of Commons Parliamentary papers, *Journal of the House of Commons, 1801-02, VI, Abstracts of Answers and Returns...for taking an account of the Population of Great Britain in 1801, Part 1, England and Wales* (London, 1802), pp. 128-136, 292-97, 394, 486, 494; *ibid*, 1841, XXII & XXIII, *Population Enumeration Abstract 1841* (London, 1843), pp. 112, 114-116, 245-54, 447, 455-56.

²⁷ Blome, R., *Brittania* (London, 1673), p. 117.

Fig.5: Towns in the Ludlow regions, showing estimated population in the 1670s and population in 1841

			Hearth Tax 1670-74 (1)					
Rank	Town	1676	Charged	Charged	% of	1676	1841 (2)	
(1670s)		population	houses	houses	houses in	population		
		(estimated)	in parish	in town	town	in town		
1	Ludlow	1995	340	340	100	1995	5064	
2	Leominster	2468	572	420	73	1814	3892	
3	Kington	1450	336	258	77	1114	2091	
4	Presteigne	1322	239	128	54	714	1407	
5	Bishop's Castle	947	99	66	67	631	1510	
6	Tenbury	902	127	77	61	547	1177	
7	Pembridge	992	227	125	55	545	1317	
8	Weobley	902	129	77	60	543	548	
9	Knighton	658	138	100	72	474	1237	
10	Montgomery	437			100	-	1208	
11	Clun	1235	158	44	28	343	913	
12	Cleobury Mortimer	624	125	64	52	321	1107 (4)	
1	Sourcews given in fn. 20 (p.36).							
2	Town and countryside are not differentiated in the figures for Cleobury Mortimer and Pembridge.							
3	Town and countryside are not differentiated on the Weobley Hearth Tax for Michaelmas 1671, so the							
	proportions of the 1801 census have been used.							
4	64% of the 1841 parish total, the proportion of the town population in 1851.							

measure of the distinctive urban character of Ludlow, which had 60 houses with six or more hearths, compared with 14 at Leominster, the next largest town.

4: Economy

A profile of the diversified economy of the Ludlow region can be constructed from the early nineteenth century census returns, inadequate though these are in some ways. The parish figures of 1801, by recognising two broad categories of employment, bring out the dominance of agriculture, with 22,347 persons employed ‘chiefly in agriculture’ for the whole Ludlow region, as opposed to 6,039 ‘employed chiefly in Trade, Manufacture or Handicraft’.²⁸ A fuller picture is available for

²⁸ HCPP, *Population of Great Britain in 1801, England and Wales*, pp.128-136.

2: The Ludlow region

1841, using census returns for twelve rural parishes, which between them had 8.6% of the rural population of the Ludlow region.²⁹ These show 43.5% of employed persons in agriculture, but another 14.7% in manufacturing, building and mining, and 30.9% in domestic service. Various sources suggest a similar situation before 1800. Agriculture was always the major employment, as suggested by the Burford parish registers, where 71 out of 101 persons buried between 1681 and 1707 were involved with the land, but a range of other occupations were represented.³⁰ A data base of known occupations for the rural parishes of the whole region between 1660 and 1848 confirms the great variety of non-agricultural occupations, with 15 colliers, 27 builders and 130 manufacturers, among them 14 smiths, six wheelwrights, 14 weavers, 16 glovers, 24 shoemakers, 19 tailors and six millers.³¹ Probate inventories have been looked at for 26 manufacturers showing that rural tanners, in particular, were often men of substance, three having valuations over £180.

Such information as is available on land use confirms the primacy of agriculture. This will be described in some detail, because of the involvement of many farmers with Ludlow, through mortgages and in other ways. Tithe Apportionments show that more than four fifths of the tithable land was in agricultural use by the 1840s, while much of the common land was used for 'sheep walks' (open pasture), as mentioned in many sale notices of farms.³² The woodlands were also in commercial use, with timber advertised for sale through out the period.³³ Probate inventories show that farming was practised by many kinds of people. A sample for rural parishes, appraised between 1660 and 1760, include 15 persons styled Sir or Esq., 33 with lesser titles, nine tradesmen, eight clergymen and five colliers, as well as 73 yeomen and husbandmen and a large number of widows. The inventories give some indication of the wealth of farmers, though their limitations must be kept in mind, especially their omission of real estate and of debts owed by the

²⁹ The parishes are: Abdon, Aymestry, Bedstone, Bromfield, Burford, Burrington, Culmington, Eaton-under-Heywood, Shelve, Stockton-on-Teme, Titley.

³⁰ *Burford Parish Register*, Shropshire Parish Register Society, 16 (Shrewsbury, 1913), pp. 92-123.

³¹ Sources include probates, Quarter Session papers and parish registers:

³² See for example *Aris's Gazette*, 1st July, 1754, p. 3, col. 3.

³³ See for example *Gloucester Journal*, 31st Dec., 1722, p. 6, col. 2; *Salopian Journal*, 21st Nov., 1838, p. 3, col. 4.

2: The Ludlow region

testator.³⁴ Some of the wealthiest farmers were Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen, seven of whom had animals and crops exceeding £400 in value.³⁵

Farm size varied across the region, with holdings tending to be larger in 'closed parishes' dominated by a single large estate, and smaller in 'open parishes', where there were more owners.³⁶ Several of the 49 holdings of over 400 acres in the 1840s were demesnes such as Walcot (987 acres), often with substantial parklands as well as working farms.³⁷ In many parishes, most of the land was taken up with medium sized farms, the region having 104 of more than 300 acres, another 451 over 200 acres and 566 more over 100 acres.³⁸ Herefordshire, which had many 'open' parishes, has been described as 'generally the home of smallholders', but even in Orleton, with more than 100 landowners, farms over 100 acres accounted for 46% of the tithable area.³⁹ In some areas, many very small farms occurred, as in 1801 at Hopton Wafers.⁴⁰

Farming in the Ludlow regions was mixed, with animal husbandry the dominant enterprise in most areas.⁴¹ On 295 inventories selected randomly across the area for the period 1660 to 1760, cattle accounted for over a third of the value of animals and crops. Store cattle were the speciality and those for sale were often described effusively, as in 1809, when 70 'thorough bred Herefordshire cattle' were

³⁴ Spufford, M., 'The Limitations of the Probate Inventory', in Chartres, J. and Hey, D., *English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 139-174.

³⁵ PRO, Probate (Prob.) 11/361, Sir William Child, Kinlet, £1,400 4s 3d., 5th May, 1678; Herefordshire Record Office (HRO), wills, administrations and probate inventories (AA/20), Samuel Powell, Esq., Stanage (Brampton Bryan), £1,313 2s, 15th July, 1686; HRO, AA/20, Henry Mitton, Esq., Shipton, £1,875 8s 10d., 17th Dec., 1688; PRO, Prob. 3, 18/271, Francis Herbert, Esq., Bromfield, £14,900, 26th May, 1719; HRO, AA/20, Thomas Reynolds, Gent., Tugford, £3,068 5s., 17th Dec., 1746.

³⁶ Short, B., 'The Evolution of Contrasting Communities within Rural England', in Short, B. (ed.), *The English Rural Community* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 28-31.

³⁷ Oswald, A., 'Walcot Hall, Shropshire', *Country Life*, 14th Oct., 1939, pp. 388-92.

³⁸ PRO, Inland Revenue (IR), 29/29, 1-341, Tithe apportionments and maps, Herefordshire diocese, 1838-48.

³⁹ Thirsk, J., 'The South-West Midlands: Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and Herefordshire', in Thirsk, J. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1640-1750* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 172.

⁴⁰ Dodd, J.P., 'The State of Agriculture in Shropshire, 1725-1825', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society (TSAS)*, 55 (1954-56), pp. 3-4.

⁴¹ Hey, D., 'The North West Midlands: Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire and Shropshire', in Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p. 129.

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marketed at Bromfield, the owner having spared 'no pains in collecting and breeding stock'.⁴² In December 1840 'more than 300 head of cattle were driven from Ludlow and Corvedale for the London market'.⁴³ Dairying was important on most farms and some cheese was produced, though less than in north Shropshire. Dairy cows can be identified on 261 inventories, on 23% of which cheese making equipment occurs.⁴⁴ The value of sheep was much less than that of cattle, but median flock size was higher than in other parts of Shropshire, with 31 flocks of over 100 sheep, all in the northern part of the area.⁴⁵ Pigs were ubiquitous, but accounted for only 5% of the value of all animals. Horses, 'for service, for pleasure, for power', are listed on 219 inventories, accounting for 15% of animal value.⁴⁶

The 1801 crop returns, available for 89 parishes, show that fodder – excluding hay – and bread cereals each occupied about 40% of the cropped acreage.⁴⁷ Thirsk has shown the importance of fodder in a pastoral/corn economy, 'to feed more stock, which manure the land more efficiently and so produced more corn'.⁴⁸ Hay is included in 155 (52%) inventories, with a mean value of £6 18s 4d. Root crops are rare on inventories, though Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, had 15 acres under turnips at Brampton Bryan in 1724.⁴⁹ Dung is rarely listed but muck-wains are more common. By 1801 wheat was the dominant cereal, while hops thrived in the south. Cider was a traditional speciality of Herefordshire, John Macky observing in 1714 that: 'Here they drink nothing but Cyder.....and the very hedges.....are planted with Apple Trees'.⁵⁰

⁴² *Salopian Journal*, 27th Sept., 1809, p. 3, col. 4.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 9th Dec., 1840, p. 2, col. 3.

⁴⁴ Edwards, P.R., '1540-1750: Livestock and Dairy Farming', *Victoria County History, Shropshire IV* (1989), 150-60 (p. 152).

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 151.

⁴⁶ Thirsk, J., *Horses in Early Modern England: For Service, for Pleasure, for Power* (Reading, 1978).

⁴⁷ PRO, Home Office (HO), 67, Survey of Crops, 1801.

⁴⁸ Thirsk, J., 'Seventeenth-Century Agriculture and Social Change', in Thirsk, J. (ed.), *The Rural Economy of England* (London, 1984), p. 188.

⁴⁹ Hereford Public Library (HPL), Herefordshire (H), Brampton Bryan (Bram), BFWD, 'An inventory of the Goods of the Earl of Oxford, 1724'.

⁵⁰ Macky, J., *A Journey through England* (London, 1722), p. 138.

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‘Improvement’ was a persistent theme, as progress was made towards greater productivity of the land, ‘the very essence of the Agricultural Revolution’.⁵¹ Oxen, occurring on 62% of pre-1760 inventories, were gradually replaced by ‘more intelligent and versatile horses’, though a few were still working after 1800.⁵² Clover seems to have come in later than in some nearby areas, but there are references from 1706.⁵³ Artificial watering of meadows was widely practised, while several farms were advertised as ‘near lime’.⁵⁴ Enclosure was well advanced by 1660, especially in Herefordshire, but Tate records 28 Acts for the Ludlow regions between 1765 and 1848, affecting about 6% of the area, much of it around Clun.⁵⁵ A number of mid-17th century innovators lived in or near the Ludlow regions, while some indigenous gentry were later innovators, including Thomas Knight, President of the Horticultural Society in 1811.⁵⁶

The most notable non-agricultural activity was the rural iron industry, encouraged by rapid streams, the availability of limestone and iron ore, and the abundance of woodland for charcoal. Like farming, this will be considered in some detail, because of links with Ludlow. The prime site was at Bringewood on the River Teme four miles from Ludlow.⁵⁷ Its 17th century success was due largely to the Walkers, who leased the premises through three generations.⁵⁸ At the end of their tenure, the Bringewood forge and furnaces, operated with a furnace at Bouldon at the foot of the Clee Hills, were valued at £5,800, including rod and pig iron worth

⁵¹ Langford, P., *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-83* (Oxford, 1992), p. 432; Baugh, G.C. and Hill, R.C., ‘The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1875’, *VCH Shropshire*, IV (1989), p. 177.

⁵² Ibid, p. 188.

⁵³ Edwards, ‘Livestock and Dairy Farming’, p. 153. .

⁵⁴ *Worcester Postman*, 19th Nov., 1736, p. 4; *Aris’s Gazette*, 2nd Sept., 1745, p. 3, col. 3.

⁵⁵ Tate, W.E. and Turner, M.E., *Domesday of English Enclosures and Awards* (Reading, 1978), pp. 133-136, 223-227, 279-283.

⁵⁶ Stubbs, M., ‘John Beale, Philosophical Gardener of Herefordshire’, Part I, *Prelude to the Royal Society (1608-63) Annals of Science* (London, 1982), pp. 465-467; Yarranton, A., *The Improvement improved by a Second Edn. of the Great Improvement of Lands by Clover* (London, 1663); Bagenal, N. B., ‘Thomas Andrew Knight’, *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, 63, part 7 (July 1938), pp. 319-24.

⁵⁷ Lau, Van J., *Bringewood Furnace and Forge – a Preliminary Study* (Longtown, 1979).

⁵⁸ SA, 6001, Purton, Rev. R. C. (4360), folio volume of Shropshire pedigrees, p. 409; College of Arms (Col. of A), RR 19/B/G, Heralds’ Visitation of Shropshire, 1663, p. 27.

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£1,157.⁵⁹ Their bankruptcy in 1694 gave an opportunity for Richard Knight, a dynamic ironmaster from Madley who already had interests in Coalbrookdale, north Shropshire and the Forest of Dean and who had acquired the Bringewood works by 1698.⁶⁰ He and his younger sons integrated Bringewood and other local concerns with partnerships in the west Midlands, including that of the Foleys.⁶¹ They acquired other ironworks, including Charlcott, east of Clee Hill, in 1712.⁶² In 1717 the three furnaces of Bringewood, Bouldon and Charlcott, all operated by Knight, produced 1,250 tons of iron annually, 6.6% of the national total, while the forge at Bringewood, producing 340 tons annually, was estimated to be the third most productive in the country.⁶³ In 1733 the Bringewood works was valued at £8,253 5s, with iron worth £2,346, twice the 1694 figure; while tin and rolling mills were added in 1743.⁶⁴ The Knights kept control until 1783, when Bringewood was let, but the use of coke for smelting was putting ironworks not on coalfields at a disadvantage, and in south Shropshire Titterstone now became pre-eminent.⁶⁵

Coal had been mined on the Clee Hills from the 13th century or earlier.⁶⁶ In the 17th and 18th centuries much of the mining was by small operators, who had horses

⁵⁹ National Library of Wales (NLW), Powis Castle Collection (Powis), 17,883, 'Estimate of the stock at Bringewood forge & furnaces', 26th Aug., 1694/95.

⁶⁰ *London Gazette*, 27th June - 1st July, 1695, 'Commission of bankruptcy against Job Walker, ironmonger, late of Wootton in Shropshire'; *ibid*, 9th -12th July, 1695, 'Assigns of Job Walker will meet at the Feathers, Ludlow, to sell and dispose of effects'; Bull, R. K., 'Some Account of Bringewood Forge and Furnace', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club (TWNFC)*, (Hereford, 1869), 54-59 (p. 55); Page, R., 'Richard and Edward Knight: Ironmasters of Bringewood and Wolverley', *TWNFC*, 43 (1979), pp. 8-9.

⁶¹ Downes, R.L., 'The Stour Partnership 1726-36', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., III (1950), pp. 90-96.

⁶² Mutton, N., 'Charlcott Furnace', *TSAS*, 58 (1965), pp. 84-88. Charlcotte was in Aston Botterell parish.

⁶³ Hulme, E.W., 'Statistical History of the Iron Trade of England and Wales, 1717-50', *Transactions of the Newcomen Soc.*, 9 (1928-29), 12-33 (pp. 21, 31): the figures come from the Fuller MS and are based on a list received from William Ray, a Monmouthshire ironmaster.

⁶⁴ HRO, Knights of Downton Castle papers, T74/302A, 'Inventory of stock belong(in)g to Bringewood Furnace and Forges at Midsummer, 1733'.

⁶⁵ HRO, T74/323, lease to 'William Downing, Richard Price, John Longmore and Benjamin Giles, Co-partners in Bringewood Works', 29th Oct., 1783.

⁶⁶ Trinder, B., *The Industrial Archaeology of Shropshire* (Chichester, 1996), pp. 93-98; Goodwin, K.W.G., 'Hammerman's Hill: the Land, People and Industry of the Titterstone Clee Hill Area of Shropshire from the Sixth to the Eighteenth Centuries', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Keele, 1987.

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for carrying coal and were also subsistence farmers.⁶⁷ There was a ‘necklace of pits’ on the south side of Titterstone, one of them ‘that old fashioned Coalworks’ taken over in 1781 by Thomas Botfield, the entrepreneurial son of a Dawley collier; and in 1841 there were 193 coalminers.⁶⁸ Using local coal, Botfield opened a coke fired furnace at Cornbrook in 1783, while c.1804 another furnace was opened nearby at Knowbury by James George, then the operator at Bringewood.⁶⁹ Bringewood and Cornbrook soon ceased production but Knowbury continued, advertised in 1845 as capable of producing 40 tons of iron a week.⁷⁰ It was part of a complex which produced lime, bricks, tiles, drainage pipes and earthenware, under the management of J. G. Lewis, son-in-law of James George.⁷¹

5: Rural Society

There have been numerous attempts to classify English society of 1660 to 1848, including that made by Gregory King.⁷² Following Wrightson and others, it is useful to simplify many complexities by recognising ‘three broad clusters of social groups’: the gentry, ‘the middling sort’ and the rest, though the problems of definition are recognised.⁷³ The three groups form a broadly based pyramid, with ‘few at the top and many at the bottom’.⁷⁴ Members of all three groups had interactions with Ludlow, if only as patrons of its markets and fairs, or as part of the workforce that sustained the rural economy – which in turn had reverberations in the town. As will be shown in later chapters, the gentry and ‘the middling sort’ were involved in property ownership in Ludlow, in its social and cultural life and in its administration

⁶⁷ For example HRO, AA/20, will and inventory of George Baldwin, Coreley, collier, 28th April, 1690.

⁶⁸ *Shropshire Chronicle*, 6th Jan., 1781, p. 4, col. 2; Trinder, *Industrial Archaeology of Shropshire*, p. 96.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 95; *Salopian Journal*, 15th May, 1816, p. 2, col. 3: obituary of Mr James George.

⁷⁰ *Shropshire Journal*, 11th June, 1845, p. 3, col. 3.

⁷¹ Bagshaw, S., *Directory of Shropshire* (Sheffield, 1851), p. 635; Trinder, *Industrial Archaeology of Shropshire*, p. 96.

⁷² King, Gregory, *Scheme of the Income & Expense of the Several Families of England*, calculated for the year 1688, in Laslett, P., *The World We Have Lost*, 3rd edn. (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 32-33.

⁷³ Wrightson, K., ‘Society: from Crisis to Complacency, 1625-1783’, in Haigh, C. (ed.), *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 1985), 230-236 (p. 230).

⁷⁴ Porter, R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1990), p. 48.

and politics, whereas some members of the gentry lived in the town – regularly or intermittently.

The Ludlow region, like other areas, was dominated socially by a small but diverse group of landowners, described in 1577 as ‘the first degree’, but more generally as ‘the gentry’.⁷⁵ This was an elite with ‘a significance out of all proportion to its size’, owning perhaps two-thirds of the landed acreage of England.⁷⁶ By the eighteenth century, however, the term gentry was being used also for those who had the trappings of gentility, achieved through education, or by commercial or professional success. The titles they carried, Esq., or Gentleman, were often self-ascribed, depending for legitimacy on social acceptance. In most cases, however, rural land owning, either in person or by relatives, was still the defining characteristic, and the gentry, as perceived in this thesis, were a smaller group than those described as ‘independent’ in the 1841 census, or included under the heading ‘nobility and gentry’ in Directories. However defined, there were marked differences of wealth and status among the gentry, sometimes polarised as ‘parish gentry’ and ‘county gentry’.⁷⁷

Making selective use of contemporary sources, more than a hundred gentry families have been identified for each of two periods: 1663 to 1675 and 1840 to 1851. The seventeenth century sources were Heralds’ Visitations, Blome’s *Brittania* (1673) and Hearth Tax assessments.⁷⁸ A range of directories was used for the later period.⁷⁹ These families were widely scattered but were clustered in more fertile areas such as Corvedale and north Herefordshire, while many upland parishes, especially in south west Shropshire and around the Brown Clee, had no resident gentry.

⁷⁵ Harrison’s *Descriptions of England* (London, 1577), reprinted and ed. by Furnivall, F.J., *New Shakespeare Society*, 6th series, I (London, 1877), pt.1, p. 105.

⁷⁶ O’Gorman, F.O., *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832* (London, 1997), p. 13.

⁷⁷ Porter, J.H., ‘The Development of Rural Society’, in Mingay, G.E. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 6, 1750-1850 (Cambridge, 1989), p. 838.

⁷⁸ Col. of Arms, RR 19/B/E, Visitation of Shropshire, 1663; *ibid*, RR 19/B/G, Visitation of Herefordshire, 1683; *ibid*, RR 19/E/E, Visitation of Worcestershire, 1683; Blome, *Brittania*; Hearth Tax assessments (see note 20, p. 36, above for refs.).

⁷⁹ Robson, W., *Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (London, 1840); Bentley, *Directory of Worcestershire* (Worcester, 1841); Pigot & Co., *Commercial Directory, Herefordshire* (Manchester, 1844); Pigot & Co., *Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1844); Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer and Directory, Shropshire*; Lascelles, *Directory of Herefordshire* (Birmingham, 1851).

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Many families that were important at the beginning of the period, such as Barnaby of Bockleton and Powys of Bitterley, had died out in the male line by the 1840s.⁸⁰ The impact of new families was considerable, some of them coming, like the Batemans or the Knights, from spectacular careers in commerce or manufacturing, supporting the dictum that ‘the ultimate proof of success in business was the ability to leave it’.⁸¹ This gentry society was far from introverted, the number of post-Restoration marriages within the Ludlow region being matched by those outside, while two of the most prominent local families – the Charltons of Ludford and the Harleys of Brampton Bryan – were among those who replenished their wealth by marriages with the Foleys of Great Witley, ‘the most notable’ of the Midlands metalworkers.⁸² Long established families, whose members served through the generations on the bench or as County Sheriffs, were the backbone of local society. Forty three families resident in the Ludlow region supplied Sheriffs for their counties, while a number living in Herefordshire and Shropshire held that office in Welsh counties, e.g. Francis Herbert of Bromfield for Montgomeryshire in 1710 and John Pateshall of Pudleston for Radnorshire in 1747.⁸³

In the 1670s the Ludlow region had no resident peer, while only seven gentry – 5% of the total – ranked higher than Esq., compared to 16.5% estimated for the whole country in 1688 by Gregory King.⁸⁴ By the 1840s there were three peers and twelve knights but due to the inflation of honours, this was still less than the national proportion. Hearth Tax evidence supports the view that the Ludlow region gentry were of modest circumstances, only twelve having 15 or more hearths compared to

⁸⁰ *VCH, Worcestershire*, IV (London, 1924), p. 243; Robinson, C.H., *A History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire*, 1872 (Almley, 2001), p. 55; *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1921-22), XVI, p. 269, Sir Thomas Powys, 1649-1719.

⁸¹ Cannadine, D., cited by Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 72.

⁸² McInnes, A., *Robert Harley, Puritan Politician* (London, 1970), pp. 178-79; SA, Ludford Collection (11), settlement for marriage of Blunden Charlton and Mary Foley, 4th March, 1703.

⁸³ Duncomb, J., *History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford* (Hereford, 1804); Nichollas, T., *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales*, 2 (London, 1875); Blakeway, Revd. J.B., *The Sheriffs of Shropshire* (Shrewsbury, 1831).

⁸⁴ King, Scheme of the Income and Expenditure of the Several Families of England, in Laslett, *The World We Have Lost*, pp. 32-33.

twice that number in the fertile Vale of Glamorgan, while no house had more than 20 or more hearths, compared to 50 in prosperous Suffolk.⁸⁵

There is evidence to suggest that some estates in the Ludlow region grew during the eighteenth century, that of the Harleys of Brampton Bryan, for example, increasing its annual income from 'about £1,500' in the mid-seventeenth century to £3,233 15s 3d in 1740-41.⁸⁶ This resulted in the pattern of land-ownership shown by the Tithe Apportionments together with the holdings of major land-owners recorded by the Parliamentary survey of 1873.⁸⁷ Nearly all the landowners had at least one residence in the Ludlow region. There was no single dominant owner, though the Earl of Powis and his brother Robert Clive together held nearly a fifth of the land. The Craven estate had been acquired in the 17th century by the daughter of a Shropshire Whitmore and widow of Sir William Craven, a rich merchant tailor who was Lord Mayor of London.⁸⁸ There were four other estates over 7,000 acres, spread across eight, nine or ten parishes, and then 18 estates of between 5,000 and 1,000 acres, most of them in six or less parishes. These included a small part of the properties of two Durham based aristocrats: the Duke of Cleveland, one of the country's top 44 landowners, and Viscount Boyne, whose occasional residence was at Burwarton.⁸⁹ The marriage in 1796 of Gustavus Hamilton, a young army officer who became the sixth Viscount Boyne in 1826, to Harriet Baugh, daughter of Ludlow's Town Clerk and heiress to Burwarton, was a fairy tale romance epitomising the role of Ludlow as a place of social contact and marriage marketing.⁹⁰

The rise of the Herberts of Bromfield, and the marriage of their heiress to Edward Clive in 1783, is the most spectacular advance made by a gentry family in this region. As shown in Fig.6 (p. 48), the descendants of Sir William ap Thomas (d.1466) of Monmouthshire, a retainer of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, included two of the most illustrious peerages of England, the Dukes of Beaufort and the Earls

⁸⁵ Jenkins, P., *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry 1640-1790* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 20-35; *Suffolk Green Books*, 11 (Bury St Edmund's, 1905).

⁸⁶ HPL, BRAM/BFX10, Statement of James Davies, accountant to the Earl of Oxford.

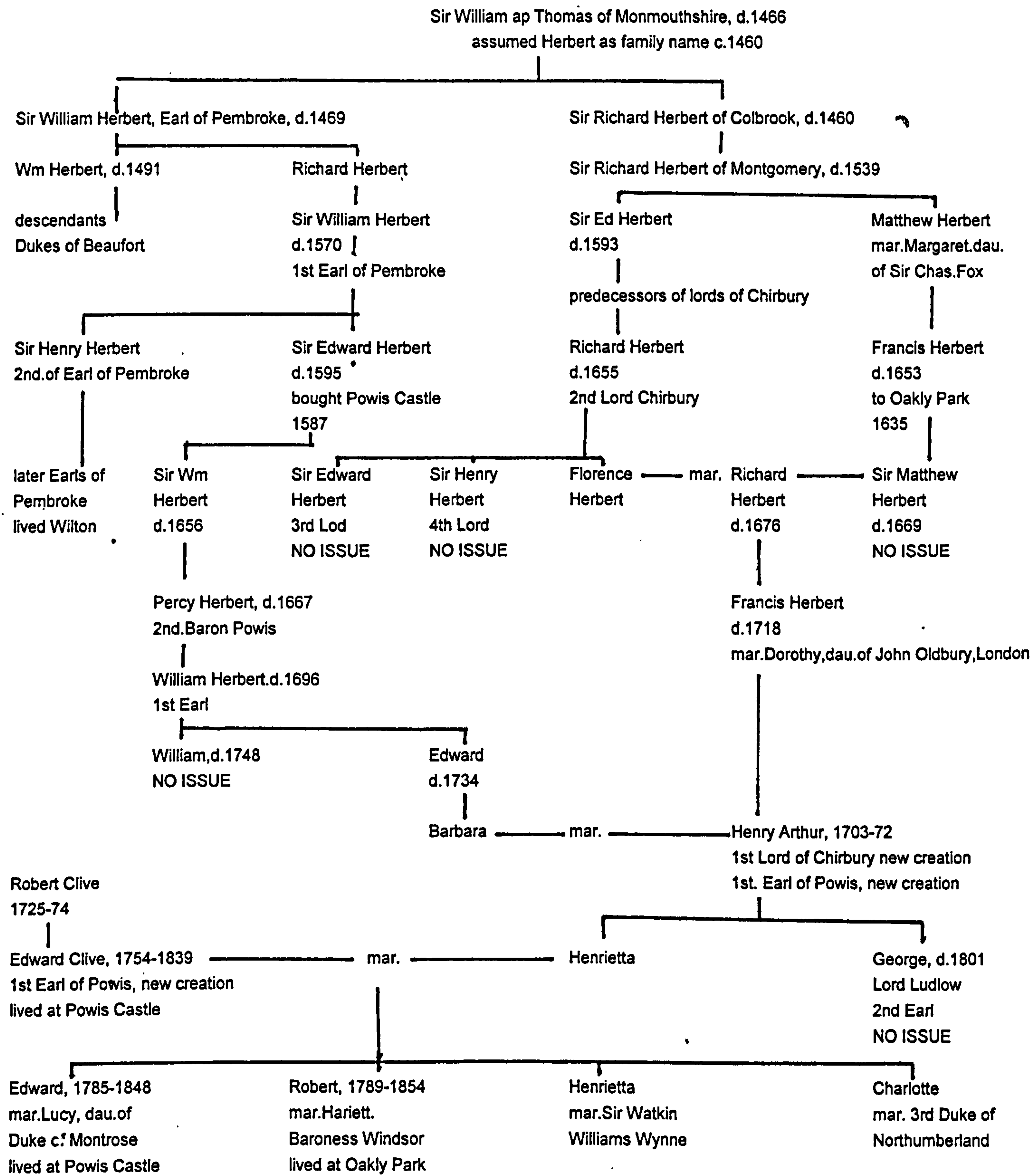
⁸⁷ Bateman, J., *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (1883; reprinted Leicester, 1971).

⁸⁸ Cockayne, G.E., *The Complete Peerage*, III (London, 1913), pp. 500-06.

⁸⁹ Ibid, II (1912), pp. 267-68.

⁹⁰ *Ludlow Parish Registers, 1558-1812*, 2 (Shrewsbury, 1915), p. 1220; Oman, C., *Ayot Rectory* (London, 1965), p. 28.

Fig. 6: A simplified pedigree of the Herbert family, showing recurring links between the residents of Powis Castle, Montgomeryshire and Oakly Park, Bromfield.



a) Smith, W.J. (ed.), Herbert Correspondence (Cardiff), 1968), pedigree facing p. 214.
Burke, Peerage and Baronetage (London, 1959), pp. 1833-34.
Owen, R., The Fifteen Principal Families of Powys (1901)

Abbreviations: d: died dau: daughter mar.:married

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of Pembroke. A relative purchased Powis Castle in 1587, while another branch included the diplomat, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and his brother George Herbert, the poet and divine.⁹¹ It was a less conspicuous member of the family, Matthew, who acquired Bromfield by marrying the heiress of Sir Charles Fox, one of a family of lawyers who thrived at the Reformation, acquiring the dissolved Bromfield Priory and the adjoining Oakly Park.⁹²

Richard Herbert, Matthew's grandson, was a landowner of modest means, with an annual income said to be £700 a year in 1662.⁹³ His marriage to the daughter of the second Lord Chirbury seemed unremarkable, but with both her brothers dying heirless, it eventually brought him great riches, including estates at Castle Island in Ireland. In 1683 it was claimed that the Castle Island estate 'was the second or third best manor' in Ireland.⁹⁴ A marriage settlement of 1701, when Francis married Dorothy, daughter of John Oldbury of London, merchant, refers to the manor of Bromfield and other messuages as having a yearly value of £1,321 12s 10d; it agrees to increase Dorothy's jointer to £2,000 a year, if her fortune, 'when it comes in', amounts to £20,000.⁹⁵ The improved standing of the Bromfield Herberts is reflected by the probate inventory of Richard's son, Francis, valued in 1719 at over £14,000.⁹⁶ This economic base was the springboard for the career of the eldest son, Henry Arthur Herbert, who married the heiress of the Powis Castle Herberts, and who himself became Earl of Powis by a new creation in 1748.⁹⁷ The interaction of the Herberts with Ludlow during this ascendancy is a theme of this thesis.

The most serious challenge to Powis supremacy came in the 1760s, when Robert Clive of India – 'the young Nabob', as a Bromfield man described him – became a force in Shropshire, buying Walcot and later Oakly Park.⁹⁸ The Herbert male line died in the next generation but the Powis estates were preserved and

⁹¹ *DNB*, 1X, pp. 624-31, Edward Herbert 1583-1648; pp. 636-39, George Herbert, 1593-1633.

⁹² Weyman, H., 'Some Account of the early History of the Foxe family', *TSAS*, ser.2, xii (1900), 113-190 (pp. 116-117, 137-139, 154-158, 169).

⁹³ Burke, J., *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* (London, 1854), p. 694.

⁹⁴ Hussey, C., 'Oakly Park, Shropshire', *Country Life*, 1st March 1956, p.381; Smith, W.J. (ed.), *Herbert Correspondence* (Cardiff, 1968), pp. 9, 281.

⁹⁵ SA, Oakly Park Collection (20), 14/74, marriage settlement, 21st Feb., 1701/02.

⁹⁶ PRO, Prob.3, 18/271, inventory of Francis Herbert, Esq., 26th May, 1719.

⁹⁷ Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, X pp. 650-51.

⁹⁸ Letters of the Hodges family, 1757-77, no.13, 3rd Aug., 1760.

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expanded when the heiress married Edward Clive, Robert's eldest son.⁹⁹ In 1804 the Earldom of Powis was again recreated for Edward, following service in India as Governor of Madras.¹⁰⁰ With seats at Walcot and Oakly as well as Powis, and with their four children marrying well, two of them to the offspring of dukes, the family were now unchallenged as the social leviathans of the Ludlow region.¹⁰¹

A miscellaneous group immediately below the gentry in the social hierarchy is often seen by historians as the 'middling sort'.¹⁰² These included the 'richer freeholders and tenant farmers', those whom contemporaries often called 'yeomen'.¹⁰³ The term originally stood for a freehold farmer, but by the mid-seventeenth century it meant 'those who farmed considerable acreages'.¹⁰⁴ In the Ludlow region after 1660 some yeomen were called 'Mr' in the Hearth Tax assessments and inter-married with the lesser gentry, while others seem to be indistinguishable from husbandmen, once their clear social inferiors. 'Yeoman' is used to describe the deceased on 71 wills/inventories in the Ludlow region sample, though it can be inferred that many others were of this group. Valuations ranged from several over £500, such as Charles Powell of Bromfield, appraised at £970 5s in 1719, to James Griffiths of Wigmore, appraised at £19 10s in 1747.¹⁰⁵

Excluding the gentry, tithe apportionments list some 920 farmers with 100 acres or more, the great majority having between 100 and 300 acres. Of these, only 73 (8%) were freeholders, the remainder being tenant farmers. 'Tenant farmers' were 'increasingly the most visible power in rural society', and in 1803 Plymley wondered whether on some Shropshire manors 'tenure is not preferable to freehold'.¹⁰⁶ Leases for three lives, with a large entry fine, persisted late in some parts of the region, but were usually replaced by rack renting, giving landlords a higher average income.¹⁰⁷ With tithes, land tax and poor rates, rents comprised about a third of the outgoings on

⁹⁹ Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, X, p. 653.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 652.

¹⁰¹ *Salopian Journal*, 22nd May, 1839, p. 2, col. 4, obituary of Earl of Powis.

¹⁰² Wrightson, K., 'Sorts of People in Tudor and Stuart England', in Barry, J. and Brooks, C. (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People* (London, 1994), 28-51 (p. 49).

¹⁰³ Rogers, N., 'The Middling Sort in Eighteenth Century Politics', in Barry and Brooks, *The Middling Sort of People*, 159-80 (p. 161).

¹⁰⁴ Wrightson, K., *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 1982) p. 134.

¹⁰⁵ HRO, AA/20, 14th Sept., 1719; *ibid*, 8th June, 1747.

¹⁰⁶ Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, pp. 437-38; Plymley, J., *General View of the Agriculture of Shropshire* (London, 1803), p. 93.

¹⁰⁷ *VCH, Shropshire*, IV (1989), pp. 139, 212, 213.

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most farms, but with the growth in output many farmers, tenants as well as freeholders, were able to make substantial profits, some of which, it will be shown, were invested in Ludlow properties, either directly or by mortgage.¹⁰⁸ A number of farmers had high probate valuations after 1790, and sale notices indicate a good living standard.¹⁰⁹ Not all farmers were prosperous, however, and in some areas, especially on small holdings, 'food production was at subsistence level with little or no margin'.¹¹⁰

Among the yeoman farmers, dynasties and kinship networks are apparent, part of what Everitt has called 'the regional farming network of England'.¹¹¹ Using uncommon surnames, clusters can be detected on the tithe apportionments, and some names can be traced through from the Hearth Tax assessments of the 1670s. Clusters included Astwoods at Burrington and Leintwardine and Proudman at Kingsland. Names traceable from the Hearth Tax assessments include Amies at Stottesdon, Mansell at Acton Scott and Wheelers in a number of parishes around Tenbury. Migrants within the region included the Bachs, who were at Hopton Castle in 1672, and later farmed extensively at Hopesay, Culmington, Onibury and Stokesay. There were also migrants from outside the region, such as the Hamers. They were not represented in the Hearth Tax assessments but by the 1840s nine Hamers had farms of more than 100 acres at Bettys-ye-Crwn, Clun, Clunbury and Lydbury North.

At the heart of 'the middling sort' were members of the professions, distinguished, in most cases, by their 'specialised knowledge', 'regulated training' and 'corporate self-awareness'.¹¹² Many lawyers, doctors and clergymen were members of the land of the land owning gentry, and the social cohesion of this elite group – gentry and members of the professions together – is a feature of the period. Examples were William Holland, a Ludlow attorney in 1667, who was the son of

¹⁰⁸ Overton, M., *Agricultural Revolution in England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 70-76.

¹⁰⁹ For example HRO, AA/20, will of James George, Bitterley, 21st Jan., 1813; *ibid*, will of Francis Southern, Lydbury North, 9th April, 1822; Shropshire County Museum, Ludlow Resource Centre (SCM), Griffiths Scrapbook, sale notices and other ephemera by the Ludlow printer and stationer Thomas Griffiths, 1816-26.

¹¹⁰ Dodd, 'The state of agriculture in Shropshire, 1775-1825', p. 3.

¹¹¹ Everitt, A., 'Dynasty and Community since the Seventeenth Century', in Everitt, A. (ed.), *Landscape and Community in England* (London, 1985), p. 319.

¹¹² Holmes, G., *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680-1730* (London, 1982), pp. 3, 8, 9.

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Thomas Holland of Burwarton, Esq., and Dr Francis Bayley (d.1728), a Ludlow physician, who was son-in-law of Mrs Ursula Cornewall of Burford.¹¹³

Encouraged by the presence of the Council of the Marches (see pp. 64-69), high social standing was a particular feature of post-Restoration lawyers in the Ludlow region, many of whom were land owning gentry. Of this group four became judges and six sergeants at law, while two served as Solicitor General and one, Sir Thomas Powys of Henley Hall as Attorney General in 1687.¹¹⁴ Much involved in the affairs of the time – Sir Thomas Walcot presided over the trial of Titus Oates, and Sir Thomas Powys prosecuted the seven bishops – these men, with politicians such as Robert Harley, provided a bridge between national affairs and those of the Welsh border, and may have contributed to the climate of fashion and opinion that shaped post-Restoration Ludlow. In the eighteenth century the law was often a route into land-owning gentry status, an example being Somerset Davies, attorney, whose son purchased Croft Castle in 1783.¹¹⁵

In the 18th and 19th centuries nearly all lawyers practised in the towns, but medical men and clergy were more widely scattered. Of 23 licensed surgeons in 1771, 13 were in the towns – five in Ludlow – but the rest were in villages such as Lingen, Stoke St. Milborough and Wistanstow.¹¹⁶ The largest and most widely scattered professional group were the clergy, though Hearth Tax assessments suggest that in the 1670s their living standards were variable. Plurality was greater at the end of the period than at the beginning, by which time kinship links with the gentry had clearly increased, an example being George Clive, Vicar of Bishop's Castle, and also

¹¹³ Purton, R.C. and James, R.R., 'Burwarton', *TSAS*, 4th ser., 4 (1915), 77-96 (p. 88); HRO, AA/20, will of Dr Francis Bayley, 4th March, 1728.

¹¹⁴ Samuel Balwyn, Esq., Stokesay (Blome, *Brittania*, p. 419); Sir Job Charlton, Ludford, Sergeant at Law, Chief Justice of Chester (*DNB*, IV, pp. 24-25); Timothy Littleton, Esq., High Court Judge (Henning, B. (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons* (London, 1983), II, p. 753); Sir William Childe, Kinlet, Master in Chancery (Blome, *Brittania*, p. 77); Edward Lutwych, Esq., Easthope, Sergeant at Law, King's Sergeant (Henning, *The History of Parliament, 1660-90*, II, p. 783); Sir Littleton Powys, Bitterley, Sergeant at Law, King's Bench (*DNB*, XVI, p. 269); Thomas Walcot, Esq., Chief Justice of South Wales, King's Bench, Sergeant at Law (Henning: *The History of Parliament, 1660-90*, III, p. 648); Sir Francis Winnington, Stanford-on-Teme, Attorney General to Duke of York, Solicitor General, 1675 (*DNB*, XXI, p. 668).

¹¹⁵ Robinson, Rev. C.J., *A History of the Castles of Herefordshire* (Hereford 1869), p. 80.

¹¹⁶ HRO, Hereford Diocese (HD), 5/4/36, Episcopal Visitation Book, 1759-77, entry for 27th June, 1771.

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Rector of Montford and Rector of Shrawardine, who was sixth son of William Clive, M.P. and brother of Henry Clive, M. P. for Ludlow 1847 to 1852.¹¹⁷ Analysis of clerical patronage also affirms the influence of the gentry, who had presented 51 of the 129 incumbents in 1841.¹¹⁸

In towns, tradesmen and manufacturers can often be shown to be members of the 'middling sort', but in the countryside such categorisation is more difficult. From those with such occupations on the data base referred to above (p. 31), for example, only William Crump of Richard's Castle, grocer, who died in 1726, had an inventory suggestive of the kind of lifestyle associated with 'the middling sort'.¹¹⁹

The nine women identified in the 1840 to 1851 list of landowning gentry in the Ludlow district were widows, who had inherited their husbands' estates and status. Examples were Mrs Salwey of The Lodge, Richard's Castle, and Lady Syer of Stone House, Stokesay.¹²⁰ The same was true for those from professional families, such as Mary Rushbatch, the widow of John Rushbatch, Rector of Corley, who was described as Mrs Mary Rushbatch on her inventory exhibited in 1689.¹²¹ In most cases, however, there is insufficient evidence to judge whether a female testator is 'of the middling sort' or not.

6: Perception and accessibility

The Ludlow region has often been seen as remote, though the town is only a few miles further from London than Bristol, Lincoln or Nottingham.¹²² In October 1655 the London architect John Webb declined to visit Edward Harley 'about some building you intend there', it being 'a large journey ye season considered'.¹²³ Three of the routes designated 'Principal Roads' in Ogilby's *Brittania* of 1675 traversed the region, and during the time of the Council of the Marches Ludlow had a direct post

¹¹⁷ Bannister, A.B., *Diocese of Hereford Institutions, 1539-1900* (Hereford, 1923), p. 153; Weyman, H.T., 'The Members of Parliament for Ludlow', *TSAS*, ser. 2, vii (1895), 1-54 (p. 51)

¹¹⁸ Bannister, *Diocese of Hereford Institutions*, pp. 127-157.

¹¹⁹ HRO, AA/20, inventory of William Crump, 7th July, 1726. Inventoried items included 'one silver cup and six silver spoons'.

¹²⁰ *Robson, 1840*, p. 64; *Bagshaw, 1851*, p. 552.

¹²¹ Bannister, *Diocese of Hereford Institutions*, p. 36; HRO, AA/20, inventory of Mary Rushbach, 4th Dec., 1688.

¹²² *Automobile Association, Members' Handbook* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 218-219.

¹²³ Letter from John Webb to the Hon. Edward Harley, Welbeck Abbey MS., cited in *The Wren Society*, 18 (1941). pp. 154-155.

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via Oxford and Worcester.¹²⁴ In the eighteenth century, however, the gentry usually took seven days to reach London, though Sir Francis Charlton's coachman boasted in old age that he did it in six.¹²⁵ Goods and less affluent passengers went by slower moving carriers, but the time taken was comparable, due to travelling longer hours, often day and night continuously. In July 1684, for example, pictures for Lord Herbert from London had been sent 'this day' by the Ludlow carrier to Oakly Park, 'where they will be this day seventide'.¹²⁶ By April 1715 Thomas Wellings was claiming in *The Worcester Postman* that he 'setteth out of Ludlow with his Waggon upon Monday next', arriving in London 'the Friday following'.¹²⁷

Travel within the region was notoriously difficult. In 1789 the Cambridge don Henry Gunning found the roads of north Herefordshire 'impassable after the autumn rains', so that intercourse between females of neighbouring families was suspended until April, unless 'they would ride pillion'.¹²⁸ On occasion, local society was also derided, as in 1795, when Katherine Plymly of Longnor was sorry for Dr Babington, 'a very amiable young man', because he was 'about to settle in a place (Ludlow)...of bad roads and long journeys...and where he will find the society little suited to him'.¹²⁹ In fact, local society was not without sparkle, as appreciated by the poet Robert Southey, who found that Shobdon, where his aunt lived, 'though a remote place, gavegreat opportunities of society', Gainsborough being among those who visited the cultured Lord Bateman.¹³⁰ Fanny, daughter of Thomas Knight, describes what she calls 'good society' at Downton, among them Lord Aberdeen and the scientist Sir Humphrey Davy.¹³¹

¹²⁴ Ogilby, J., *Brittania, Volume the First, or, an illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales by a Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Roads thereof* (London, 1695); Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC), 14, *Rutland MS* (London, 1905), p. 510, letter dated 17th Dec., 1692, Sir Edward Harley to Robert Harley at Westminster.

¹²⁵ *Salopian Journal*, 14th Jan., 1829, p. 2, col. 2.

¹²⁶ *Herbert Correspondence: the 16th and 17th century letters of the Herberts of Chirbury, Powis Castle and Dolguog*, ed. Smith, W.J. (Cardiff, 1968), p. 523.

¹²⁷ *Worcester Postman*, no.302, 1st-8th April 1715, p. 5.

¹²⁸ Gunning, H., *Reminiscences of the University, Town and Country* (London, 1854), p. 100.

¹²⁹ SA, Journals of Miss Katherine Plymley (1066), vol. 35 (1795), p. 19.

¹³⁰ Southey, Revd. E. (ed.), *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, 1 (London, 1849), p. 29.

¹³¹ Inglis-Jones, E., 'The Knights of Downton Castle II', *The National Library of Wales Journal*, 15 (1967-68), 365-88 (pp. 372-73).

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The region was also known for its folk-lore and superstitions, a note caught by the novelist Mary Webb when she described Clun Forest as 'half in Faery and half out of it'.¹³² Historians from John Aubrey to Keith Thomas have quarried oral traditions and ecclesiastical court records to reveal such customs as 'sinne-eating', funeral cakes and talismans, while 'Wisemen' and 'Wisewomen' were found in Corvedale and around the Clee Hills.¹³³ As in Hardy's Wessex, the sale of a wife was accepted as an alternative to divorce, as at Ludlow's market in 1814, when John Hall sold his wife by public auction for 2s 6d.¹³⁴ This was said to be 'comformable to a public law', though it had no legal validity.¹³⁵ In contrast, the region produced many people who were advanced thinkers for their time, among them Dr Bray (1656-1730) of Chirbury, founder of the S.P.C.K.; the botanist Robert More (1703-1780), an associate of Linnaeus; and Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) of Downton, a distinguished Greek scholar and the leading numismatist of his day.¹³⁶ It was in this context of remoteness and backwardness on one hand, and culture and advanced thinking on the other, that the ideas which changed Ludlow were conceived and developed.

The 1686 census of inns, taken for military purposes, provides another way of assessing communications in the Ludlow region.¹³⁷ This has been used by a number of historians, but a scholarly assessment of its quality has yet to be made. The number of stables available is shown on Fig. 7 (p.56). If stabling reflects movement and therefore economic activity, then Ludlow was something of a backwater, as is consistent with low land tax assessments in 1692.¹³⁸ Ludlow ranks below several

¹³² Webb, M., *Seven for a Secret* (London, 1922, 1928 edn.), p. 17.

¹³³ Aubrey, J., British Library (BL), Landsdowne MSS, *Remnants of Gentilism and Judaisme*, p. 35; Thomas, K., *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971; Harmondsworth, 1973), pp. 605, 609; Burne, C., *Shropshire Folklore* (London, 1883), pp. 38, 40, 107, 108, 192, 305, 366, 367, 368.

¹³⁴ *Shropshire Chronicle*, 5th Aug., 1814, p. 3, col. 4.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ *DNB*, II, pp. 1147-49, Dr Thomas Bray, 1656-1730; XIII, p. 875, Robert More, 1703-80; XI, pp. 259-61, Richard Payne Knight, 1750-1824.

¹³⁷ PRO, War Office (WO), 30/48; for example Everitt, A., 'The English Urban Inn 1560-1760', in Everitt, A., *Perspectives in English Urban History* (London, 1973), 91-137.

¹³⁸ Andrews, J.H., 'Some statistical maps of Defoe's England', *Geographical Studies*, 3 (1956), p. 44, using data from Browning, A., *English Historical Documents*, VIII 1660-1714 (London, 1953), pp. 318-322.

Fig.7: The stabling capacity of towns in the Ludlow region in 1686, with other towns for comparison (a)

Towns in the Ludlow region				Selected other towns			
Rank	Town		Stables	Rank	Town		Stables
				1	St Albans		1411
				2	Bristol		1377
				57	Shrewsbury		394
				66=	Worcester		358
				82	Bridgnorth		312
				121	Market Drayton		220
				142=	Newport (Salop)		189
156=	Ludlow		173				
				172	Whitchurch		147
221=	Leominster		109				
				225=	Kidderminster		106
				234=	Hereford		102
towns with stabling for less than 100 horses have not been ranked							
	Kington		77		Much Wenlock		77
					Oswestry		76
					Wem		73
					Wellington		68
					Ross on Wye		64
					Bewdley		63
					Bromyard		62
					Ellesmere		32
	Tenbury		27				
	Cleobury Mortimer		16				
					Welshpool		15
					Newtown		10
	Montgomery		7				
a)	PRO WO 30/48:	Abstract of a Particular Account of all the Inns and Alehouses in England with their					
		Stable Room and Bedding in the Year 1686. Only stabling is shown here.					
		There are no returns for Radnorshire.					

Hereford, well behind Shrewsbury and Worcester, and the very low figures for Welsh towns are other features which had repercussions on the Ludlow region.

Measures to ameliorate this situation were taken in the 18th and early 19th centuries, many of them a response to wider economic forces. In 1725 there was an Act of Parliament to turnpike Watling Street from London to Shrewsbury, and before

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1730 a turnpike from Gloucester had reached Hereford and Leominster.¹⁴⁰ In 1751 and 1756, 'the age of turnpike mania' the 1st and 2nd Ludlow Turnpike Acts brought improvements to a network of roads radiating from Ludlow.¹⁴¹ In 1771, however, Lybbe Powis found some of the turnpikes 'not better than where we have none', though conceding that 'the worst of the present is fine to what they were formerly'.¹⁴²

The turnpikes encouraged extension of coach services, which were running from London to Shrewsbury and Worcester by 1690 and to Hereford by 1722, though there is no record of services to Ludlow and Leominster before 1763.¹⁴³ A coach went regularly between London and Ludlow via Worcester; in 1779 it left the Red Lion, Ludlow, at 6 a.m. Tuesday, reaching London 'early the next day' at a cost of 30s. inside.¹⁴⁴ By 1794 there were four coaches a week to London, from Ludlow inns, the fastest taking 24 hours.¹⁴⁵ Services between Shrewsbury and Hereford were sporadic, but a 'New Post' was running by 1801.¹⁴⁶ Thereafter, services grew rapidly, and by 1844 Ludlow had over 40 coaches a week.¹⁴⁷

The carrying trade also escalated. In 1782 a regular service between Hereford and Manchester was started, with the claim that previous carriers 'had not been regular in forwarding goods beyond Shrewsbury'.¹⁴⁸ In 1797 there were 11 weekly wagons or carts leaving Ludlow, but the number rose to 26 by 1826 and to 55 by 1844.¹⁴⁹

Without a navigable river, the transport of bulk goods was a major problem. A canal from Stourport to Hereford, linking the Wye and the Severn, was proposed in

¹⁴⁰ HCP, *Journal of the House of Commons*, 12 Geo. I, c. 9; 1725; p. 252; *Gloucester Journal*, 16th May, 1727, p. 3, col. 1; Pawson, E., *Transport and Economy: the Turnpike Roads of Eighteenth Century Britain* (London 1977), p. 150.

¹⁴¹ HCP, *Journal of the House of Commons*, 26 (pp. 38, 43; 28, 337, 368; Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, p. 390.

¹⁴² *Passages from the diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, ed. Climenson, E. J. (London, 1899), p. 129.

¹⁴³ Laune, T. de, *Anglia Metropolis*, (London, 1690), p. 47; Plumptre, J., *Complete Guide to London*, 9th edn. (London, 1763), p. 93.

¹⁴⁴ *Hereford Journal*, 21st Jan., 1779, p. 3, col. 1.

¹⁴⁵ Barfoot, P. and Wilkes, J., *Universal British Directory* (London, 1794), p. 614.

¹⁴⁶ Price, J., *The Ludlow Guide* (1801 edn.), p. 80; Wright, T., *History and Antiquities of the Town of Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1826), p. 252,

¹⁴⁷ Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1835), p. 363; *ibid*, *National Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1844), p. 25.

¹⁴⁸ *Hereford Journal*, 18th April, 1782, p. 3, col. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Price, J., *Ludlow Guide*, p. 74; Wright, *History and Antiquities of Ludlow*, p. 252; Pigot, *Directory, Shropshire*, 1844, p. 25.

1789, but only the central part was completed. This opened in 1794, when coal from mines at Mable reached Tenbury and Wooferton, three miles from Ludlow.¹⁵⁰ In 1792 there was a proposal to link the Severn near Montgomery with this Leominster canal, to encourage lead mining around Shelve and for 'the produce of the cyder counties' to reach Liverpool and Ireland. This was abandoned as 'too expensive'.¹⁵¹ In 1825 there was a meeting in Ludlow to consider 'the expediency of a Rail Road communication with the River Severn', but nothing happened after an engineer's report was presented to a second meeting.¹⁵² A more serious proposal was that of 1840, when a 'London and Dublin' railway was promoted, via Worcester, Ludlow, Newtown and Porth Dynallaen in Caernarvonshire, but the route via Chester and Holyhead was ultimately preferred.¹⁵³ Indeed, it was not until 1852 that a railway reached Ludlow, following the less hilly route from Shrewsbury, which was extended to Hereford in 1853.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Benbow, T., 'The Tenbury Canal', *Tenbury Wells: Historical Aspects* (Tenbury, 1993), pp. 2-5.

¹⁵¹ *Hereford Journal*, 12th Dec., 1792, p. 3, col. 4; *ibid*, 25th Dec., 1793, p. 2, col. 5.

¹⁵² SCM, Griffiths Scrapbook, p. 336: notice of public meeting, 10th Feb., 1825; *Shropshire Journal*, 9th Nov., 1825, p. 2, col. 2

¹⁵³ *Shropshire Journal*, 11th March, 1840, p. 2, col. 5, public meeting at Ludlow, 6th March, 1840; *ibid*, 18th March, 1840, p. 3, col. 2, public meeting at Bishop's Castle, 23rd March, 1840.

¹⁵⁴ Roke, H., 'The Shrewsbury-Hereford Railway', *The Railway Magazine*, 22, Jan.-June, 1908, p. 58.

Chapter 3

Ludlow, background information

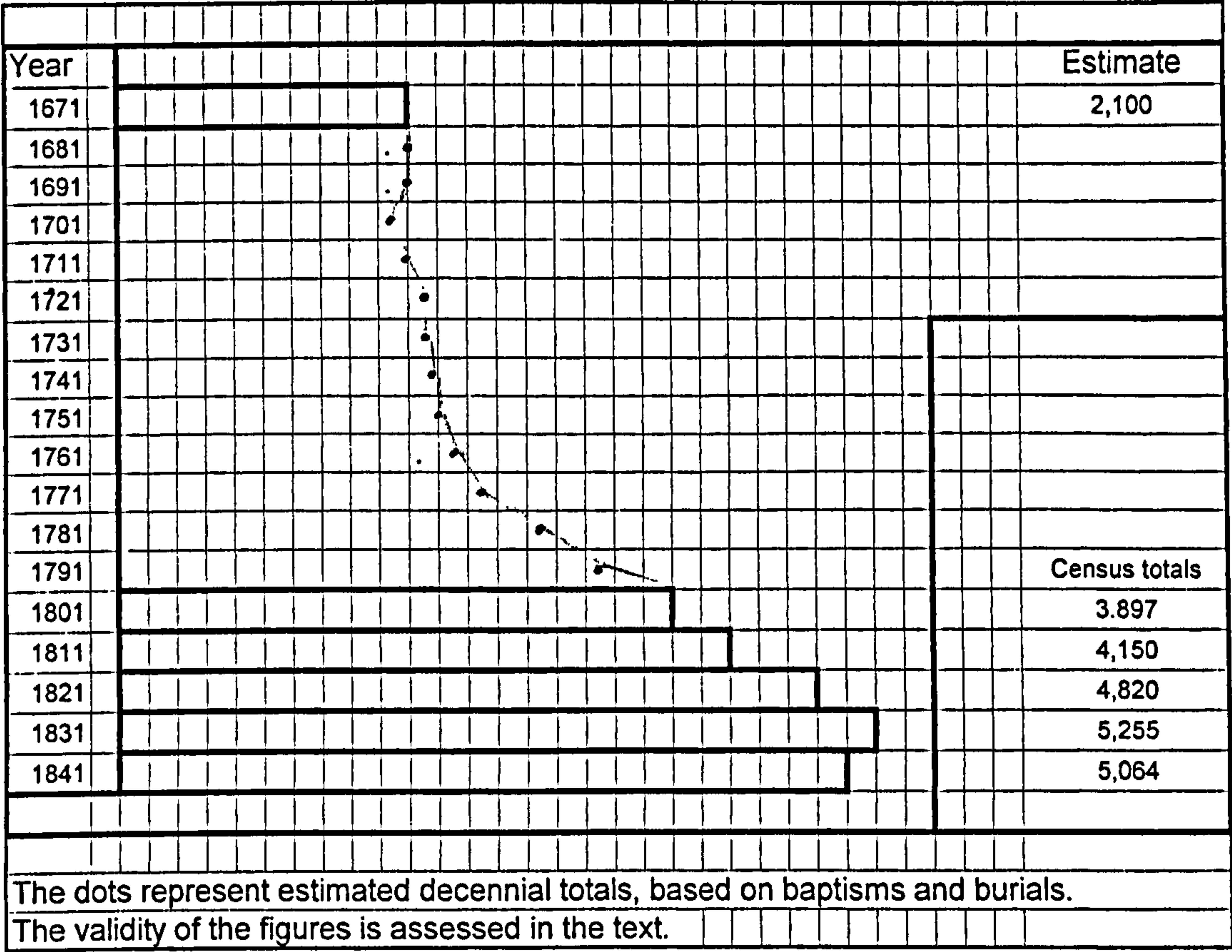
This chapter presents information on a number of topics about Ludlow which are needed for an understanding of chapters 4, 5 and 6. The chapter is not a history of the town. Many items of great importance to Ludlow during these years, such as law and order, poor relief and education are only referred to incidentally, if at all.

Section 1 considers Ludlow's population over the 1660 to 1848 period, citing firm figures when they are available, but making reasoned estimates for much of the period. Section 2 describes the revival of the Council of the Marches between 1660 and 1689, while the town's markets and fairs are described in section 3. Section 4 considers the problems of categorisation of people into occupational and status groupings, before such a categorisation is attempted for Ludlow in section 5. The upper echelons of Ludlow society, which gave the town its reputation for 'very good company', are reviewed in section 6, and the town's role as a fashionable social centre is assessed within a regional context. Sections 7, 8 and 9 describe Ludlow's oligarchic, self electing Borough Corporation, assessing especially its role as a major owner of Ludlow properties, followed in section 10 by an account of the years of political turbulence at the end of the period under review. In section 11 other property owning institutions and groups are described. Finally, sections 12 and 13 describe the evolving financial systems of the period, which underlie the major themes of this thesis.

1: Population

The information summarised in Fig.8 shows that Ludlow more than doubled its population during the period under review. It rose from an estimated 2,100 in the 1670s to just under 4,000 in 1801, reaching a peak of 5,255 in 1831. Between the 1670s and 1801, estimates must be made from parish registers, data from which is summarised in Fig.9. As shown by the graph inserted in Fig.8, these suggest a period of little population growth until the 1760s, with perhaps a slight decline in the years after 1691, but then a time of increase after 1760.

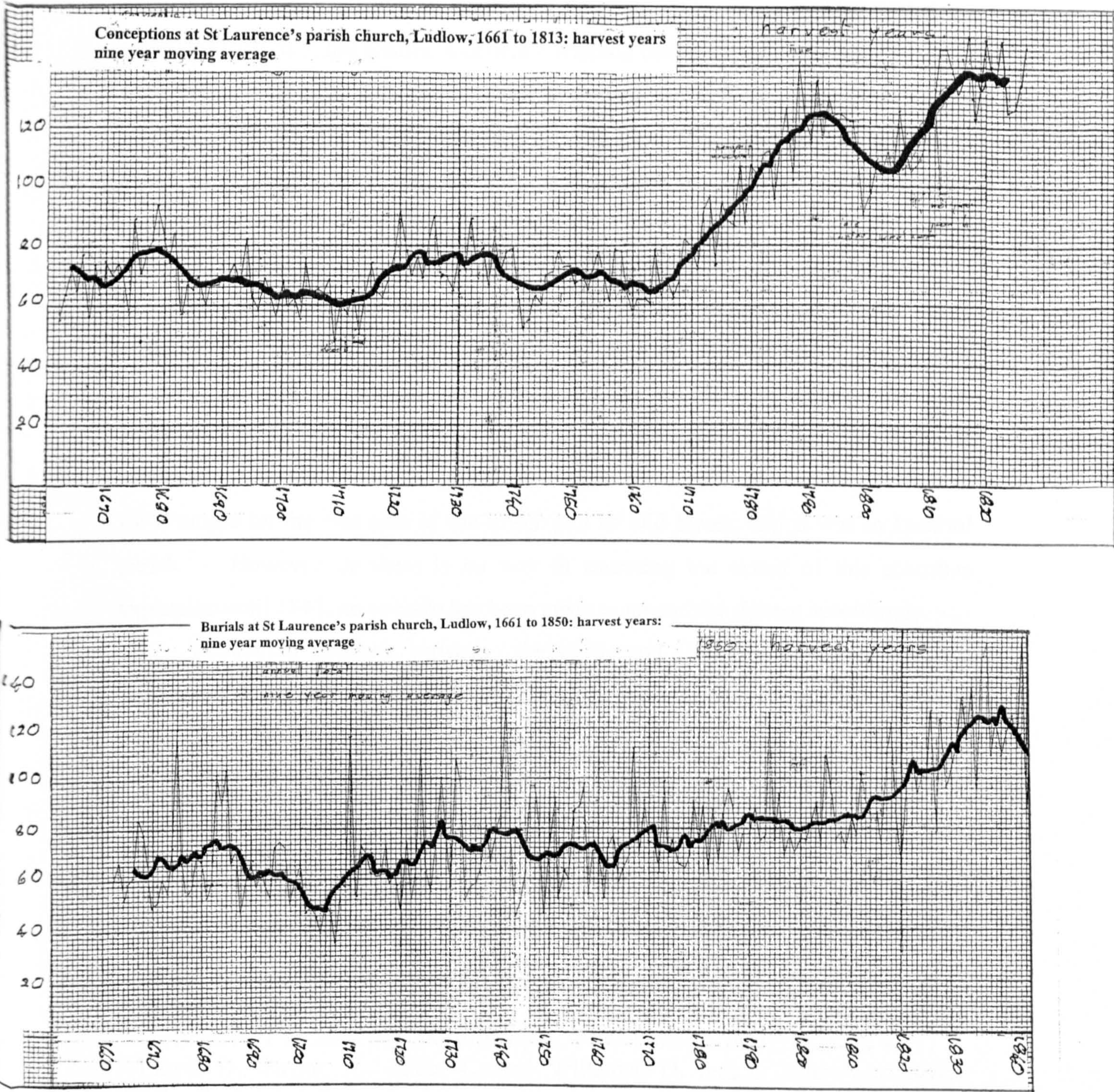
Fig. 8 Population of Ludlow, 1671 to 1841



The 1670s total is derived from three documents which give jointly supportive results.¹ A Poll Tax of 1667 lists 1,330 chargeable persons. Of these, 205 were in Corve Street ward. A draft return, extant only for that ward, has a total of 316 names, 111 of whom were not charged.² This suggests that the proportion of persons exempt was as high as 35%. If this proportionate increase – 1.54% - is applied to the whole town, the estimated population is 2,050. This has been reduced to circa 2,000 to allow for greater number of gentry families in Castle and Broad Street wards. The 1672 Hearth Tax assessments record 479 households, 340 of

¹ Faraday, M.A., ‘The Ludlow Poll Tax Return, 1667’, *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, LIX (1971-72), pp.109-121; Watkins-Pitchford, W., *The Shropshire Hearth Tax Roll of 1672* (Shrewsbury, 1949), pp. 162-167; Whiteman, A., *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition* (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, new ser., 10, 1986), pp. 254-60.
² Shropshire Archives (SA), Ludlow Borough (LB) 11/4/92, draft Poll Tax assessment, Corve Street, Quarter Sessions papers, 1666.

Fig. 9: Records of conceptions and burials at St Laurence’s Parish Church, Ludlow (1)



1. Totals from 1660 to 1812 from *Ludlow Parish Registers*; totals from 1813 from manuscript registers, transcription by members of LHRG.

which were chargeable and 139 of which were exempt by certificate.³ If the total, 479, is multiplied by 4.3, as suggested by Arkell, a total of 2,059 results, though the real total must have been higher because of what he calls 'the omitted poor', the group at the bottom of the social scale for which no figures are available.⁴ Four years later the Compton Census listed 1,376 adults. If this figure is multiplied by 1.60, the adult/child ratio indicated by the draft 1667 Poll Tax return for Corve Street ward, an estimated total of 2,200 results. Corfield's warning that evidence for population from pre-census times 'is only partially reliable in content' reminds us to treat these figures with caution.⁵ Yet the slight postulated increase, from circa 2,000 in 1667 to 2,200 in 1676, is not inconsistent with the nine year moving averages of recorded Ludlow baptisms between 1666 and 1680, as shown in Fig.9.

The census figures, especially from 1811 onwards, provide more reliable data, but here the problem is the demarcation of the area represented. The 1841 enumerators' returns show that the built up area of Ludlow had extended into adjoining parts of the parishes of Ludford and Stanton Lacy, increasing the given Ludlow total of 5,064 to a real total of 5,451 – an increase of 7.6%.⁶ Some of this suburban expansion occurred earlier, starting in the seventeenth century or before, for example on the east side of the lower part of Old Street, which was in Ludford parish.⁷ However, as there is no way of assessing the extent of this suburban expansion until 1841, no attempt has been made to amend the figures accordingly.

Population numbers between the 1670s and 1801 are uncertain, with the registers of St Laurence's parish church the prime basis for estimations. For the study period, these are extant throughout. Until the end of 1812 the registers are in print and indexed, an invaluable source in spite of occasional transcription errors.⁸ Later registers have now been transcribed and partially indexed.⁹ Some degree of under-registration is accepted, perhaps as much as the 15% and 10% for baptisms and

³ The 139 households exempt by certificate are listed by Faraday, 'The Ludlow Poll Tax Return, 1667', pp. 121-123.

⁴ Arkell, T., 'Multiplying Factors for Estimating Totals from the Hearth Tax', *Local Population Studies* (1982), p. 55.

⁵ Corfield, P., *The Impact of English Towns, 1700-1800* (Oxford, 1982), p. 6.

⁶ Lloyd, D., Payne, R., Train, C. and Williams, D. (eds.), *Victorian Ludlow* (Bucknell, 2004), p. 9.

⁷ SA, Cardiff deeds, vol. 5, 51, lease of houses at 137-145 Old Street, 25th June, 1694.

⁸ *Ludlow Parish Registers, 1558-1812 (LPR)*, Shropshire Parish Register Soc., Vols. 13 & 14 (1912 & 1915).

⁹ By members of Ludlow Historical Research Group.

burials respectively for parts of Worcestershire.¹⁰ Assuming consistency of under-registration, however, the recorded figures can be used as an index for population totals. Using nine year averages of harvest year totals, the result is a long period of a stable or slightly fluctuating population, but with a substantial increase from the 1760s, detectable in the figures for both baptisms and burials. Figures in non-conformist registers have not been included. The graphs also show an increasing surplus of baptisms over burials from the 1760s, a trend detectable for other small towns, though often starting in the second decade of the century.¹¹ The departures on the graphs from the nine year average highlight exceptional events, such as the 131 burials of 1741-42, which followed a deficient harvest in 1739-40, and a dearth in 1740-41; or the 156 burials in 1844-45, at a time of small pox epidemic.¹²

The other factors affecting population totals – immigration and emigration – are more difficult to quantify. The tenorial histories of Ludlow properties reveal many property owners who had immigrated to the town and others, often the sons or daughters of owners, who emigrated. This evidence will be reviewed and analysed in later chapters. Settlement certificates and removal orders show that movement in and out of the town occurred at all social levels, with some migrants coming considerable distances. From 72 settlement examinations between 1740 and 1749, the previous place of residence is known for 62. Of these, 24 were from the Ludlow region, but the remainder, 61.3%, were from further away, including Liverpool, York, London, Merionethshire and Ireland.¹³ Most were servants, labourers, journeymen, former soldiers or wives deserted by their husbands, but some skilled men came for specific purposes: three to work in the developing paper making industry, and a fourth, Thomas Jackson of Whitchurch, ‘to get work as a skinner’.

¹⁰ Eversley, D. E. C., ‘A Survey of Population in an Area of Worcestershire’, *Population Studies*, 10 (1957), p. 267.

¹¹ Clark, P., ‘Small Towns 1700-1840’, in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, II, 1540-1840 (Cambridge, 2000), 733-774 (p. 744), citing Wrigley, E. A. and Schofield, R. S. (eds.), *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London, 1997), chapter 7.

¹² Hoskins, W. G., ‘Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620-1759’, *Agricultural History Review*, XVI (1968), pp. 15-31; *Hereford Journal*, 1st Jan., 1845, p. 3, col. 6.

¹³ SA, LB, 15/2/819-898, Overseers of the Poor, accounts and papers, settlement examinations, 1740-1749.

2: The Revival of the Council of the Marches

The 'Council in the Dominion and Principality of Wales, and the Marches of the same', as it was sometimes titled, was both a judicial and administrative body, which had its roots in the Prince's Council established at Ludlow in 1473, when Edward Prince of Wales took up residence at Ludlow Castle.¹⁴ Civil, ecclesiastical and criminal cases from Wales and the border counties were heard in the courts of the Council, while its administrative duties included the supervision of local government, the maintenance of good order and the control of military affairs. Penry Williams has described the Council as 'part of a remarkable Tudor policy of creating centralised regional administrations within England and Wales'.¹⁵ The members of the Council included the judges and bishops of the region with a number of local noblemen and gentry, with a Lord President who was usually an English courtier. The Council were served by a number of salaried officials, while the courts caused many lawyers and their clerks to live in Ludlow, Richard Baxter asserting that in 1631 'the town was full of Temptations, though the multitude of persons: councillors, officers and clerks'.¹⁶ Moves to abolish the Council, along with other prerogative courts, were made in 1641, and it fell into abeyance when Civil War broke out in 1642.

The first recorded initiative after the Restoration was a resolution by Ludlow Borough Corporation on 26th June, 1660, a month after King Charles II landed at Dover, that two Aldermen should travel to London 'upon the Town's charge to perform a presentation to His Majesty for Gayning of the Council in the Marches to be held at Ludlow'.¹⁷ Later, others campaigned for the Council, pleading that the Council and its courts were 'of ancient appointment' and 'greatly leading to peace and justice in these parts'.¹⁸ Other petitions, 'numerously signed', sought to save 'the trouble of travelling far to Westminster', where the cost of causes was 'threefold more expensive'.¹⁹

¹⁴ Skeel, C. A. J., *The Council in the Marches of Wales* (London, 1904), pp. 1, 285-86. All information in this paragraph is from Skeel unless stated otherwise.

¹⁵ Williams, P., *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth 1* (Cardiff, 1958), p. 3.

¹⁶ Baxter, R., *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (London, 1696).

¹⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 175.

¹⁸ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic (CSDP), 1661-66* (London, 1861), p. 36.

¹⁹ Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales*, p. 68.

Although similar petitions on behalf of the Council of the North at York were disregarded, the Council in the Marches was formally re-established on 9th September, 1661.²⁰ However, its functions were much reduced. The Council had fewer members, the court was for civil actions only, while the four English counties, previously included, were now excluded from its jurisdiction.²¹ Nevertheless, the decision was welcomed in Ludlow, where the Corporation repaired the Guildhall for the Council's temporary use and voted £100 'towards the repair of Ludlow Castle injured by the iniquity of the late wars'.²² The practice of honouring the Lord President and other Council personnel by gifts and the ringing of church bells was quickly resumed, such as 'the fatt cow presented to ye Lord President' at Christmas 1662.²³

Few Council records have survived and assessment of its effectiveness is not easy. In the early years the Lord President, Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, the second Earl of Carbery, acted firmly to ensure that 'tumults are appeased'.²⁴ Later, there were complaints of abuse of authority and misappropriation of funds, and that 'the Court is brought into such contempt that only five cases were heard daily, compared with 20 previously'.²⁵ In 1684 Carbery's successor, the Duke of Beaufort, attempted to boost the Council's prestige by a spectacular Progress around the Principality and border counties.²⁶ But when, in 1687, he summoned Welsh magistrates to Ludlow, more than half stayed away.²⁷

By 1689 the Council's unpopularity was widespread, and there were nearly 18,000 signatures to 'a petition of the inhabitants of Wales' that the Council was 'a great expense to the Crown and no advantage to it', and concluding with the plea:

²⁰ *Victoria County History (VCH), York* (London, 1961), p. 137; *CSPD, 1660-61* (London, 1860), p. 99.

²¹ Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales*, pp. 166-79.

²² SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 195; SA, LB, 8/1/181, Bailiffs' Accounts, 1661-62.

²³ SA, LB, 8/1/182, Bailiffs' Accounts, 1662-63; SA, LB, 15/1/55, Church Wardens' Accounts, 1663-64.

²⁴ *Herbert Correspondence: the sixteenth and seventeenth century letters of the Herberts of Chirbury, Powis Castle and Dolguog*, ed. Smith, W.J., (Cardiff, 1968), no. 284.

²⁵ *CSPD, 1668-69* (London, 1894), p. 645.

²⁶ Dineley, T., *Official Progress of his Grace..the first Duke of Beaufort through Wales in 1684*, facsimile edn. (London, 1888), pp. 52-55.

²⁷ Dodd, A., 'The Pattern of Politics in Stuart Wales', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorian* (1948), 8-91 (p. 82).

‘from plague, pestilence and the name of Ludlow Court, Good Lord deliver us’.²⁸ Edward Smallman, a Ludlow attorney, defending the Council for Ludlow Corporation, argued that the previous year he had been ‘concerned in fifty causes of great value’. However, the weight of evidence was against him and on 25th July, 1689, ‘An Act for taking away the Court holden before the President and Marches of Wales’ received the royal assent.²⁹

The impact of the Council on Ludlow is not easy to quantify. The town’s inns and others trades must have benefited from the continuing ‘great access of straungers’, as litigants ate, drank and lodged in the town.³⁰ The Council had a political bearing on Ludlow, acting as an agent for the Government, especially during the 1680s in its attempts to control Boroughs and their parliamentary representation. A new charter of February 1695 had the proviso that ‘His Majesty shall have power by direction of the Lord President...to remove officers’, while Sir Josiah Child, the rich London merchant elected Member of Parliament for Ludlow in 1685, was the son-in-law of the Duke of Beaufort, then Lord President.³¹

The most far-reaching influences on Ludlow were social, exerted through persons associated with the Council who lived in and about the town. A list of 85 such persons has been compiled, 34 of whom, just under 40%, lived in Ludlow. Many of the others lived at a distance and visited the castle when it was necessary, but others exercised their offices through paid deputies. Eleven were Council members, two of whom – Sir Job Charlton, Chief Justice of Chester, and Timothy Littleton, Chief Justice of South Wales – lived respectively at Ludford House and in Ludlow throughout the 1660s.³² Littleton, one of a distinguished family of south Shropshire jurists, left in 1670 to become a Baron of the Exchequer. Charlton, however, who was described by a contemporary as ‘an old cavalier, loyal, learned, grave and wise’,

²⁸ Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC), *The MSS of the House of Lords, 1689-90, 12th Report, Appendix, Part VI*, (London, 1889), p. 109.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 107; House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, *Journal of the House of Commons (JHC)*, X, 1688-93 (London, 1803), p. 239.

³⁰ Wright, T., *History and Antiquities of the Town of Ludlow*, 2nd. edn. (Ludlow, 1826), p. 373.

³¹ *CSPD, 1660-1685, Addenda* (London, 1947), p. 235: Warrant for Re-incorporation of Ludlow; Weyman, H. T., ‘The Members of Parliament for Ludlow’, *TSAS*, ser.2, vii (1895), 1-54 (p. 35).

³² Henning, B. (ed.), *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons, 1660-90*, II (London, 1983), pp. 45, 753.

remained a formidable local influence until after 1689.³³ Five others lived within fifteen miles of Ludlow, one of whom, Humphrey Cornewall, Esq., of Berrington, had acquired a town house by 1672.³⁴

The proportion of Ludlow residents was greatest among the office holders. Some local officials were deputies for lucrative office holders resident elsewhere. Several, like John Winwood, 'one of the clerks of the Signet', whose father had been Receiver of Fines from 1628 to 1641, had long associations with the Council.³⁵ Others, like Henry Crow, Esq., Secretary to the Lord President in 1684, were new to the town.³⁶ Many of the families of Council officials became well established Ludlow residents. Their wills reveal closely-knit and sometimes inter-related social groups, which survived in Ludlow after the 1689 dissolution. The will of Sarah, widow of Michael Purefoy, Clerk for the Entries, which was made in 1698, has legacies to Chetwynds, Wigmores and Winwoods, relatives of her late husband's former colleagues, while the will and the later inventory show that a room in her house was occupied by Mrs Ann Hunton, widow of Thomas Hunton, formerly Keeper of the Wardrobe at Ludlow Castle.³⁷

A number of families in Ludlow after 1660, though having no contemporary link with the Council, were in the town because of earlier associations. Robert Berry Esq. was the grandson of Robert Berry, a Devon man who had become an important Council official in the early 17th century and also Member of Parliament for Ludlow. He had married Dame Katherine Howard, widow of Sir Robert Howard, fifth son of the Earl of Suffolk.³⁸ Of comparable social rank were the Lloyds of Maesyfelin in Cardiganshire, one of whom, Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, became Justice of Chester in 1622 and came to live in Ludlow. Descendants owned property in Ludlow until the 1750s, living intermittently in the town; while relatives of the Lloyds who were buried

³³ *Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)*, IV (Oxford, 1921-22), pp. 124-25, Sir Job Charlton.

³⁴ Henning, *The House of Commons, 1660-1690*, II p. 132.

³⁵ Faraday, 'Ludlow Poll Tax Return, 1667', p. 112; College of Arms (Col. of Arms), RR/19/B/G, Visitation of Shropshire, 1663, p. 34.

³⁶ Dineley, *Official Progress of ...the first Duke of Beaufort*, p. 64.

³⁷ Public Record Office (PRO), Chancery (C.), 6/78/90, complaint of Michael Purefoy, 25th Nov., 1671; PRO, Probate (Prob), 11/491, will of Sarah Purefoy, 6th Dec., 1706; PRO, C. 6/163/46, complaint of Thomas Hunton, 24th Oct., 1663.

³⁸ Col. of Arms, RR/19/B/G, Visitation of Shropshire, 1663, p. 31; Weyman, 'Members of Parliament for Ludlow', p. 16.

at Ludlow included Lady Rowse of Headstone in Middlesex and Lady Cornwallis of Abermarlais, Carmarthenshire.³⁹

With such families congregating in post-Restoration Ludlow, the Corporation's pleas for its revival in 1660 can be seen as a special case of what Clark has called '*wooing the gentry*'.⁴⁰ The habit of families such as the Cornewalls coming into Ludlow for the law terms persisted after its dissolution, while the continuing residence in Ludlow of some of its officials after 1689 provided a kernel of fashionable society which helped to attract other families.

3: Markets and fairs

The market was at the core of Ludlow's economy. Blome, writing in *Brittania* in 1673, declared that the town was 'a very great market for corn, cattle and provisions'.⁴¹ Monday was market day, except for a short interlude from 1685, when it moved to Wednesdays.⁴² By 1826 market day was still Monday, but there were 'inferior markets' on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday.⁴³ In the 1830s, George Griffiths, from Bewdley, regularly attended the corn market in the Market Hall, recording that the 'class of farmers assembling here were of better sort than most'.⁴⁴

At the beginning of the period there were four fairs – Wednesday in Whitsun week, 10th August, 17th September and 25th November – but a fifth, in Easter week, was added in 1685, and the dates of the others were sometimes changed.⁴⁵ A February fair was obtained in 1769, after agitation by a Ludlow lawyer, Thomas Blainey, and in 1822 the ancient May Fair was revived, after a campaign led by Henry

³⁹ *Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London, 1959), pp. 195, 572-3; British Library (BL), Add. Mss. 21, 236-7, Williams, Revd. Edward., drawings of monuments, etc, in Shropshire, 1792-1803.

⁴⁰ Clark, P., 'Visions of the Urban Community: Antiquarianism and the English city before 1800', in Fraser, D. and Sutcliffe, A. (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983), 106-124 (p. 116).

⁴¹ Blome, R., *Brittania* (London, 1673), p. 193.

⁴² *CSPD, James II*, vol. I, Feb. to Dec., 1685 (London, 1960), pp. 50-51, 235.

⁴³ Wright, *History and Antiquities of Ludlow*, p. 251.

⁴⁴ Griffiths, G., *Going to Markets and Grammar Schools 1830-70* (London, n.d.), p. 117.

⁴⁵ Trigge, 'A Chronology of Things Memorable', in Blagrove's *Almanack for the Year* (London, 1665); Felton, W., *Charters and Grants to the Town of Ludlow* (Ludlow, c.1819), p. 211.

Wellings.⁴⁶ The May Fair was toll free, grievances about tolls being one of the political issues of the day. Competition to the chartered fairs came from sales in villages, such as the sheep sale at Diddlebury on 27th September, 1824, 'the day of Ludlow sheep fair'.⁴⁷ Cattle, sheep, pigs, dairy produce and hops were all sold at some or all of the fairs and markets, and the town's horse fairs, well documented by the Corporation, attracted buyers and sellers from great distances.⁴⁸ Court records give glimpses of vendors and buyers, as in 1674, when Elizabeth Pearce of Stokesay sold cheese at the Market Cross, or in 1682, when bullocks were sold for the Herberts of Oakly Park.⁴⁹ Most buyers were local but others came substantial distances, such as Samuel Gardener of Worcester to buy a cow in 1708 and John Willis of Bewdley to buy wool in 1708.⁵⁰

4: Occupational and status groupings: categorisation and sources

One way of perceiving and comprehending patterns in the mass of data presented in later chapters is to analyse it in terms of occupational and social status groupings. This section describes the categorisation used and appraises the documents on which it is based. It then employs those groupings to describe the nature of Ludlow society at four times: 1669, 1724, 1763 and 1843. These years were selected partly because of the documentation available, but also because they are significant points in the development of Ludlow during the 1660 to 1848 period. 1669 is close to the beginning of the period, with the post-Restoration settlement established in Ludlow and the Council of the Marches operating again. By 1724 Ludlow had fully assumed its character as a fashionable gentry town, and a period of political turbulence was almost ended, with the election of 1727 soon to begin a century of stability, when Ludlow was a pocket borough under the control of the

⁴⁶ Jones, E., *Party Feeling in Old Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1913), n.p.; *Shropshire Chronicle*, 28th Jan., 1775, p. 3, col. 4.

⁴⁷ *Salopian Journal*, 1st Sept., 1824, p. 2, col. 6.

⁴⁸ e.g. SA, LB, 7/105, Toll Book for Horse Fairs, 1687- 95.

⁴⁹ SA, LB, 11/4/101, Quarter Sessions, 1674-75, deposition of Elizabeth, wife of Arthur Pearce, 1st Feb., 1674; National Library of Wales (NLW), Powis Castle Deeds and Documents (Powis), 21,191, disbursements by Edward Squire for Mrs F. Herbert, 7th June, 1682, 'standing for 4 Bullocks at Ludlow Wittsun faire'.

⁵⁰ SA, LB7, 1048a, Pie Powder Court Book, 1691-1794, pp. 10d, 11.

Herbert and Clive families.⁵¹ As shown above, 1763 is in the decade when Ludlow's population began to increase, while 1843, five years short of the end of the study period, is a convenient time to assess the character of the enlarged town.

The system of occupational and social status groupings was devised by Armstrong, adapting that used by Booth in his monumental survey of the *Life and Labour of the people in London* (1891-1903).⁵² Criticising the mid-19th century censuses for their 'want of fixity of principle or method', Booth attempted 'to stand back from the morass of detail', and to 'view...the situation in terms of broader categories'. As far as possible, these were based on 'the industrial principle', i.e. the work that people did, but some 'social ranking' was also introduced.

This scheme has been used, slightly modified, by Leicester University's Centre for Urban History in its Small Towns Project of the early 1990s.⁵³ Though aware of 'the elephantine traps of occupational classification', the writer has used this system throughout the thesis, though with minor modifications.⁵⁴ One reason for this choice was the logic and coherence of the system, embracing but extending the more traditional tripartite classification of Primary, Secondary and Tertiary activities.⁵⁵ Another reason was the opportunity provided for the writer and other scholars to compare the Ludlow results with those found elsewhere.⁵⁶

The groupings recognised by the Armstrong and Booth scheme are set out in Fig.10, with the amendments made. In spite of the reputation of Ludlow and the River Teme for angling – *The Art of Angling* (London, 1749) by a Raven Lane shoemaker, Richard Boulker, was a best seller – no Ludlow resident with fishing as an occupation has been found, so this grouping is omitted. Though mining and quarrying were significant on Clee Hill, as shown in chapter 2 (pp. 43-44), the

⁵¹ Mason, J. F. A., 'Parliamentary Representation, 1660-1832: Ludlow', *Victoria County History of Shropshire (VCH, Shropshire)*, III (London, 1979), pp. 283-91.

⁵² Armstrong, W.A., 'The Use of Information about Occupation', in Wrigley, E. A. (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 171-252.

⁵³ I am grateful to Professor P. Clark and members of the Small Towns Project for helpful discussions and information on this matter.

⁵⁴ Clark, P., review of Patten, J., '*Urban occupations in pre-industrial England*', Institute of British Geographers (IBG), new ser., 11 (1977), pp. 246-313, in *Urban History Year Book (UHYB)*, (1979), p. 121.

⁵⁵ Royle, S. A., 'Aspects of Nineteenth Century Small Town Society: A Comparative Study from Leicestershire', *Midland History (MH)*, 5 (1979-80), 50-62 (p. 52).

⁵⁶ Clark, 'Small Towns 1700-1840', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, II, 1540-1840 (Cambridge, 2000), 733-74 (p. 762).

Fig. 10: Occupational and social status groupings, derived from Armstrong and Booth.

Code	Full title of grouping	Title used in this thesis
1	Agriculture, breeding and land service	Agriculture
2	Fishing	NOT APPLICABLE
3	Mining, quarrying, brick building	WITH BUILDING
4	Building	Building
5	Manufacture	Manufacture
6	Transport	Transport
7	Dealing	Dealing
8	Industrial service (1)	Finance (2)
9	Labour	Labour
10	Professional and public service	Professional
11	Service	Service
12	Independent	Gentry
13	Dependent	Dependent
14	Unspecified	Unspecified
	(1) Used by Booth to embrace insurance, banking and finance, all of which	
	were necessary for industrial production.	
	(2) A more specific term preferred for this thesis.	

numbers involved from Ludlow were small, while it will be shown that the town's brick-makers were often builders as well. Grouping 3 has therefore been merged with grouping 4. For greater clarity, industrial service is called finance, for all those in this category in Ludlow were either bankers or providers of financial services. Most of those providing professional and public services were in fact professional, so that term has been used alone. The most significant re-naming is gentry for independent. The difficulties of defining gentry are acknowledged and have been explored in chapter 2, but the term is preferable to independent which implies financial independence but not necessarily other trappings of gentility. It is especially important to realise that many of those described as independent in the 1841 census and in commercial directories were retired tradesmen or their widows, and should meaningfully be classed elsewhere, usually as dealers or manufacturers.

Within many of the groupings in the Armstrong and Booth scheme, a number of sub-groups are recognised. These will be used when it is appropriate to do so. As with all occupational schemes, difficult choices often have to be made, as in recognised by those who have used this scheme. The Leicester Small Towns Project, for example, specifies that a Chandler is either grouping 5, if manufacturing predominates, or grouping 7, if retailing is the chief activity. They also advise that a gardener, if clearly domestic, should be in grouping 11 –‘service’ – but if unspecified, then in grouping 1: agriculture.⁵⁷

The 1669, 1724 and 1763 assessments are all based on the Church Lewn, the annual church rate levied on all but the poorest households. The 1669 lewn is a single sheaf of documents, covering the town by wards in a traceable street sequence.⁵⁸ The 1724 and 1763 lewns are taken from Easter Books, with bound paper sheets within stiffened parchment covers, each containing the lewns of about seven years.⁵⁹ In these books, the names are arranged by wards, but within each ward they are in an approximate alphabetical order, rather than in street sequence. The origins of the Church Lewn, embracing tithes and other dues, are complex, but their great value to the historian includes the way in which ‘some form of means test was evidently involved’ in the assessment.⁶⁰ This seems to relate to the perceived wealth and social standing of each household, though some lodgers were assessed individually. The preamble to the 1669 assessment states that the lewn had been ‘layd by the Churchwardens and sidesmen’, whose names are given on the last sheet.

A section of the 1669 lewn is reproduced in Fig.11. Assessments here range from 1s 9d for Mr John Pearce, Low Bailiff 1666-67, to 4d for Edward Waties, but for the document as a whole the range of assessments is wider.⁶¹ The lowest payment made was 2d, though a few persons had 0 against their names, but the range upwards went to 2s 6d in eleven cases, with one exceptional gentry household assessed at 5s. The value of this information is greatly enhanced when it is correlated with

⁵⁷ Code list of most common occupations, issued to participants in the Leicester Small Towns Project.

⁵⁸ SA, LB, 15/1/59, Church Lewn assessment, 1669.

⁵⁹ At present the 1717-1724 and 1763-1771 Easter Books are in the custody of the writer (DL).

⁶⁰ Wright, S., ‘Easter Books and Parish Rate Books’, *UHYB* (1985), 30-45 (pp. 30-1). I am grateful to Dr. Wright for informative discussions about the Ludlow Easter Books.

⁶¹ SA, LB, 15/1/59, Church Lewn assessment, 1669.

Fig. 11

A copy of the Church Lewn 1669 for part of Old Street and Galdeford ward									
(LB 15/1/59)									
<div><div><div>Mr John Pearce 0 1 - 9</div><div>Thomas Howton 0 1 - 0</div><div>Edw wates 0 0 4</div><div>William Davis 0 0 6</div><div>Geo: Somes 0 0 6</div><div>Thomas Shelton 0 1 - 9</div><div>Widow Howell 0 0 0</div><div>Mary Hop 0 0 0</div><div>William Skirns 0 0 4</div><div>Henry Ffayris 0 0 4</div><div>Mr William Dunsvill 0 1 - 9</div><div>Mr Gregory 0 0 9</div><div>Thomas Jones 0 0 4</div><div>John Miller 0 0 6</div><div>Thomas Howton 0 0 9</div><div> 0 0 4</div></div></div>									
Comparative sections of three Ludlow tax returns 1667-1672 for part of Old Street and Galdeford ward									
A		B	C		D	E		F	G
Poll Tax 1669			Church Lewn 1669			Hearth Tax 1672			
Names		Tax	Names		Tax	Names		Tax	Exempt
[1]			[2]			[3]			[4]
John Pearce gen Bayliff his wife		13 00	Mr John peirce		1 09	Mr John Peirce		5	
5 Children 1 Apprentice 1 man Servt.									
wages 2£ 1 maide Servant wages 20s									
servant wages 20s									
Thomas Halton glover wife & Apprentice		3 00	Thomas Howton		1 00	Thomas Hilton		3	
						Widow Cleobury [5]		3	
Edward Waties Taylor		1 00	Edw(ard) wates		4				Ex
Edward Yorke Tayler his wife		2 00				Edward Yorke		1	
William Davies Glover his wife & one Child		3 00	William Davis		6	William Davies		2	
George Somes Butcher his wife 2 Children		4 00	Geo(rge) Somes		6				Ex

Fig. 12 An extract from the 1724 Easter Book, Castle Ward

Aliso Gilson wid ^w	e	—	—	—	—	00	00	4
		Daught. Gloufs	—	—	—	00	00	6
Wm Graing ^r /proumat ^r /e ^u e	e	—	—	—	—	00	2	6
		Jouru						
M ^r John Smalman Soj.								
John Gruffiths (Bab ^r)	e ^u e					00	02	6
		Apprentice						
		Maid Serv ^t				00	00	6
M ^r Tho: Garbitt	e ^u e	e	Sister Mary	—	—	00	00	6
		2 Maid Serv ^{ts}						
Tho: Gilson/Junhold ^r /e	—	—	—	—	—	00	01	4
		Maid Serv ^t				00	00	6
Daniel George (Labourer)	e ^u e	—	—	—	—	00	00	10
Lady Gressley wid ^w								
		Daught				05	05	00
		2 Men e						
		2 Maid Serv ^{ts}						
M ^r Cesar Sawbins Surgeon	e ^u e	e						
		2 Maid Serv ^{ts}						
		Mother in Law						
M ^r Edw ^d Sarries (Mortor)	e ^u e	—	—	—	—	00	10	6
		Apprentice						
		Maid Serv ^t						
Rutland Hosier/Junhold ^r /e ^u e	—	—	—	—	—			
		Mother e						
		Maid Serv ^t						
James Price (Jard Glover)	e ^u e	—	—	—	—	00	01	0
Tho: Smit/Glover	e ^u e	—	—	—	—	00	01	0
		Daught						
Valentine Winwood	e ^u e	—	—	—	—	00	01	0
Ralph Winwood	e ^u e	—	—	—	—	00	01	0
John Doughtway (Shoemaker)	e ^u e	—	—	—	—	00	02	0
		Son Jord Shoemaker						

comparable parts of two other assessments: the 1667 Poll Tax return and 1672 Hearth Tax assessment.⁶² On the lower part of Fig. 11, the 1669 Church Lewn has a central position, in columns C and D, with the Poll Tax to the left, in columns A and B, and the Hearth Tax to the right, in Columns E, F and G. The Poll Tax, which covers 402 households, adds one more name, Edward Yorke, to this sequence, and gives information about relatives, servants and apprentices. The Poll Tax also supplies the trades of Halton, Yorke, Davies and Somes. The trade of Bailiff Pearce is not given, but this is a case where his occupation can be obtained elsewhere: – he was an ironmonger, as revealed by his will and a series of extant accounts.⁶³ The Hearth Tax assessment, the full roll of which has 340 names, replicates the street sequence of this section, but Waties and Somes are omitted, presumably because of poverty, for both are among the 139 exemptions.

Because occupations and social status are usually given, the 1724 and 1763 Easter Book entries do not need the same kind of correlation, though comparison with the window tax assessments allows street sequence to be deduced and affords another measure of the wealth of the householders. The 1724 extract in Fig. 12, listing some of the residents of Castle ward, shows the kind of detail included. Assessments range from the £1 1s paid by Lady Gresley and her household, to the 4d by Alice Gilson, widow, though her daughter, a gloveress, paid 6d in her own right. Occupations are given for eleven persons and courtesy titles for five others, while eleven wives, three other relatives, two journeymen, two apprentices, and 13 servants are listed. An item of particular interest is Mr John Smalman, ‘*Soj(ourner)*’, who was lodging with W(illia)m Graing(er), perukmak(er). The significance of sojourners and lodgers is considered below (pp. 90-91).

Whereas the 1669 lists give information on 527 persons, the 1724 and 1763 Easter Books do this for 867 and 835 persons respectively. These figures are approximately a third of the estimated mid-eighteenth century population for Ludlow. In contrast, the 1841 census provides occupational and social status data on 2,732 persons, which is 53.95% of the population total for that year.⁶⁴ Here, correlation can

⁶² Faraday, ‘Ludlow Poll Tax Return’, pp. 109-21; Watkins-Pitchford, *Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672*, pp. 120-23.

⁶³ Herefordshire Record Office (HRO), Probates (AA/20), will of John Pearce, 21st Jan., 1687; HRO, Hereford Diocesan Papers (HD), 7/25/17-30, letters and accounts of John Pearce of Ludlow, ironmonger, 1684-87.

⁶⁴ *VCH, Shropshire*, II (London, 1973), p. 224.

be made with the 1843 Borough Rate Book, a valuable source which is the basis of the last part of chapter 5 (pp. 301-06).

5: Occupational and status groupings

Data for the four years specified above, taken from the sources described, has been brought together to form Figs 13 (p. 77) and 14 (p. 78). Used cautiously, and with particular reference to the percentage totals, the figures in Fig. 13 indicate long term trends. In 1669, 1724 and 1763, the numbers in service were about a third of the total for whom information is available, but in 1841 that proportion was only a fifth, though the number itself had doubled. Manufacturing accounted for between a quarter and a fifth of the total in all four years, but the sharp rise in dealing, from between an eighth or less in 1763 and earlier to nearly 30% in 1841, reflects a fundamental change in local economic activity, with Ludlow enhancing its role as a centre for exchange and retailing. The exceptionally high percentage of 7.02% for the professions in 1669 reflects the Council of the Marches, which employed 20 of the 37 persons involved, but the 1841 figure, just over 5%, and that for industrial service – which included bankers and auctioneers – shows development in Ludlow, as elsewhere, of ‘support sectors, not least services’.⁶⁵ The figures for agriculture and transport, important but always minority occupations, are too small for trends to be detected, but the building figures probably reflect peaks and troughs that are considered in chapter 6 (pp. 311-318). Arguably the most significant figures are those for the gentry sector, where the number of families living on estate income or invested funds rose to nearly 10% in 1724 and 1763, but had plummeted to 1.5% in 1841.⁶⁶ The 1841 census records 170 persons as independent, which is 6.22% of the total, but 40 of these can be linked with trade and 33 with the professions, most of them being retired men or widows. Another 70 employed no residential servants and have no known link with gentry families, so have been included with ‘unidentified’. From this and other evidence it will be shown that Ludlow reached its peak as a fashionable social centre in the first two thirds of the eighteenth century, and that the

⁶⁵ Clark, ‘Small Towns 1700-1840, p. 761.

⁶⁶ PRO, Home Office (HO), 107/0924, 1841 census, Enumerators’ Returns for Ludlow. The census recorded 170 persons as ‘independent’, which is 6.22% of the total, but 40 of these can be linked with trade and 33 with the professions, most of them being retired men or widows. Another 70 employed no residential servants and have no known link with gentry families, so have been included with ‘unidentified’.

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two thirds of the eighteenth century, and that the nineteenth century brought decline, even though the town was expanding in other ways.

Fig.13 Occupational and Status Groupings: number of persons

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	N	O
Code	Groupings [1]	Church Lewn assessments						Census		Trade Directories			
		1669 [2]		1724		1763		1841		1842		c.1830 [4]	
								Census		Ludlow	%	East	West
										[3]		Anglia	Midlands
		Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	%	%
1	Agriculture	7	1.33	1	0.12	5	0.6	34	1.24	7	1.73	1.6	0.8
4	Building [5]	21	3.98	52	6	41	4.91	182	6.66	18	4.43	7.9	6.9
5	Manufacturing	134	25.43	228	26.3	205	24.55	623	22.81	126	31.03	34.8	34.3
6	Transport	3	0.57	8	0.92	8	0.96	13	0.46	2	0.5	1.4	1.1
7	Dealing	68	12.9	81	9.34	91	10.9	818	29.94	145	35.71	28.3	33.6
8	Industrial service							27	0.99	9	2.22	3.1	2.5
9	Labour	24	4.55	69	7.96	68	8.14	258	9.44	0		0	0
10	Professional	37	7.02	29	3.34	25	2.99	139	5.09	73	17.98	13.4	11.9
11	Service	180	34.16	286	32.99	265	31.74	556	20.35	0	0	0.8	1.1
12	Independent	19	3.61	78	9	83	9.94	41	1.5	26	6.4	6.6	2.7
13	Dependent	34	6.45	35	4.04	44	5.27	41	1.5		0	0	0
	TOTALS	527	100	867	100.01	835	100	2732	100	406	100	100	100
14	Unspecified	173		159		86		88		3	0.74	2.1	5.1
1	See note 52 above.												
2	SA, LB, 15/1/58, Church Wardens' Accounts, 1669-70.												
3	Pigot & Co., <i>Commercial Directory</i> (Manchester, 1842), pp.21-23.												
4	Clark, P., 'Small towns 1700-1840', in <i>The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, II, 1540-1840</i> (Cambridge, 2000), 733-774 (p. 762)												
5	Includes extraction												

In Fig.7, the average payment of Church Lewn in 1669, 1724 and 1763 has been used to assess the comparative prosperity of the occupational and status groupings, which are ranked accordingly. For 1841 the mean borough rate, assessed on the value of the property occupied by the payee, is used for the same purpose.⁶⁷ The results show the affluence of the gentry, ranked first throughout regardless of numbers. It was followed, often very closely, by the grouping of those in the professions. In 1667, 1724 and 1763, dealing - which included mercers and innkeepers - is third, but in 1841 was narrowly overtaken by the emerging grouping of those working in finance. Predictably, the lowest mean payments were by labourers, those in domestic service, and the dependent grouping, i.e. the residents at the town's almshouses. Between the extremes, the manufacturers were fifth or sixth except in 1841, when they dropped to eighth, below the builders.

Fig. 14 Occupational and Status groupings: ranked by mean tax assessments

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	
Code	Group	Church Lewn assessments						Borough Rates [1]		
		1669	Lewn	1724	Lewn	1763	Lewn	1843		
		Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	
1	Agriculture	11d	5=	2s 6d	4	1s 1d	7	£8 11s 1d	9	
4	Building	9d	7	1s 7d	7	1s 8d	6	£12 0s 4d	7	
5	Manufacturing	11d	5=	1s 9d	6	1s 11d	5	£10 9s 2d	8	
6	Transport	1s 2d	4	2s 4d	5	2s 3d	4	£12 6s 0d	6	
7	Dealing	1s 3d	3	3s 0d	3	3s 0d	3	£19 6s 3d	4	
8	Industrial service							£20 3s 0d	3	
9	Labour	5d	9	10d	9	8d	8	£3 17s 3d	11	
10	Professional	1s 8d	2	5s 9d	2	7s 4d	2	£21 19s 1d	2	
11	Service	0	10=	4d	10	7d	10	£4 16s 10d	10	
12	Independent	2s 0d	1	7s 2d	1	7s 8d	1	£30 13s 1d	1	
13	Dependent	0	10=	3d	11	4d	11		12	
14	Not identified	8d	8	11d	8	8d	9	£16 2s 3d	5	
[1]	SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843.									

⁶⁷ SA, LB 15/2/245, Poor Rate Book, 1843.

The validity of these findings was tested for 1724 by calculating the number of servants per household and the number of panes on which window tax was paid.⁶⁸ The results are summarised in Fig. 8. The rank orders are totalled in column F, with an overall rank shown in column G. The close comparability of the rankings is striking. Independent and professional are always in the first three; dealing is regularly third or fourth; manufacture, building, transport and agriculture, all primary or secondary producers, vie for the middle ground of ranks 4 to 8; while labour, service and dependent, if ‘not identified’ is ignored, are always in the bottom three. The slight differences, however, are suggestive. With three of the eight carriers employing three servants each, probably as wagoners, transport climbs to second place for the ratio of servants to householders, while the seven clerks employed by lawyers contribute to the high ratio of 1.65 for the professionals. The professionals

Fig. 15: Occupational and social status groupings, 1724: comparative rankings by stated criteria.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Code	Grouping	Lewn	Servants	Window	Total	OVERALL
		mean		Tax		RANK
		[1]	[2]	[3]		
1	Agriculture	4	10	8	22	7
4	Building	7	8	7	20	6
5	Manufacture	6	5	5	16	5
6	Transport	5	2	6	13	4
7	Dealing	3	4	3	10	3
8	Industrial service: NONE FOUND	0	0	0	0	
9	Labour	10	8	10	28	9
10	Professional	2	1	1	4	1
11	Service	12	9	11	32	10
12	Gentry	1	3	2	6	2
13	Dependent	11	10	12	33	11
99	Not identified	9	7	8	25	8
[1]	DL, 1724 Easter Book.					
[2]	Ibid.					
[3]	SA, LB, 8/3/98, Window tax assessment, 1724.					

⁶⁵ Number of servants from the 1717-1724 Easter Book, 1724 entry. The number of panes comes from the 1724 Window Tax assessment for Ludlow, SA, LB, 8/3/98.

also have a higher average of windows than the gentry, many of the latter also having country residences, an example being Mrs Archer, widow, of 39 Broad Street, who came from a Little Hereford family.⁶⁹

The system of groupings camouflages considerable occupational diversity. Taking titles such as barber/surgeon, corviser/shoemaker and tinker/higgler as synonymous, and therefore counting them only once, 220 occupations occur in the records for 1669, 1724, 1763 and 1841. The totals for each year rise from 55 in 1669 to 79 in 1724, followed by a slight decline in 1763, preparatory to a massive increase to 178 in 1841. Some of the 1669 to 1841 rise may be more apparent than real, being at least partly due to the quality of the 1841 census return as a source of occupational information, but the sources used for 1669, 1724 and 1763 are also good, especially the Easter Books. It is likely that the widening range of occupations was a response to a general up-turn in urban economies, encouraged by expanding trade and a greater demand for consumer products, a process encapsulated by Slack's assertion of 'a general increase in the sophistication of urban economies, particularly after 1660'.⁷⁰

To illustrate this process at Ludlow, some occupations are listed on Fig. 16. At the top are 34 *core* occupations which occur for all four years. They typify the mixed economy of many medium sized English towns, though it is symptomatic of Ludlow's role as a fashionable social centre that it had at least one bookseller throughout the period.⁷¹ The trades represented had their own fluctuations, especially glove manufacturing, which was Ludlow's best known and most successful industry for much of this period, and malting, which rose from five practitioners in 1669 to 23 in 1841. The number of occupations identified for persons on the 1669 Church Lewn assessment is 55, six of which – including judge, pursuivant and auditor – were employees of the Council of the Marches. By 1724 the number of occupations had increased to 79, though there was a slight drop to 70 in 1763. Some of the new trades – forgeman, tinman - relate to local innovations and developments; others, such as upholsterer, silk-thrower, peruke-maker and tobacconist, reflect 'the age of consumerism; while others again, - a fidler and a dancing master in 1724, a jockey in

⁶⁹ HRO, B56/3, note book of Philips, B., with various family pedigrees.

⁷⁰ Slack, P., 'Great and Good Towns, 1540-1700' in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, II, 1540-1840, 347-376 (p.358).

⁷¹ For example Barnsley, as researched by Elliott, B., 'The Anatomy of a Yorkshire Market Town and its Neighbourhood, c.1660-c.1760', unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1990, Appendix 1.

Fig. 16 A selection of occupations from the years 1669, 1724, 1763 and 1841, to illustrate an expanding economy.

Class	Group						
Core occupations occurring in all four years							
4	Building	carpenter	glazier	joiner	mason	plasterer	tiler
5	Manufacturing	gunsmith	blacksmith	nailer	currier	tanner	cooper
		saddler	weaver	dyer	feltmaker	glover	shoemaker
		tailor	baker	millar	maltster		
6	Transport	carrier					
7	Dealing	butcher	innkeeper	bookseller	chandler	ironmonger	mercier
9	Labour	labourer					
10	Professional	attorney	surgeon	schoolmaster	clergy		
Distinctive occupations in 1669							
8	Professional	Clerk of Fines	Clerk of Entries	Wardrobe	Deputy	Judge	Pursuivant
				Keeper	Auditor of		
					Wales		
A selection of additional occupations in 1724 and/or 1763							
5	Manufacturing	forgeman	tinman	turner	upholsterer	silktrower	perukmaker
7	Dealing	cheesemonger	tobacconist				
10	Professional	exciseman	dancing master	fiddler	writing master		
A selection of additional occupations in 1841							
1	Agriculture	cattle dealer	veterinary surg.				
4	Building	architect	gas fitter	paper hanger			
5	Manufacture	machine maker	iron founder	iron moulder	cabinet maker	coach maker	rug maker
7	Dealing	fruiterer	tea dealer	stationer	china dealer		
8	Industrial service	auctioneer	accountant	banker			
10	Professional	post officer	policeman	artist	dissenting min.		
11	Service	chimney sweep	charwoman				

1763 - resulted from the pleasures of the age.⁷² By 1841 the town had a number of new industries, including iron founding, coach building and cabinet making, and there were specialist dealers in cattle, fruit, tea and china.⁷³ Financial service was a new growth area, with bankers and accountants, while there were professional men – architect, surveyor, veterinary surgeon - in the building and agricultural sectors.

69 Weatherill, L., *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London, 1988), p. 25; Borsay, P., *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 155, 181.

⁷³ PRO, HO, 107/0924. 1841 census, enumerators' books for Ludlow; *Robson's Commercial Directory of Shropshire* (London, 1840), pp. 67-70..

6: 'Very Good Company'

When John Macky, traveller, letter-writer and government agent, visited Ludlow in 1714, he referred to the 'very good company', highlighting the 'conveniency and cheapness of boarding'.⁷⁴ These themes are re-iterated by later visitors. A tourist of 1744 called Ludlow 'a very polite town', while another in 1772 remarked that 'many people of fashion constantly reside in it'.⁷⁵ In 1784, Lord Byng, often a caustic commentator, described it 'as one of the best towns for a genteel family of small fortune to retire to I have ever seen'.⁷⁶ In the 19th century, however, comments about Ludlow's society were less eulogistic, though visitors continued to admire the beauty and setting of the town, Henry Skrine expressing surprise in 1808 that 'nature and art have combined to create so polished a town in a remote corner of the kingdom'.⁷⁷ The impression of social decline is put most eloquently by the American novelist Henry James, who visited Ludlow some years after the end of the study period: 'The place seems to say that a hundred years, and less, ago it was the centre of a large provincial society and that this society was very 'good' of its kind'.⁷⁸

This view of a brightening and then a dimming of Ludlow's social image is supported by an assessment of the numbers of gentry in the town over the 1660 to 1848 period. The task is fraught with difficulties. The problems of defining 'the gentry' have already been reviewed (chapter 2, p. 45). There is also the difficulty of distinguishing between gentry who lived on income from landed estates from their relatives who earned their living in various ways: in the professions or as merchants. The intention here is to regard as 'urban gentry' those who chose to live in Ludlow for social advantage or pleasure, rather than those who were there professionally. The process can be illustrated by the case of William Archer, a clerk at the Council of the Marches. Arriving in Ludlow before 1663, Archer, described in 1676 as 'an ancient clerk', was probably an employee of the Council of the Marches; but he enjoyed gentry status in the town, and is listed in the Heralds' Visitation of Worcestershire in

⁷⁴ Macky, J., *A Journey through England* (London, 1722), p. 154.

⁷⁵ Evans, J., *Handbook to Ludlow* (Ludlow, 4th edn., 1869), p. 87; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 21st Nov., 1772, p. 6, col. 3.

⁷⁶ Byng, Hon. J., *The Torrington Diaries I* (London 1784; 1936 edn., ed. Andrews, C. B., London, 1936), p. 132.

⁷⁷ Skrine, H., *Tours through Wales* (London, 1808), p. 641.

⁷⁸ James, H., *Portraits of Place* (London, 1883), p. 285. The visit was made in 1877.

Welland.⁷⁹ If the conjecture that Archer was employed by the Council of the Marches is right, he should be categorised as such, and indeed has been in section 4 above; but his affinity with the gentry class is clear. After 1689 however, when the Council was dissolved, Archer stayed in Ludlow until his death in 1694, and for that period is counted as gentry.⁸⁰ Fortunately, most cases are less ambiguous, but the figures presented below can only be regarded as estimates.

The figures, on Fig.17, show a modest number of gentry in Ludlow at the

Fig17: Estimated numbers of gentry living in Ludlow, 1669 to 1841

Year	Total	Men	Women	Lodgers
1669 (1)	20	12	3	5
1689 (2)	26	15	3	8
1692 (3)	53	20	10	25
1724 (4)	77	17	31	29
1763 (5)	83	17	46	20
1798 (6)	37	18	13	6
1841 (7)	27	9	18	0
Primary sources, references in text and/or bibliography				
[1]	SA, LB, 15/1/59, Church Lewn in Church wardens' Accounts.			
[2]	SA, LB, 8/3/42, Poll Tax, 14 May, 1689.			
[3]	SA, LB, 8/3/47, Poll Tax, 2 Julky, 1692.			
[4]	DL, Easter Book, 1724.			
[5]	DL, Easter Book, 1763.			
[6]	SA, LB, 15/1/183, church-rate assessment, 1798.			
[7]	PRO, HO. 107/0924, census enumerators' books for Ludlow.			

⁷⁹ SA, LB, 8/3/24, assessment for maimed soldiers, 24th Jan. 1663; PRO, C/8/201/56; CA, RR 19E/E, Visitation of Worcestershire, 1683, pp.160-161, Archer.

⁸⁰ LPR, p. 568. burial, 29th June, 1694.

beginning of the period, with the greatest number in the mid-eighteenth century, followed by a prolonged period of decline. The process of gentry wishing to live in Ludlow was underway in the 1660s, as shown by one well documented example. John Handford, Esq. son of an Alderman of the City of London, had bought Shobdon manor in 1655, but in 1665, had a desire 'to come and dwell in the town of Ludlow', renting the Broad Street property of the Lloyds of Maesyfelin.⁸¹ In the decades after the Restoration the number of Ludlow gentry, as defined above, was limited. Only twelve house holders, one of them Handford, can be detected in 1669, but future trends are already apparent. The presence in Ludlow of 'Mr William Baugh' of Onibury and 'Mr Henry Stedman' of Diddlebury presages town residence by many gentry from the inner Ludlow region; while 'Mr William Dawes' of Barrow and 'Mr John Phillips' of Tarrington, east of Hereford, came from further away.⁸² In 1669 there were also a few gentry lodgers, anticipating their much greater importance in later years.

The proximity of two Poll Tax returns, for 1689 and 1692, enables the effect of the dissolution of the Council in the Marches on gentry settlement in Ludlow to be assessed. The evidence is presented in Figs.18A and 18B. The imposition of £1 charge on all gentlemen, additional to capitation and other charges, enables those from whom this was due to be identified, as well as knights and others by whom higher amounts were payable.⁸³ For householders and lodgers together, 19 persons paid the £1 or more in 1689, just before the Council was terminated on 25th July.⁸⁴ In 1692, however, 24 persons paid the £1 tax, only two of whom, William Archer and Michael Purefoy, were former Council clerks who had elected to stay in Ludlow. Clearly, the demise of the Council had not brought a quick exodus of gentry from Ludlow. More persuasive still is the evidence shown in part B of Fig. 11, which lists those who had the title of Mr or Mrs – but no apparent means of qualification for that dignity other than their status in the community. Susan Charlton and Dorothy

⁸¹ Pfuel, I., *A History of Shobdon* (Shobdon, n.d), p. 27; PRO, C. 6/83/84, complaint of Eleanor Handford, 30th June, 1680.

⁸² Col. of Arms, RR/19/B/G, p. 6d: Visitation of Shropshire, 1663, pp. 160-61, Baugh; HRO, MSS 4415, Notes of Stedman family, 1911; Col, of Arms, RR/19/B/A, Visitation of Shropshire, 1663, p. 42, Dawes; *ibid*, RR/19E/E, Visitation of Herefordshire and Monmouth, 1683, p. 151, Phillips.

⁸³ *Statutes of the Realm*, 5 (London, 1819), p. 585, 18 & 19 Chas.II, c.1.ss.12, 13.

⁸⁴ *JHC*, X, 1688-1693 (1803), p. 111. Several Council employees paid, suggesting that the Council was still in being.

Fig.18A: Persons in Ludlow assessed as gentlemen or gentlewomen or as persons of higher degree for the Poll Tax in 1689 and 1692,

			1689 [a]			1692 [b]		
surname	first name	status	ref.	payment	svts	ref.	payment	svts
Householders			[c]			[c]		
Archer	William	gent.				2	1 00 00	1
Bishop	Henry	gent.	159	1 00 00	1	106	1 00 00	1
Bright	John	gent.	83	1 00 00	2	75	1 00 00	3
Carr	John	gent.	160	1 00 00		140		1
Cornewall	Ciriak	gent.				97	1 00 00	1
Cornewall	Edmund	gent.	38	1 00 00	2			
Dawes	Valentine	gent.	127	1 00 00	3	137	1 00 00	1
Edwards	Francis	gent.	136	1 00 00		141	1 00 00	4
Gower	William	Esq.	166	5 00 00	2	110	1 00 00	3
Handford	Eleanor	widow	125	1 13 04	4	135	1 00 00	4
Jones	Thomas	gent.	2	1 00 00	1	116	1 00 00	1
Kettleby	Edward	gent.	22	1 00 00	-	25	1 00 00	2
Lea	Thomas	gent.	364	1 00 00	1	392	1 00 00	
Lloyd	Francis	Esq.	138	5 00 00	4	143	1 00 00	4
Price	Richard	gent.				20	1 00 00	1
Purefoy	Michael	gent.				154	1 00 00	2
Sabery	Thomas	gent.	297	1 00 00		323	1 00 00	
Sprott	Anne	Madam				81	1 00 00	6
Stedman	Richard	Esq.				82	1 00 00	3
Underhill	John	gent.	48	1 00 00				
Total				14			17	
Lodgers								
Browne	Ann					157	1 00 00	
Charlton	Henry	gent.		1 00 00		75	1 00 00	
Grimes	Jeffrey	gent.				142	10 00	1
Herbert	Alice	Madam				157	1 00 00	
Ludlow		Madam				153	1 00 00	
Powell	Elizabeth	Madam	171	6 08		114	1 00 00	1
Rowse	Anne	Madam	138	3 06 08		143	1 00 00	1
Roydon	John	gent.	143	1 00 00				
Walcot	Mary	Lady	191	3 06 08		153		
Williams	Walter	Sir	189	15 00 00		135	1 00 00	1
Total				6			8	
[a]	SA, LB, 8/3/42, Poll Tax, 14 May, 1689.							
[b]	SA, LB. 8/3/47, Poll Tax, 2 July, 1692.							
[c]	The amount levied for status, disregarding the payments per head and for servants.							

Fig.18B: Persons in Ludlow listed as Mr or Mrs for the Poll Tax in 1689 and 1692, who were not on the Corporation or in a profession.

			1689 [a]			1692 [b]		
surname	first name	status	ref.	payment	svts	ref.	payment	svts
Householders			[c]					
Agborough	Theophila	Mrs	42		2	85		1
Carr	Dorothy	Mrs				238		
Charlton	Susan	widow	66			71		1
Cornewall	Bridget	Mrs				85		
Edwards	William	Captain	24		1	27		
Froysall	Ann	Mrs				165		
Mills		Mrs				219		
Motley	Richard	Mrs				77		1
Nicholls	Judith	Mrs				82		1
Plowden	Francis	Mr				28		1
Price	Elizabeth	Mrs				21		
Salwey	3 sons of	Mrs				115		
Tyler	Elizabeth	Mrs				35		
Total					3			13
Lodgers								
Baldwin	John	Mr				114		
Baldwin	Joyce	Mrs				81		
Bowen		Mr				114		
Brompton	Elizabeth	Mrs				81		
Charlton	Jane	Mrs				157		
Fletcher		Mrs				143		
Herbert	Jane	Mrs				157		
Owen	Judith	Mrs	3			2		
Newbury	Elizabeth	Mrs				106		
Nicholas		Mrs				157		
Owen	Jane	Mrs				153		
Rock	Thomas	Mr				128		
Shepherd	Richard	Mr				56		
Underhill	Dorothy		165			48		1
Walter	Joan	Mrs				2		
Williams	William	Mr				143		
Total					2			17
[a]	SA, LB, 8/3/42, Poll Tax, 14 May, 1689.							
[b]	SA, LB, 8/3/47, Poll Tax, 2 July, 1692.							
[c]	The amount levied for status, disregarding the payments per head and for servants.							

Underhill have no title, but are included because they came from families of known gentry status.⁸⁵ The number of such persons had increased markedly, from five in 1689 to 30 in 1692, some of them with well known local names such as Baldwin, Herbert, Rock and Shepherd. Only two of them were in Ludlow in 1689, so the change is not one of ascription by a clerk.

These are nodal events in the development of Ludlow, and can helpfully be considered in a political context. The Corporation (see pp. 95-110), was one of those which, in Trevelyan's phrase, had been 'remodelled by arbitrary power', with a new charter dated 27th February 1685, planned under Charles II, but actually granted early in the reign of James II.⁸⁶ Furthermore, it was much influenced by the Council of the Marches, through the Lord President by whom 'His Majesty shall have power to remove officers'. Throughout the reign of James II, there were factions in Ludlow, one of which 'traduced the government of this town', while another, which controlled the Corporation, drew up on 6th November, 1688, the day after William landed at Torbay, 'an Instrument in vindication of the present Government' for the consideration of the Recorder, Sir Job Charlton, a Royalist supporter.⁸⁷ After a time of uncertainty, the Corporation showed its allegiance to the new order by voting, on 19th December, 1688, 'to attend upon the Right Honorable the Lord Herbert Baron of Chirbury', who had taken possession of Ludlow Castle after December 4th, when he 'and most of the gentlemen of Herefordshire and Herefordshire' had met at Worcester to declare for William.⁸⁸ Discontent persisted, with the proposed dissolution of the Council of the Marches becoming a grievance. On 5th March. 1689 Robert Harley at Brampton Bryan reported 'daily accounts of cabals and the threats of papists', while later in the month 'a paper in the nature of a remonstrance is privately handed about Ludlow....against the proceedings of King William and the Parliament'.⁸⁹ Disputes about the government of Ludlow continued, a small group 'riotously breaking open

⁸⁵ Col. of Arms, RR 19/B/G, Visitation of Shropshire, 1663, p. 53d, Charlton of Lady Halton; Morrison, J. H., *The Underhills of Warwickshire* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 162.

⁸⁶ Trevelyan, G. M., *The English Revolution, 1688-89* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 25; CSPD, XXVIII, 1660-1685, *Addenda* (London, 1947), no. 235, The King to the Attorney General, warrant for the re-incorporation of Ludlow, similar to those in favour of New Sarum and Boston.

⁸⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/3, Borough Corporation Minutes, 1680-1690, p. 67; Weyman, H. T., 'Recorders of Ludlow', *TSAS*, ser. 2, XI (1899), 301-30 (pp. 324-25).

⁸⁸ SA, LB 2/1/3, p. 68; Wright, T. (junior), *History of Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1852), p. 435.

⁸⁹ HMC, *Report on the MSS of the Duke of Portland*, 14 (London, 1909), p. 434.

the Town House' in December 1690, but it was not until December 1692 that a new Charter of William and Mary re-established the pre-1685 constitution.⁹⁰

Throughout this period of agitation, the Herberts of Chirbury played significant roles. The declaration for William by Henry Herbert, 4th Lord Herbert of Chirbury, and his occupation of Ludlow Castle, were major coups. The hold of the castle was consolidated from 16th March 1689, when Lord Herbert was commissioned to raise a regiment of foot at Ludlow, 'by beat of drum or otherwise': the beginning of the Royal Welch Fusiliers.⁹¹ Two of Lord Herbert's sisters, Madam Alice Herbert and her sister, Jane Herbert, were among the new gentry lodgers in Ludlow by 1692.⁹²

Despite the controversies, there is no evidence of exclusion on social grounds. The Herbert sisters lodged with three other ladies at 5 King Street, in what was virtually a genteel boarding house operated by Thomas Haughton, mercer; but along the street, at number 1, Richard Cole, mercer, Mayor of the pro-James Corporation in 1688-89, had 'Madam Ludlow, recusant', among his three lodgers. Other new arrivals in early Williamite Ludlow were Cyriac and Bridget Cornwall, children of Humphrey Cornwall of Berrington, 'an unrepentant Cavalier', who had been Cole's predecessor as Mayor, and their married sister, Theophila Agborough.⁹³

Between 1692 and 1714, 36 people who match the given criteria for gentry status were buried at St Laurence's.⁹⁴ Many of them were commemorated by wall tablets, listed on Fig. 19. A few tablets remain, but most have been removed, though after recording by 18th century antiquarians. A fine survivor is that for Madam Alice Burrard, the Madam Alice Herbert who was a Ludlow lodger in 1692. She had married John Burrard, Esq., of Lymington in Hampshire, but returned to Ludlow before her death in 1703. Her lineage is proudly stated: daughter of 'the Right Hon. Richard Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury' and his wife Mary, daughter of John

⁹⁰ PRO, C.8/531/133, Attorney General for the Inhabitants of Ludlow against John Underhill and others, 1st July, 1691; Felton, *Charters and Grants to the Town of Ludlow*, pp. 195-212.

⁹¹ Kirby, E. and Lloyd, D., *Ludlow and the Royal Welch Fusiliers* (Ludlow, 1989), p.17.

⁹² SA, LB, 8/3/43, Poll Tax of 1692; all references to the 1692 Poll Tax are from this source.

⁹³ Liverpool, 4th.Earl of, and Reade, C., *The House of Cornwall* (Hereford, 1908), p.73.

⁹⁴ LPR, pp. 555-584.

Fig. 19: Members of Gentry families whose memorials in St Laurence's were recorded (1)

year	surname	first name		description	place of origin or residence	
1686	Gower	Sarah		wife of Wm Lamb, Esq.; dau.of Mr Thos.Lamb,London		London
1693	Rowse	Ann (Dame)		widow of Sir Francis Rowse		
1698	Baldwin	M.....		wife of John Baldwin; daughter of Henry Sprott	Ashmole Brook	Staffordshire
1703	Burrad	Alice (Hon)	56	widow of John Burrard, Esq.; daughter of Ld Herbert	Lymington	Hampshire
1706	Handford	Elinor	86	widow of John Handford, Esq., Shobdon	Guernewll	Breconshire
1710	Salwey	Elizabeth	34	dau. of Walter White, Esq., of Grill Leton, Wilts.	Grill Leton	Wiltshire
1711	Cockram	Elizabeth		daughter of William Cockram, Esq.	Wigmore	Herefordshire
1712	Whitney	Richard	52		Titley	Radnorshire
1712	Madocks	Ann		wife of John Madocks	Hastpury	Gloucestershire
1713	Stanley	Thomas	48		Alderley Hall	Cheshire
1713	Shepherd		2	daughter of John Shepherd, Armiger		
1714	Salwey	John	7	eldest son of Richard Salwey, Esq.		
1714	Pryce	Martha	62	wife of William Pryce; daughter of Rd.Walker,Wooton	Onibury	Shropshire
1714	Powell	Lyttleton	63	Esq.		
1717	Cockram	William		son of William Cockram	Wigmore	Herefordshire
1718	Smith	Ethelrada		daughter of Thomas Smith, Esq.	Aston (Munslow)	Shropshire
1719	Pryce	William	72	Gent, Alderman		
1719	Rogers	Ann	82	wife of Rev.Thomas Rogers, D.D.		
1722	Jones	Thomas	46	Vicar of Goodrich, Canon of St Asaph	Goodrich	Herefordshire
1722	Phillips	Catherine	49	wife of Joseph Phillips, Gent		
1722	Baldwin	John	56	Gent, Alderman	Munslow	Shropshire
1724	Holland	Elizabeth	40	wife of John Holland, Gent.;daughter of Thos.Rogers		
1724	Walcot	Catherine		wife of George Walcot; dau.of Richard Whitmore	Slaughter	Gloucestershire
1725	Jones	Elizabeth	64	daughter of Lord Folliott, wife of Vicar of Goodrich		Herefordshire
[1] BL, Add.Mss., 21,236-37, Williams, Revd. Edward, Drawings of Monuments, etc., in Shropshire,						
• 1792-1803.						

Egerton, 1st Earl of Bridgwater – who had been Lord President of the Council in the Marches.⁹⁵ Her will left bequests to her sisters, Mary Button and Jane Herbert, both of Ludlow, and death-heads to 15 ladies, nearly all titled, including the Ladies Bridgewater, Egerton, Lester and Sidney. This was a network of privilege, which embraced Ludlow. Other memorials are to local gentry from the Ludlow region, as

⁹⁵ Memorial Inscription(MI), Hon.Alice Burrard, south transept, St Laurence's church.

well as a few from more distant places: a Witmore from Slaughter in Gloucestershire, a Stanley from Cheshire, a White from Grill Leton in Wiltshire.⁹⁶

The practice of taking in lodgers, at many social levels, was growing rapidly in Ludlow at this time, and has been researched by Wright, using the Easter Books, which, she demonstrates, 'provide considerable evidence about household structure'.⁹⁷ Many of the Ludlow lodgers, in 1692 and subsequently, were gentry, as already shown, and a number of Ludlow householders – many of them leading tradesmen – supplemented their income by taking lodgers. Some were 'sojourners', who seem to have hired rooms and then lived independently, sometimes with their own servants, as did Madam Powell, widow of Samuel Powell, Esq., of Stanage. In 1692 she lived with her maid at 18 Broad Street, the house of Thomas Hinton, baker.⁹⁸ Lodgers often had their own specified rooms, as did Sarah Edwards, to whom in 1698 Madam Elinor Handford left 'a chamber in this my house for her life' at 52 Broad Street. In other cases, the lodgers were 'tablers' (those who ate with the host family), as were Dorothy Underhill, who boarded with John Colbatch at 41 Mill Street; and Richard Shepherd, Gent, who boarded with his son-in-law, John Jones, at 1 High Street.⁹⁹

Disputes sometimes arose. In 1693 Richard Cole took in as lodgers Captain Martin Lister and his wife Anne, the daughter of Sir Peter Killigrew of Falmouth, members of the family who had developed that town throughout the 17th century.¹⁰⁰ The Listers 'became friends' with Cole, and in 1697 they persuaded him to move to a bigger house, so that Sir Peter Killigrew, then living in London, could move in with his entourage. He hired 35 to 37 Broad Street, one of the larger houses in Ludlow. It had 13 hearths in 1672 and in the 16th century had been described as 'the fayre house by the gate', i.e. Broad Gate.¹⁰¹ A six year contract was then drawn up with Killigrew, by which Cole would provide 'one dish of hot meat every day for dinner, also something cold for supper', with lesser fare 'in the servants hall'. Killigrew was

⁹⁶ SA, MS (6001), 24, George Morris, Collections for a History of Ludlow, c.1820; University of Birmingham, Special Collections, Mytton Papers (MYT), vol. 3.

⁹⁷ Wright, S. J., 'Sojourners and lodgers in a provincial town: the evidence from eighteenth century Ludlow', *UHYB*, 17 (1990), 14-35 (p. 16).

⁹⁸ British Library (BL), Add. MSS., 21,236-37, Williams, Revd. E., Drawings of monuments, etc., in Shropshire, 1792-1803.

⁹⁹ HRO, AA/20, will of Richard Shepherd, 17th Dec., 1700.

¹⁰⁰ PRO, C. 7/66/63, Complaint of Richard Cole of Ludlow, mercer, 15th Dec., 1701.

¹⁰¹ Watkins-Pitchford, *Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672*, p.164; Lloyd, D. J. and Klein, P., *Ludlow: A Historic Town in Words and Pictures* (Chichester, 1984), p. 42.

to pay £90 a year 'for each person', with an additional £15 a year for rent. He was also to pay for washing linen except sheets, for which Cole would pay. In 1700, however, the arrangement ended in acrimony, resulting in a chancery case the following year.¹⁰²

By 1724 the number of gentry households in Ludlow had risen to 48 and there were 29 lodgers. Two years previously, or perhaps earlier, Defoe had visited Ludlow and though giving an early appreciation of the castle as a romantic ruin – he describes it as 'the very perfection of decay' – he is lukewarm about the town, calling it 'a tolerable place' that 'decays, to be sure, with the rest'.¹⁰³ This is almost certainly a misjudgement, one of the 'flaws' which do occur in Defoe's *Tour*, as Borsay, a fervent admirer, is willing to admit.¹⁰⁴ The presence of so many gentry families is itself a measure of a degree of economic health which Defoe seems to under-estimate.

There were two titled heads of households. One was Lady Frances Lloyd, one of the Lloyds of Maesyfelin, who lived at 35-37 Broad Street with her grandson, son, Sir Charles Cornwallis Lloyd. Her husband had been Sir Francis Lloyd (1655-1704), who had been Member of Parliament and Recorder for Ludlow and held many public offices.¹⁰⁵ Her son, Sir Charles Lloyd, who died in 1723, had been High Sheriff of both Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, but kept an ample household in Broad Street, where the Easter Book record for 1717 is: 'Sir Charles Lloyd & Lady, 2 daughters, 3 men and 5 maid servants'. The lewn payable, however, was only 10s 9d, probably because the residence of the Lloyds was intermittent. The other titled head was Lady Gresley, widow, at 9 Castle Street, where she was attended by two men and two maids, paying £1 1s. Before marriage, to Sir William Gresley of Drakelow Hall, Derbyshire, she had been Barbara, one of twelve children of John Walcot Esq. of Lydbury North; and like other local women, she had come nearer home in

¹⁰² PRO, C. 7/66/63, Complaint of Richard Cole, mercer, 15th Dec., 1701.

¹⁰³ Defoe, D., *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (Yale, 1962 edn.), p. 188.

¹⁰⁴ Borsay, P., 'Urban Development in the Age of Defoe', in Jones, C., *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1688-1750: Essays presented to Geoffrey Holmes* (London 1987), 195-219 (p. 196).

¹⁰⁵ *Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*, p. 572.

widowhood. She too had links with a Sherifffdom, her brother Charles, who himself lived in Ludlow, holding the office for Shropshire in 1710.¹⁰⁶

Lady Lloyd apart, all the 1724 gentry whose places of origin or recent settlement can be identified came from within the Ludlow region. Their circumstances varied considerably, with more women than men. For some, their Ludlow residences were accretions to substantial rural estates, for example Philip Lutley, Esq., who inherited Broncroft and Lawton in Diddlebury from his father, and Eaton-under-Heywood from a cousin.¹⁰⁷ Some widows lived on income from estates left by their late husbands, such as Elizabeth Wooton, who had been left lands in the township of Lynton, Herefordshire, by her husband Gilding Wooton, Gent, in 1715.¹⁰⁸ A few seemed to live in genteel poverty, such as widow Lydia Oakley, whose inventory had the low value of £1 12s.¹⁰⁹ A number of lodgers were single persons, such as Robert Powys, the younger brother of the eminent lawyers Sir Thomas Powys and Sir Littleton Powys. Powys, who with two men servants, was lodging with Richard Cole, as was Mary Moore, perhaps a daughter of Henry Moore of Millichope.¹¹⁰ Some lodgers stayed with relatives, such as Emma Bishop, spinster, who lodged with 'her dear aunt', Elizabeth Newborough, to whom she left all her 'plate, pictures, books and personal estate'.¹¹¹

The same range of gentry occurred in 1763, by which time the number of women householders had risen considerably, though the overall number of lodgers declined. Richard Knight, Esq., eldest son Richard Knight the ironmaster, was assessed at £2 2s, and two of the five households assessed at £1 1s each were also Knights: Thomas Johnes of Croft Castle, who was Richard's son in law; and Thomas Knight, son of Ralph Knight, the fourth son of the great ironmaster.¹¹² The great wealth of the Knight dynasty and its effect on Ludlow is an on-going theme of this thesis. The other householders who were charged £1 1s were Elizabeth Colbatch,

¹⁰⁶ SA, 6001, Purton, Revd. R.C., folio volume of Shropshire pedigrees (4360), pp. 429/430.

¹⁰⁷ Speight, M, *Some Diddlebury Houses and their History* (Diddlebury, 2000), pp. 54-55.

¹⁰⁸ HRO, AA/20, will of Gilding Wooton, Gent., 20th Jan., 1715.

¹⁰⁹ HRO, AA/20, inventory of Mrs Lydia Oakley, widow, 8th April, 1728.

¹¹⁰ *Bitterley Parish Register* (Shropshire Parish Register Society, Shrewsbury, 1912), pp. 3, 68; *DNB*, XLVI, p. 219, Sir Thomas Powys; SA, 6001, 4360, p. 301.

¹¹¹ HRO, AA/20, will of Emma Bishop, spinster, 5th Aug., 1729.

¹¹² Beesly, P., *A Brief History of the Knight Family* (Ludlow, c.1960), pedigree as end-paper.

spinster, who had inherited 41 Mill Street from her wealthy uncle, a London stationer; Thomas Wootton Hill, a landowner at Eyton near Leominster; and Bridget Walcot, widow of Charles Walcot, Esq. When Charles, who had been High Sheriff in 1710, died in 1726, Bridget, his third wife, then aged 60, vacated Walcot in favour of Charles' heir, and took up residence at 16 Broad Street, dying there in 1764 aged 98.¹¹³ Many Ludlow gentry widows used town residences as dower houses in this way.

At least two of the 1763 Ludlow gentry had sold rural estates. Robert Jones, of the Sheet in Ludford parish, sold that estate within two years of inheriting in 1753, and moved as a tenant at 28 Broad Street, though he retained the Feathers and the Griffin inns, presumably enjoying their rents.¹¹⁴ At almost the same time Richard Baldwin, Esq., sold the family estates at Diddlebury, which were heavily mortgaged, and came to live in Ludlow.¹¹⁵ A much greater number, however, retained their rural lands, among them Erasmus Watkins, one of three lodgers with Thomas Meyrick at the College, who when he died in 1771 left estates in the parish of Lanver – probably Llanfair Waterdine – to his daughter.¹¹⁶

An important part of this thesis is to put Ludlow within the wider context of urban development. Its role as a gentry town in the mid-eighteenth century, in particular, can be assessed by comparisons with other towns on the Welsh border, using tax returns for luxury items deposited in the Public Record Office.¹¹⁷ The figures in the columns A and B on Fig. 20 show the number of persons paying tax for at any time during the years given. For silver plate, for example, Elizabeth Baugh, widow, paid throughout, but Thomas Johnes Esq. only from 1759. In column C, however, the figures are for the number of payers in one year only.

Ludlow is ranked fourth by numbers paying carriage duties and silver plate for the 1756 to 1762 period, but by 1780, with the number of households employing male

¹¹³ SA, Walcot collection (151), introduction to calendar; SA, LB, 8/3/100, Window Tax Broad Street, 1726; *ibid*, 144, Window Tax assessment, Broad Street, 1762.

¹¹⁴ Lloyd, D. J. and others, *The Feathers* (Ludlow, 1986), p. 18.

¹¹⁵ *Diddlebury Parish Register* (Shropshire Parish Register Soc. Shrewsbury, 1910), pp. iv, 111; Speight, *Diddlebury Houses*, p. 6.

¹¹⁶ PRO, Prob. 11/970, will of Erasmus Watkins, Gent, 5th Aug., 1771.

¹¹⁷ PRO, Taxes (T47), carriage duty (3), silver duty (5), male servant duty (8). I am grateful to Dr Paul Langford of Lincoln College, Oxford, for supplying these references.

Fig. 20: Indicators of gentility, for Ludlow and other towns in or near the Welsh Marches.

	Carriage duties	Silver plate duty	Male servant duty	
	1756-62	1756-62	1780	
	[1]	[2]	[3]	
Shrewsbury	61	139	72	
Worcester	48	138	66	
Hereford	23	61	32	
LUDLOW	11	40	27	
Bridgnorth	6	26	13	
Brecon	8	24	15	
Newport	6	18	7	
Whitchurch	3	18	16	
Monmouth	9	14	32	
Droitwich	8	13	11	
Abergavenny	6	13	3	
Leominster	5	13	7	
Bewdley	2	11	9	
	[1] PRO T47/3			
	[2] PRO T47/5			
	[3] PRP T47/8			

servants, it had dropped behind Monmouth into fifth place. This is consistent with the suggestion made above, that gentry numbers lessened towards the end of the 18th century. Nevertheless, Ludlow’s high rank in the middle years of the century, behind the three English county towns and by two criteria ahead of Brecon and Monmouth, is a significant one, indicative of the town’s special character as a fashionable country town.

By 1798 the number of Ludlow gentry had dropped by more than 50%. Some, like Thomas Cooke, Esq., who was related to the Pooles of Stretton Grandison, and the Misses Syer, who had land in Culmington, had income from country estates.¹¹⁸ As will be shown below, rural gentry were still much involved with the affairs of Ludlow, but with improving communications they were less likely to live in the town. Those gentry who did reside in Ludlow depended increasingly on investments and urban properties, in Ludlow and elsewhere. Edward Meyrick, an offspring of the

¹¹⁸ PRO, Prob. 11/789, will of Thomas Cooke, Esq., 2nd Nov., 1805: Staffordshire Record Office (Staffs. RO), MSS 35,040, papers of William Hardwick, 2, p. 51.

Meyricks of Knighton and Ludlow who for a century had hovered between gentility and trade, had been a City of London haberdasher, but he retired to Ludlow in 1787, and was styled a Gentleman in the burial register when he died.¹¹⁹ He owned or leased various Ludlow properties, had a freehold house in Holborn and made substantial cash bequests, but there is no record of rural land owning.¹²⁰ Another change since 1763 was the greatly reduced number of lodgers. Only six are recorded, one of which was at an inn, while two others, Mrs Matthews and Miss Poole, were with relatives.

By 1841 the changes in the status and circumstances of the Ludlow gentry had gone further. The town had several lodging houses, but they were aimed at other social groups, especially labourers and artisans. The number of residents with gentry characteristics was 27, but only a few were in the rural landowning tradition, among them Major John Syer, 'Miss Rogers' of Stanage, and Emma Dansey of Little Hereford.¹²¹ More typical were men who had enjoyed successful careers in manufacturing, trade or the professions, and were now able to live 'like gentlemen' in their retirement years. Outstanding amongst them was Sir Edward Thomason, the Birmingham industrialist and coin maker, who had six servants at High Hall from 1837 until the mid-1840s, when ill health drove him to Bath.¹²²

7: The Borough Corporation: membership

As outlined in chapter 1 (p. 20), Ludlow was governed from 1660 to 1836 by the Borough Corporation. This was a self electing oligarchy of 12 Aldermen and 25 Common Councillors, who annually elected an Alderman as High Bailiff and a Councillor as Low Bailiff, with other Councillors serving as Chamberlain, Coroner and Renter.¹²³ A professional lawyer was employed as Town Clerk, while lesser officials included sergeants, beadles and town crier.¹²⁴ A two-tier structure of this

¹¹⁹ SA, LB, 15/2/223-227, Poor Lewn Assessments, 1787 and 1788; *LPR*, p. 1101.

¹²⁰ PRO, prob.11/1316, will of Edward Meyricke, 22nd Dec.,1798.

¹²¹ Robinson, C. J., *A History of The Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (London, 1872), 2001 edn. (Almeley), p. 50.

¹²² *DNB*, XIX, pp. 680-8.

¹²³ HCP, 1835, IV, *Reports from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations, England and Wales* (London), 2782-2803 (pp. 2787-91).

¹²⁴ e.g. SA, LB, 2/1/2, Borough Corporation Minutes 1648-80, p. 269d, appointment of Thomas Jones as Town Clerk, 18th Feb.,1670; *ibid*, p. 260, appointment of Thomas Patchett, John Walbridge and Griffith Morgan as Sergeants, 28th Oct.,1669; SA, LB,

kind was widespread, the Corporations of Carlisle, Doncaster, Ipswich and St Edmund's Bury having compositions similar to Ludlow.

The Corporation is central to this study. They owned a third of land in the Borough, and by the terms of their leases could promote building, ensure repairs and regulate the sale, division and amalgamation of property. As demesne lords, they controlled the public highways and could allow, curtail and on occasion remove palisades, porches and other encroachments. They were responsible for fire control, river management and water supply. They chose the design of public buildings, either directly or through the architects they appointed, and thereby helped to develop and shape the 'consensus of good taste' which gave post-Renaissance Ludlow its style and character.¹²⁵

As shown in Appendix.1, 298 men were members of the Borough Corporation between 1660 and 1834. Of these, more than a third were Gentry, Esquires or Nobility; a quarter came from the professions; just under a fifth were from manufacturers and distributors; and there were small numbers from other occupational groups. The balance between the groups, however, changed chronologically. In 1660 the Corporation was dominated by manufacturers and distributors, which together accounted for four fifths of the membership. From 1661 to 1727 the numbers from manufacturing and distribution declined, while the professions rose to a quarter and gentry to 30%. In terms of parliamentary politics, 1727 was the watershed between years of turbulence, when local landowning families competed for control of Ludlow, and the succeeding century, when Ludlow was virtually a pocket borough in the hands of the owners of Oakly Park and Powis Castle: first the Herberts, then the Clives.¹²⁶ For the years between 1728 and 1827 half the Corporation members were gentry and nobility, including six Herberts, nine Clives and their relatives; while nearly a quarter were professional, with further reductions in manufacturers and distributors. After 1828, with pressure for Reform bearing down on Corporations, the number of gentry dropped sharply, with over half those elected coming from the professions.

8/1/233, Low Bailiff's Account, 1703-04, 'pd. Edward Harris for making of ye beedles' and bellman's clothes, 17s'.

¹²⁵ Examples of these and other processes are given in chapter 6, pp. 322-25.

¹²⁶ Mason, 'Parliamentary Representation 1660-1832, Ludlow', pp. 283-91.

The location of members' residences also changed. In 1660, there were three gentry living within six miles of the town, but the other members all lived in Ludlow.¹²⁷ Between 1660 and 1727, however, more than a fifth of members lived outside the town, nearly all of them within the Ludlow region. Between 1728 and 1827 the number living in town was only 43.7%, with 45.19% from the Ludlow region and the other 11.11% from further afield. The latter group included relatives of the Herbert and Clive families, living in Norfolk, Suffolk and Denbighshire. From 1828, however, when the Court of King's Bench decreed that the election of John Salwey of Richard's Castle in 1821 had been illegal because of residence outside the Borough, recruitment policy changed, and all later elections were of Ludlow residents.¹²⁸

In spite of the pervasive Herbert and Clive influence after 1727, no single group dominated the Corporation. It was indeed, as Katherine Plymley of Longnor observed in 1795, 'a very miscellaneous society', though by that time it had as members, as she continued, 'all the neighbouring gentlemen'.¹²⁹ There was, however, no dominance by a single group, as happened at Leeds, where an oligarchy of wool merchants, many of them closely connected with landed gentry, effectively ran the Borough.¹³⁰ Analysis of the tenure of the Corporation's most senior office, that of High Bailiff, shows that this did not occur at Ludlow. Just over two fifths of the 298 Corporation members between 1660 and 1834 served as High Bailiff, holding the office 187 times, some of them before 1660. Of these, gentry, manufacturers, dealers and professionals held the office 47, 46, 46 and 40 times respectively, a remarkably even balance of power. Even from those elected between 1728 and 1827, when gentry membership was highest, that group supplied less than half of the High Bailiffs, with manufacturers and professionals having a fifth each and professionals an eighth, while on four occasions the office was held by builders: Thomas Owen, house painter, and Charles Wollaston, glazier.

¹²⁷ The members living outside Ludlow were: William Botterell at Aston Botterell (Weyman, H. T. 'Shropshire Members of Parliament', *TSAS*, 4th.ser.,xi, 1927-28, p. 175); Charles Baldwin at Diddlebury (Weyman, 'Members of Parliament for Ludlow', p. 26); Edward Baldwin at Diddlebury (Co. of Arms, LM/8/1663, p. 79).

¹²⁸ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation MinuteBook, 1788-1830, p. 498.

¹²⁹ SA, 1066, Journals of Miss Katherine Plymley, 1792-1814, 6 (1795), p. 16.

¹³⁰ Hennock, E.P., 'The social composition of borough councils in two large cities, 1835-1914', in Dyos, H.J.(ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968), 315-36 (pp. 327-28); Girouard, M., *The English Town* (Yale, 1990), p. 107.

Most Corporation members remained for life, with 39 serving forty years or more.¹³¹ Of these, 17 were gentry, some of whom were elected in their early twenties, but the long servers included eight manufacturers, seven professional men and six distributors. The longest tenures were those of 59 years by Edward Clive, elected in 1777 when 23 years old, who became Earl of Powis in 1804; and Francis Davies, Gentleman, elected in 1769, who lived first in Ludlow, then farmed at Newnham, Worcestershire, until his death in 1828. Samuel Monger, a Corve Street glover, did 57 years from 1748. On the other hand, 74 members served for less for ten years, usually due to death, but sometimes because of political change. On 26th August 1662 three Aldermen and two Councillors were 'removed' as a result of the Corporation and Uniformity Acts.¹³² As part of a widespread bid by the late Stuart government to control the Borough, a new Ludlow Charter of 27th February, 1685, excluded a number of previous members and named eleven new ones, most of whom were removed in 1690.¹³³ The new charter provided for annually appointed Mayors, four of whom served successively until 1689.

There were further adjustments of membership in 1691 and 1695; and in 1709 Bernard Hammond, apothecary, was expelled 'having for several years past neglected to appear at any public meeting'.¹³⁴ After that no member left before death until the Right Revd. Foliott Cornewall resigned in 1798, following appointment as Bishop of Bristol.¹³⁵ In the last six years of the Corporation there were other resignations, some by clergymen, others in old age, - a response, perhaps, to growing criticism of life long tenure. One of these was Edward Baugh, Gent., who resigned in 1831 'on account of his age and infirmities'.¹³⁶

The number of Corporation meetings a year, averaged for each decade, are shown on Fig. 21. The number was highest in the politically turbulent 1680s, when the average was 12.5 a year, to less than two a year after 1810, with a final flurry of activity before and after the 1832 Reform Act, when the Corporation anticipated its demise. Many Boroughs showed a similar pattern, meetings at Monmouth dropping

¹³¹ Lengths of membership calculated from entries in SA, LB, 2/1/2 to LB, 2/1/8: Corporation minutes, 1660-1835. Members and their dates are listed in Appendix 1.

¹³² SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 208d.

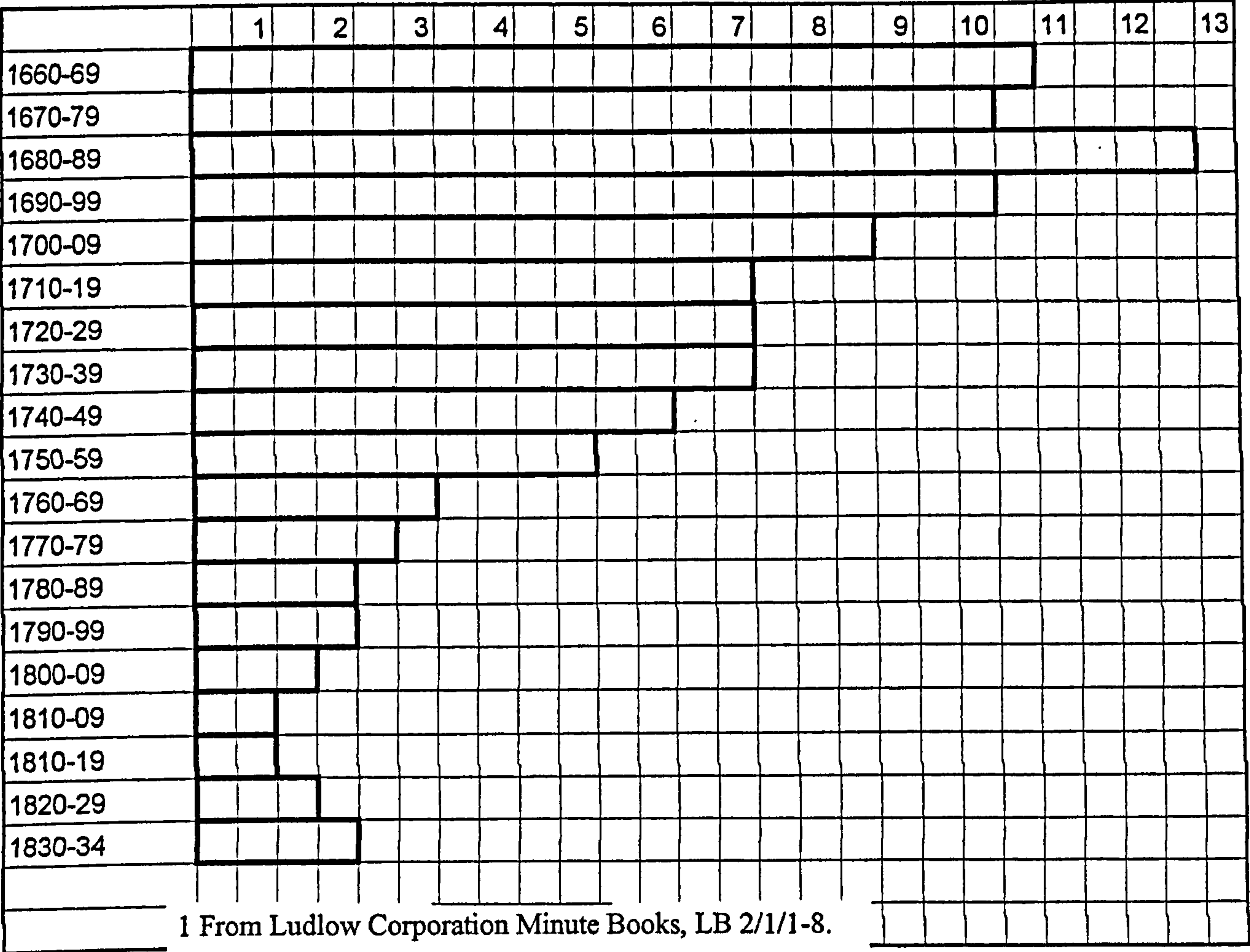
¹³³ *CSPD. James II, 1: Feb. to Dec., 1685*, pp. 50-51.

¹³⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation minute book, 1690-1712, pp. 2-8, 56, 149d.

¹³⁵ *DNB*, IV, p. 1152, Foliott Cornewall; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 97.

¹³⁶ e.g. SA, LB, 2/1/8, Corporation Minute Book, 1830-35, p. 35.

Fig. 21 Ludlow Borough Corporation, average number of meetings each decade (1)



from 12 a year in 1703 to two in 1763, though in some cases frequency increased, as at Beverley, where the usual 12 escalated to 21 in 1805.¹³⁷ At Ludlow the reduction in meetings was offset by delegation to committees or small groups. In 1781, for example, six members, all resident in or within two miles of Ludlow, were appointed ‘to inquire into the Charity School’;¹³⁸ while in 1823 seven members, six of them country residents, were appointed ‘to restore the east window of St Laurence’s parish church’.¹³⁹

Attendances by members are recorded from 1753, showing an average of 20.5, i.e. 55.4%. This compares with attendances at Haverford West, where 25 members

¹³⁷ Kissack, K, *Monmouth: the Making of a County Town* (London 1975), p.57; Macmahon, K.A., *Beverley Corporation Minute Books, 1707-1835*, Yorkshire Arch Soc. series, CXXII (Leeds, 1958), p. xi.

¹³⁸ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minutes, 1744 - 1788, p.202.

¹³⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minutes, 1788 – 1830, p.416.

averaged 13 attendances between 1734 and 1764.¹⁴⁰ At Ludlow attendance after 1753 never dropped below 15 or rose above 29. The best and worst personal records, shown on Fig.22, display the reality behind such figures. The best records are those of a core of local residents, shown by these and other evidence to have been the Corporation work-horses. They all lived or had a town house in Ludlow, they served on numerous committees and some of them acted as deputy bailiffs for more socially elevated colleagues: Henry Davies four times, Samuel Acton eight times, William Russell ten times.¹⁴¹ In contrast are members with very poor attendances, all of them living out of Ludlow, some of them great distances away, as did William Fellowes, nephew to H. A. Herbert, whose estate was in Norfolk.¹⁴² Between these extremes were many who attended intermittently, such as Francis Walker of Onibury, with 41 out of 71, or Richard Salwey of Richard’s Castle, with 15 out of 44.

Fig.22: Attendance records of members of Ludlow Borough Corporation (data available from 1753)

		1	possible attendances					
		2	number of attendances					
		3	%					
Ref. (1)	Name	Occupation/ status	On	Off	Years	1	2	3
the best records								
184	Samuel Monger	glover	1748	1805	57	134	128	95.5
242	William Russell	mercier	1792	1836	46	71	67	94.3
241	Samuel Acton	glover	1792	1836	44	71	64	90.1
164	Somerset Davies	attorney	1738	1786	48	99	89	89.8
158	Richard Baldwin	Gent	1740	1777	37	79	70	88.6
190	Herbert Cole	surgeon	1751	1791	40	109	91	83.5
191	Henry Davies	apothecary	1753	1801	48	119	105	82.2
the worst records								
189	John Smyth	Esq.	1751	1783	32	95	1	1.1
185	William Fellowes	Esq.	1750	1804	54	121	3	2.4
182	Henry Bridgman	Esq.	1748	1801	53	119	3	2.5
173	Thomas Beale	Esq.	1744	1776	32	71	2	2.8
271	William Watkins Wynn	Knight	1816	1836	20	32	1	3.1
196	Thomas Wilde	bookseller	1755	1785	29	100	5	5
186	Richard Hawkins	Army Captain	1750	1780	30	87	5	5.7
[1]	Appendix 1							

¹⁴⁰ Howell, D.W., *Patriarchs and Parasites: the Gentry of South Wales in the Eighteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1986), p. 156.
¹⁴¹ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830.
¹⁴² Weyman, ‘Members of Parliament for Ludlow’, p. 43.

Many of the Corporation were men of learning. Those in the professions, most of them living in Ludlow, included twelve clergy, 23 lawyers, and 24 medical men. Several Corporation members had books, musical instruments and pictures in their inventories. In 1679 Thomas Crump, Esq., Master in Chancery, had 'one payre of Virginalls and books worth £10'.¹⁴³ Thomas Meyricke, mercer, showed 'a pretty collection of pictures', one 'by Holben', to William Stukeley in 1721.¹⁴⁴ Five Ludlow booksellers were Corporation members, among them James Wilde, whose stock, when sold posthumously in 1769, included 'a large Variety of books in different languages'.¹⁴⁵ Many books sold in Ludlow were purchased by local gentry, the library of Francis Herbert of Oakly Park, Bromfield being valued at £300 in 1718 (£36,000 in 2002).¹⁴⁶ Richard Payne Knight of Downton, Greek scholar and numismatist; his brother Thomas Knight, Fellow of the Royal Society and President of the Royal Horticultural Society; and their cousin Thomas Johnes of Croft Castle, translator of Froissart, were leading intellectuals.¹⁴⁷ There were also men of action and builders of Empire, such as Admiral James Vashon, hero of the Battle of the Saints, and Edward Clive, Governor of Madras from 1798 to 1803.¹⁴⁸

Some Corporation members brought particular kinds of experience and knowledge into the town, which helped to fashion local developments and improvement. Thomas Hill of Court of Hill, Burford, whose 'knowledge and integrity as a merchant had gained the esteem and confidence of the commercial world', was praised by Lybbe Powys in 1771 for being 'one of the gentlemen laudably anxious for the improvement of roads'.¹⁴⁹ Architectural interests were especially apposite. In 1737 Henry Salwey, D.D., High Bailiff in 1741, sent a letter from Richard's Castle to his nephew, enclosing 'a rude sketch of my house at Elton as

¹⁴³ HRO, AA/20, probate inventory Thomas Crump, Esq., 8th May, 1679.

¹⁴⁴ Stukeley, W., *Itinerarium Curiosum* (London, 1724), p. 70.

¹⁴⁵ *Aris's Gazette*, 28th August, 1769, sale notice.

¹⁴⁶ PRO, Prob. 3, 18/217, probate inventory of Francis Herbert, Esq., 27th Feb, 1719.

¹⁴⁷ *DNB*, XI, pp. 259-61, Richard Payne Knight; *ibid*, pp. 263-64, Thomas Andrew Knight; *ibid*, X, p. 890, Thomas Johnes

¹⁴⁸ *DNB*, XX, pp. 154-55, James Vashon; *ibid*, IV, pp. 564, Edward Clive.

¹⁴⁹ *Shropshire Chronicle*, 31st Aug., 1776, p. 3, col 3, obituary of Thomas Hill; Powys, P. L., *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, ed. Climenson, E. J. (London, 1899), p. 129.

it is designed to be built'.¹⁵⁰ The works of Richard Payne Knight extolled particularly the picturesque, but in 1805 he also explored symmetry, 'the fitness and proportion of parts to each other and to the whole'.¹⁵¹ Another member 'of scholarly and artistic tastes' was Robert Clive of Oakly Park, who sat on several Corporation committees, such as that which reported on 'the New Bridge at Dinham' in 1821.¹⁵² Clive was later praised by the architect C. R. Cockerell, whom he employed to remodel Oakly Park, for 'having great respect for all that is truly great'.¹⁵³ Cockerell was, however, highly critical of Robert's father, Lord Powis- the major influence on Ludlow Corporation at this time – for acting as his own architect at Powis and 'spoiling a decent house with ill conceits'.¹⁵⁴

Most Corporation members were not innovators or writers, but made the best decisions they could, influenced by the ideas and thoughts around them. In the early years the task of what to-day would be called building regulation was given to twelve annually appointed supervisors, six of them Aldermen, the others Common Councillors. In 1710-11, for example, there were five manufacturers – cutler, chandler, saddler, glover and baker –, two mercers, two lawyers, an apothecary and two gentry.¹⁵⁵ Later, work of this kind went to what can be called project committees, where the names of a few, apparently hard working Ludlow members, frequently recur. Occasionally, a surviving obituary gives a glimpse of public esteem, as for Richard Hodson, ironmonger, who died aged 72 in 1839, when he was described as 'a worthy member of the Corporation for nearly 50 years'.¹⁵⁶

8: The Borough Corporation: Performance and Finance

The Corporation possessed substantial estates, including about a third of all Ludlow properties. Some of these, the 'demesne' lands', were acquired when Ludlow was incorporated as a Parliamentary Borough in 1461; the others were

¹⁵⁰ Garnier, R. and Hewlings, R., 'The Salwey Saga', *Country Life*, 21st Sept., 1989, 208-13 (p. 208).

¹⁵¹ Knight, R.P., *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (London, 1805), p. 196.

¹⁵² Hussey, C.V., 'Oakly Park, Shropshire, II', *Country Life*, 8th March, 1956, p. 426; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 346.

¹⁵³ Watkin, D., *The Life and Works of C. R. Cockerell* (London 1974), p. 164.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 163.

¹⁵⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1714, p. 155.

¹⁵⁶ *Salopian Journal*, 4th Dec., 1839, p. 2, col. 2.

Fig. 23 Extracts from two Corporation lease registers, showing leaseholders, properties and repairs.

Elizabth Dillow wids for Rent of a { 0-8-0
house & garden below Broad gate y and
Ann Daniell for y^r Roaders house { 0-6-8
over y^r Alms house (Chapell side y^r)
nd Rich Daniell jun for house & garden
Rompbut & slop in rowe street Expts wds
now for y^r house garden & orchard
where Henry Lowth did dwell Expts wds
now for y^r rate Duns house & slop Expts wds } 3-4-10
now for y^r house at y^r Church Stables lat
nd Tho: Brown hall y and Expts
now for Rent of a house baitfield, Buildings
& garden on west side y^r Alms house & lat
nd Saml: W Daurds y and Expts wds

Above: DL, Corporation rental, 1679 (dated from internal evidence)

Mr. Saml Davies	A House in Drapers Row	1	1	4
Do	A Stable and Garden at Linney Gate		5	4
Do	Pigeon House close the Close adjoining	4		
Do	A House Orchard & Close late the Porters	2	1	6
Mr. Henry Davies	Mill Meadow and Mill	3	16	0
Do	Meadow & Close at Huttons Gate in Goulford	2	5	
Do	A House and Garden in Monney vale		2	

Above: SA, LB, 4/2/39, Corporation rental, 1756

transferred to the Borough in 1552 after the dissolution of the Palmers Guild.¹⁵⁷ There were also strips in the town fields, and a number of farms and other rural properties. These were leased to tenants: the town properties for 31 years, the rural ones for three lives or 99 years, with entry fines payable when leases were taken.

Extracts from registers of leases are shown on Fig. 23 (p. 103). They included an expensive property, 'house & garden hemp but & close in corve streete' (1679), leased at 22s 6d., and a cheap one, 'a house and garden in Merivale' (1756, Lower Raven Lane), leased at 2s a year. The income from rural properties increased over the years, with leases going to the highest bidder; but the rents of town properties changed only infrequently after 1552 and hardly ever after 1660.

Analysis of rentals from 1660 shows that most Corporation leaseholds were being renewed at consistent rents, but this practice assumed legal authority in 1690, when the inclusion of a covenant for renewal in leases rendered them virtual freeholds. This was one of several measures taken by the Corporation early in the reign of William and Mary to strengthen support after the curtailment of powers in the previous two reigns. The first instance was a lease for 17 Broad Street dated 20th March, 1691, granted to John Salwey for a £5 fine and an annual rent of 12s. The inserted covenant read:

At the expiration of 24 years of this term to grant him a new lease of the same at the like fine and rent but if it is not renewed within seven years of the end of the term then a 6s. fine every year the same is not renewed to be added to this fine.¹⁵⁸

The change did increase the Corporation's income, for it meant that fines would be recharged every 24 years rather than 31, and that if they were not then the Corporation would acquire additional income during the intervening years; but for the leaseholder it greatly increased the value of the property. The terms of the lease were usually stated when the property was advertised for sale, as in this 1756 sale notice for 6 to 8 Tower Street:

To be sold to best bidder at the Crown Inn, 26th July, 3 to 5 p.m. a large, commodious dwelling house, malthouse and garden in Ludlow, late in possession of John Starr, glover, deceased; held by lease under the Corporation of Ludlow at 18s a year renewable at the end of 31 years upon payment fine certain of £4 10s.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Felton, *Charters and Grants to the Town of Ludlow*, pp. 5, 75.

¹⁵⁸ SA, LB, 4/1/719, Corporation lease to John Salwey.

¹⁵⁹ *Aris's Gazette*, 19th July, 1756, p. 4, col. 1.

The property was in fact sold to William Botterell, carpenter, for £60, licence to alien being granted by the Corporation to the executors of the previous owner, John Starr, to alienate the lease.¹⁶⁰

The introduction of covenants rendered it difficult to escape from the Corporation's practice of not increasing town rents. It meant that leaseholders, if they wished, could sublet property at a handsome profit. The Blue Boar was leased to Francis Pryce Esq. in 1720 for a £6 fine and 8s rent per year, a charge of 13s a year if the fine is averaged out at 5s a year over a 24 year period.¹⁶¹ Pryce's inventory, appraised in 1737, shows that the property was sub-let to the tenant, Charles Jones, innkeeper, at £8 a year, leaving Pryce with a profit of £7 7s, it being the custom for tenants to pay property taxes.¹⁶²

With many Corporation members, like Pryce, holding leases, there was a clear personal advantage to members to have renewable leases, thereby freezing rents. A similar decision at Westminster in 1754 has been called 'astonishing' in a study of London's West End estates; and though the capacity for rent increase at Ludlow was much less, the decision clearly limited revenue growth.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, the Corporation, like that at Wells, which also 'did well out of the Reformation', was able to 'live comfortably off its estate', and was able to improve and enhance the town in a number of ways.¹⁶⁴

As at Scarborough, where McIntyre found 'a multitude of accounts', analysis of Ludlow's finances is made difficult by the existence of three main accounts: those of the Bailiffs and the Chamberlain, both covering the civic year from 28th October, and the Renter's account, usually running from Lady Day or some other spring date.¹⁶⁵ These accounts were audited by elected Councillors known as 'the six men',

¹⁶⁰ SA, Morgan collection (5411), 161/4, release of 6-8 Tower Street by John Starr to William Botterell, 26th April, 1757; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, licence to execs. of John Starr to alien to William Botterell, 25th Feb., 1757.

¹⁶¹ SA, LB, 4/1/971, Corporation lease to Francis Pryce, Esq., 7th Feb., 1720.

¹⁶² PRO, Prob. 3/37/23, inventory of Francis Pryce, Esq., 21st Feb., 1737.

¹⁶³ Doolittle, I., 'The City's West End estate: a remarkable omission', *London Journal*, 7 (1981), pp. 15-27.

¹⁶⁴ Scrace, A.J., '1835 Municipal Reform, Wells Corporation and its Estates', *Southern History*, 10 (1988), 129-141 (p. 131).

¹⁶⁵ SA, LB, 4/2/185-296, Renter's Accounts, 1660-1848; SA, LB, 8/1/180-, Bailiffs and Chamberlains Accounts, from 1669 (cataloguing not completed); McIntyre, S., 'Towns as Health and Pleasure Resorts: Bath, Scarborough and Weymouth, 1700-1815', unpublished D. Phil., University of Oxford, 1973, p. 367.

Fig.24: An attempt to consolidate Ludlow Borough Corporation Accounts for two selected years.

Three sets of accounts:					
	Bailffs'				
	Chamberlain's				
.	Renter's				
Replaced by a consolidated account in 1828					
			1734-35 (a)		1832-33 (b)
Income			£ s d		£ s d
	Rents		294 19 01	(2,992 15 00
	Fines		72 13 00	(
	Tolls		104 00 05		2 08 00
	Sundries		8 07 11		15 00 00
	TOTAL		480 00 05		3,010 04 06
Expenditure					
	Salaries		171 08 08		711 14 08
	Almshouses and the poor		62 11 00		247 09 06
	Maintenance		138 16 09	(1,049 18 09
	Entertainment		29 00 03	(
	Interest		6 04 09		
.	Miscellaneous		12 04 04		353 16 01
	Rent arrears		279 10 02		1,010 02 07
	TOTAL		699 19 07		3,486 03 07
Balance			219 19 02		475 19 00
			[deficit]		[deficit]
a)	Consolidated from:				
	SA, LB, 8/1/1266, Bailiffs' and Chamberlain's Accounts, 28 October, 1724				
	to 28 October 1735.				
b)	House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, <i>Journal of the House of Commons</i> ,				
	1835, IV (London), pp. 2782-2803.				
c)	op.cit: 'This large amount of arrers of rent arises from the Indulgence				
	allowed to the tenants of the Corporation, who are not required to				
	pay their Ladyday rents till the ensuing Christmas; and, of course,				
	this is only an apparent defalcation.'				

again a similarity to Scarborough. The income from fields known as ‘the Bailiffs lands’, however, which yielded about £100 a year for the Bailiffs’ annual ball, were not audited, a practice that was much criticised in the 1820s by the Reformers.¹⁶⁶

Fig. 24 is an attempt to consolidate the Corporation accounts for 1734-1735, and to compare them with those for 1832-33, which were published by the Municipal Commissioners. In both cases there is a large deficit, caused by allowing rents due at Lady Day not to be paid until Christmas. In 1734, three quarters of the income came

¹⁶⁶ Felton, *Guide to Ludlow*, 1822, pp. 26-27.

from property, as rents or fines, and slightly over a fifth from tolls, the collection of which was farmed to leaseholders. In the nineteenth century, however, the much hated tolls were perceived as an impediment to trade, and little effort was made to collect them.

Salaries were the largest item of expenditure. In 1734 £30 went to the Master of the Grammar School and £15 to the Usher, though both could supplement their earnings in other ways. The two senior curates at St Laurence's, the Preacher and the Reader, received £26 13s 4d and £20 respectively and the organist £16, all of these being obligations inherited from the Palmers Guild. Most of the charity money went to the inmates of the 33 chambers at Hosier's Almshouses, while maintenance included repaving of streets, repair of public buildings and the provision of piped water to three conduits. In 1705, for example, the Chamberlain, Joseph Pearce, ironmonger, paid £35 7s 9d to 21 named artisans and tradesmen, on items such as 'glazing ye school', 'a rayle for Corve Bridge' and 'four load of pitching stones for Narrow Lane'.¹⁶⁷ The £29 spent on entertaining in 1735-35 covered eleven events during the year, what Rosen, working on Winchester, has called 'the annual round of ritual conviviality', including celebrating royal birthdays and the date of the King's accession and Coronation, 5th November and Rogation Day, and entertaining the Assize Judges as they passed through from Hereford to Shrewsbury.¹⁶⁸

Financial management is one criterion for assessing a Corporation. The quality of its public buildings and its influence on private developments will be considered in chapter 6 (pp. 322-333). Another is 'awareness of 'duties towards tenants in distress', a yardstick by which Dawson found the Corporations of Boston, Nottingham and York to be matched 'by only the more philanthropic landlords of the time'.¹⁶⁹ At Ludlow, several examples can be found. When a lease for 10 Broad Street was issued to Peter Cole, butcher, in 1672, it was on condition that 'his father and mother have the benefit of the property during their lives'.¹⁷⁰ Francis Winwood, victualler and his wife Mary held the lease of the Harp Inn in Church Street for many

¹⁶⁷ SA, LB, 8/1/234, Bailiffs' and Chamberlain's Accounts, 1704-05.

¹⁶⁸ Rosen, A., 'Winchester in transition, 1580-1700', in Clark, *Country Towns*, 143-196 (p. 184).

¹⁶⁹ Dawson, E. J., 'Finance and the Unreformed Borough: a Critical Appraisal of corporation finance 1660-1835, with Special Reference to the Boroughs of Nottingham, York and Boston', unpublished Ph. D., University of Hull, 1978, p. 190.

¹⁷⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 274d.

years, but when in 1770 it was alienated to their niece and her husband, Edward Peach, butcher, it was stipulated that Peach should provide the Winwoods 'with wholesome and sufficient meat, drink, washing, nursing and lodging suitable and fitting for people in their station'.¹⁷¹ In 1814, in a licence to Richard Chipp, butcher, to alienate 27 Bull Ring to another butcher, there was even an acknowledgement that 'diverse disputes and unhappy differences had for some time past arisen between the said Richard Chipp and Jane his wife' causing Jane 'to live apart' and Richard to pay her an annuity of £30 a year.¹⁷²

9: Criticism of the Corporation

The Corporation, like most others, attracted growing criticism during the second half of the eighteenth century. Some of the reasons were of a wider provenance than Ludlow, but locally a number of contributory factors can be detected. One was the payment of tolls, resentment of which caused a local lawyer, Thomas Blainey, to promote an additional toll free fair at Candlemass from 1770.¹⁷³ Another contentious issue was the sale of 78 acres of Whitcliffe Common in 1793 in order to finance improvements in street lighting and street resurfacing.¹⁷⁴ The aim was laudable, but the fact that the sale was to N. L. Charlton and Edward Clive, themselves members of the Corporation who owned adjoining estates, fuelled local suspicions about its motivation.

A great scandal was that of St Leonards's Chapel at the bottom of Corve Street. Built before 1186 by the Knights Hospitallers of Dinmore, the chapel was regarded as a chapel of ease of the parish church and burials took place there until the mid-18th century.¹⁷⁵ In 1771 it came into the charge of the Corporation, who pledged to keep it in good repair. It was later alleged, however, that the roof was taken off in 1773, while in 1787 the walls were dismantled and the stones used to rebuild Corve

¹⁷¹ Corporation assignment of the Harp Inn to Edward Peach, 27th April, 1770. This occurs among the deeds of The Church Inn, which are held by the present proprietor, a legacy from a period of common ownership.

¹⁷² SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 281; the alienation, 28th Oct., 1814, is found in private deeds, accessed through Morgan Solicitors, Ludlow.

¹⁷³ Jones, *Party Feeling in Old Ludlow*, n.p.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid; SA, LB, 7/2332, Questions and Answers put to witnesses re. enclosure of Whitcliffe Common, n.d. (1790s inferred); SA, LB, 7/2333: map of Whitcliffe Common, 1792.

¹⁷⁵ Felton, W., *Proceedings in the Court of Chancery* (Ludlow, c.1820), pp. 1-4.

Bridge.¹⁷⁶ In 1789 the chapel site and yard were leased to Samuel Acton, glover and Common Councillor, who erected on it a building of glovers' cottages and a workshop.¹⁷⁷

Nothing more occurred until 1813, when there was concern about overcrowding in the churchyard, where burials were causing 'indecent disturbance of bodies'.¹⁷⁸ A petition to the Bailiffs for a public meeting on this matter was refused, causing an action group to be set up. In 1815 a petition was sent to the Lord Chancellor pleading for the restoration of the chapel and the re-opening of the burial ground.¹⁷⁹ After a two day hearing the Vice-Chancellor found decisively for the petitioners, declaring that the Corporation had been guilty of 'an enormous breach of trust, and such as could not be expected in a Christian country'; and ordered that the chapel be rebuilt.¹⁸⁰ Litigation rumbled on for many years, with disputes about the value of the chapel and the identity of new Trustees, the matter not being resolved until 1870, when a new chapel was built on a different site.¹⁸¹

The petitioners were manufacturers, dealers and professional men. They included Francis Hand, currier; William George and Thomas Cadwallader, maltsters; William Edwards, mercer; William Felton, bookseller and printer; and George Anderson and Henry Lloyd, lawyers. They were the core of an articulate opposition to the Corporation during the years before 1835 with William Felton an arch protagonist as indicated by the epitaph on his parish church memorial: 'a strenuous supporter of Civil and Religious Liberty'.

The personal unpopularity of Lord Edward Clive (1754-1839), created 1st Earl of Powis by a new creation in 1804, was another contribution to the poor public image of the Corporation. The dominance of local politics before 1831 by 'a noble lord', his 'monstrous extravagance' and 'debauched style' (of living) and the presence of a number of his relatives on the Corporation all offended local opinion, though his powers of patronage were considerable.¹⁸² Felton's denunciation of corporations

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 6.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 7.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 8.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 17.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 48.

¹⁸¹ Cranage, D. H. S., *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire, Part 11, The Hundred of Munslow* (Wellington, 1895), p. 104.

¹⁸² Felton, *Proceedings in the Court of Chancery*, p. 32; Watkin, *The Life and Works of C. R. Cockerell*, p. 163.

generally as ‘hot beds of aristocracy’, first made in 1812, was a thinly veiled criticism of the Powis hegemony.¹⁸³ The validity of this and other criticism of the Corporation, and the changing quality of its performance, will be assessed in chapter 7 (pp. 350-2), when information presented in later chapters can be taken into account.

10: Political turbulence, 1831 to 1848

Nationally and locally, political discontents climaxed by 1831. At a lively meeting in the Guildhall in February, George Anderson, ‘in a speech of considerable power’, railed against ‘the rotten state of the borough of Ludlow, which had been for so many years under the influence of a noble Peer’.¹⁸⁴ For more than a century, the Herberts and then the Clives had controlled Ludlow’s Parliamentary representation, but when the Reform Act of 1832 extended the franchise to £10 a year male householders, their dominance was challenged.¹⁸⁵ The election on 13th December, 1832 had two Whig candidates as well as Lord Edward Clive of Powis Castle and his brother Robert Clive of Oakly Park, both Tories. With 339 voters, Edward Clive polled highest, but Robert Clive was beaten for second place by one of the Whigs, Edward Romilly, who had Herefordshire and Radnorshire connections.¹⁸⁶ Robert Clive took the defeat badly, vowing never to stand for Ludlow again, though he was later elected for Shropshire’s southern division.

Romilly was part of a massive Whig majority in the House of Commons, which led to ‘a series of measures which have well merited the “age of reform” epithet’.¹⁸⁷ One of these was the Act of Municipal Reform, passed in 1835, which abolished self electing Corporations such as Ludlow, replacing it with an elected Borough Council. At an election held on 26th December, 1835 twelve Reformers defeated twelve Tories to become Councillors, and they elected four other Reformers to be Aldermen, one of whom, William Edwards, mercer – a petitioner in 1815 – was elected Mayor.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ Felton, W., *A Description of the Town of Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1812), p. 37.

¹⁸⁴ *The Times*, 3rd Feb., 1831, p. 4, col. 3.

¹⁸⁵ *VCH, Shropshire*, III (London, 1979), pp. 283-91.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 336.

¹⁸⁷ O’Gorman, F., *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832* (London, 1997), p. 373.

¹⁸⁸ Lloyd, D. J., (DL), MS, *An Alphabetical List of the Burgesses of the Borough of Ludlow in the County of Salop with an account of the Votes given to each Candidate*

The old Corporation did not go gracefully. At Oxford the Corporation, out of an annual income of £1,750 from 1821, was able to accumulate and hand over to its successor a surplus of nearly £5,000 ‘in testimony of its stewardship’.¹⁸⁹ At Ludlow, in contrast, bickering marked every stage of the transition, with delays in transferring documents and surrendering the Guildhall key.¹⁹⁰ But all such disputes were eclipsed by the vitriol over the Municipal Charities. Section 71 of the Municipal Reform Act prescribed that all municipal charities should be separated from other municipal funds and be administered by ad hoc Trustees. In 1837 officers of the Chancellor visited Ludlow and appointed 17 Municipal Charity Trustees, seeking a political balance. Seven Tories and nine Reformers (two of whom were Aldermen and three were Councillors) were appointed, and also the retired Birmingham manufacturer, Sir Edward Thomason.¹⁹¹

The separation of the former ‘Gylde’ lands of the Corporation, which were ‘charity’, from the ‘demesne lands’, which were ‘municipal’, proved to be impossible. The Trustees and the Council quickly agreed that lands yielding £540 a year – the amount being paid to the charities in 1832 – should be made over to the Trustees, with the remainder to the Council.¹⁹² It must have been clear to everyone, however, that the Guild lands were well over half of the old Corporation estate, yet of the total Corporation receipts, £2,763 in 1831, less than a fifth went to the charities. This was grossly unfair to the charities.

Ironically, it was the Earl of Powis and his sons who first challenged this agreement. Bitterly opposed to the Reformers who controlled the Council and had a majority among the Trustees, they persisted with their traditional policy of wooing favour in the town, seeking also to procure the enfranchise for renewable leaseholders, whose votes, it was felt, would be to their advantage.¹⁹³ This became more necessary after a Parliamentary bye-election in 1839, caused by the death of the Earl of Powis and the elevation of his son, Edward Clive, to the peerage. In June 1839 a relative of the Clives was defeated by a ‘stranger’, Thomas Alcock, though the

at the Election of Councillors for the said Borough which took place on the 26th day of December 1835.

¹⁸⁹ *VCH, Oxfordshire*, IV (1979), pp. 225-26.

¹⁹⁰ *Salopian Journal*, 3rd April, 1839, p. 4, col. 2.

¹⁹¹ Willis, Revd. A., *A Short Account of the Ludlow Palmers' Guild Estate* (Ludlow, 1845), p. 3.

¹⁹² *Ibid.* p. 16.

¹⁹³ *Salopian Journal*, 3rd April, 1839, p. 2, col. 3.

result was invalidated by a committee of the House of Commons, which found evidence of bribery and corruption on both sides.¹⁹⁴ In anticipation of the repeated bye-election, the Clives now proposed a compromise on the charities, and the allocation of £850 a year was agreed with the Refomers.

Though the Clives deemed it expedient not to have their candidate at the repeated bye-election in 1840, the Tories now defeated Alcock, and at the next full election in 1841, the Tories took both seats. The impact these matters had on Ludlow properties will be shown in chapter 5 (pp. 287-290). The ascendancy of the Tories was reflected in municipal elections, with James Baxter, Esq., a Tory and a member of the old Corporation, becoming Mayor in 1843. In 1841, however, the compromise on the charities was challenged by two petitioners, E. L. Charlton, Esq., of Ludford House, and the Revd. Arthur Willis, Headmaster of Ludlow Grammar School. They argued that the £850 agreed as a compromise was still far short of the what was due to the charities, claiming that if the town lands had been let at their true value since 1552, the charities would have benefited by £184,249.¹⁹⁵

Charlton, who claimed to act of behalf of the inmates of Hosier's Almshouse, was a compulsive disputant, who had quarrelled with the Clives and the Reformers and who, it was alleged, 'to avenge personal and political wrongs, vowed the ruin of the town'.¹⁹⁶ Willis, a man of high principle, had been a housemaster at Shrewsbury School before being appointed Headmaster at Ludlow, but saw scope to increase the school's endowment to make it a great public school comparable to Shrewsbury. Their actions initiated expensive law suits heard in London, before first the Master of the Rolls, then the Lord Chancellor in the Courts of Chancery, the whole issue becoming a *cause celebre*, which was fully reported in *The Times*.¹⁹⁷ The dispute overhung the town, occasioning these comments in a local newspaper in 1845:

Ludlow. There is little business doing here owing to the inclemency of the season and the uncertainty of the charity questions. Some of the lawyers have returned from London and give but little hope that the suit will at present end;

¹⁹⁴ *VCH, Shropshire*, III, pp. 337-38.

¹⁹⁵ Willis, *Ludlow Palmers' Guild Estate*, p. 27.

¹⁹⁶ Brice, Dr C., *Ludlow Grammar School as It Is and Was* (London, 1850), p. 10.

¹⁹⁷ *The Times*, 25th April, 1842, p. 8c; 2nd May, 1842, p. 8c; 6th May, 1842, p. 7e; 6th Dec., 1842, p. 5b; 18th Dec., 1844, p. 6b; 15th Feb., 1845, p. 7d; 17th Feb., 1845, p. 6d; 27th Feb., 1845, p. 8b; 28th Feb., 1845, p. 7f; 3rd March, 1845, p. 7e; 13th March, 1845, p. 7e; 4th July, 1845, p. 8a; 16th Feb., 1846, p. 8d; 3rd May, 1848, p. 5b.

and it is now the prevailing opinion that all the Charity and the greatest part of the Corporation property will be dissipated in law.¹⁹⁸

Wrangling continued, in and out of court, for the next 16 months, but eventually agreement was reached that the annual payments to the charities should be £1525. This was the substance of an Act of Parliament given Royal Assent on 27th July, 1846, by which land in 16 parishes was apportioned to the Charities, with costs of £37,000 and another £4,305 for neglected repairs had to be paid by the Borough Council.¹⁹⁹ Further legislation followed in 1848, with *A scheme for the future regulation and management of the Charities*, entered into the Statute Book on 2nd August, 1848.²⁰⁰

To meet the imposed costs, the Borough Council had to sell the freeholds of nearly all those Guild and Demesne properties, most of them in Ludlow, which had not been allocated to the Charities. The values of the Corporation leases were much less than those of whole properties. That of 42 Mill Street, for example, which had been leased to Thomas White, house painter, for 6s 8d. a year in 1835, was sold to his executors by 'The Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors' for £22 1s 4d. in December 1847.²⁰¹ However, because most of the sales were to the leaseholders themselves, the effect on the pattern of ownership in the town was slight. Sales of lands in Stanton Lacy parish, on the edge of the town, had more far reaching consequences, for the process made them available to developers who eventually created Ludlow's Victorian suburbs – but that is beyond the range of this thesis.²⁰²

11: Other property owning institutions and groups

The Anglican church was at the core of the Ludlow establishment throughout this period, the Corporation resolving in 1692 that 'members repair to the parish church in their Gownes and there sitt in the new seates lately for them erected'.²⁰³ As shown above, the Corporation appointed and paid the Preacher and the Reader, provided them with houses; made annual payments to the organist and the blower;

¹⁹⁸ *Salopian Journal*, 22nd Feb., 1843, p. 3, col. 6.

¹⁹⁹ *Statutes of the Realm*, Act, 10 Victoria.

²⁰⁰ PRO, E. 133/150/84, Crown v. Mayor of Ludlow, etc.

²⁰¹ SA, 5411/126/11, conveyance of 42 Mill Street, 7th December, 1847.

²⁰² Train, C., 'The Growth of Victorian Ludlow', in Lloyd, Payne, Train and Williams (eds.), *Victorian Ludlow*, pp. 36-38.

²⁰³ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 28.

and contributed to church maintenance and restoration from time to time.²⁰⁴ There is evidence that the church was well attended in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. In 1723, for example, 28 persons were ‘admitted to ye sacrament’ and the numbers taking Easter communion were perhaps as high as 968.²⁰⁵ At the end of the 1660 to 1848 period, however, numbers were much lower. The 1851 Ecclesiastical Census records 261 attendances at St Laurence’s on the Sunday of the census, compared to 1749 attending other churches.²⁰⁶ These figures give weight to the comments of a contemporary visitor, who wrote: ‘The Rector....is so unpopular that the Dissenting Chapels and the alehouses are filled on Sunday’.²⁰⁷

The Compton Survey of 1676 listed 21 non-conformists and five ‘papists’, the former being Anabaptists.²⁰⁸ After 1700 the largest group of non-conformists were Independents, who travelled to services in Leominster, but later met at 16 High Street.²⁰⁹ There they were assailed by a mob in 1731 but when the Bailiffs refused to enforce redress, supporters in London obtained compensation on their behalf, enabling them to build a small chapel down a yard in lower Corve Street. The church had mixed fortunes, but thrived at times, especially under the Revd. David Francis, Minister from 1800 to 1824. By 1830 the Independents – later called the Congregationalists – were able to build a new chapel in Old Street.²¹⁰

The evangelical awakening of the mid-eighteenth century did not reach Ludlow for many years, though in 1749 and later Charles Wesley sometimes visited the town, where his wife’s family, the Gwynns of Garth in Breconshire, hired various

²⁰⁴ e.g. SA, LB, 4/2/217, Renter’s Accounts, 1739-40.

²⁰⁵ DL, Easter Book (EB), 1717-1724, entries for 1723. The ‘young persons admitted to ye sacr(a)m(en)t’ are listed, so the total given is accurate. The number of ‘Com(munican)ts’ at each service, from Palm Sunday to the third Sunday after Easter, totals 968, but some people may have taken the communion on more than one occasion.

²⁰⁶ PRO, HO, 129/352/2, 1851 Ecclesiastical Census, Ludlow deanery.

²⁰⁷ Fay, Anna Maria, *Victorian Days in England: Letters Home by an American Girl* (Boston, 1923; reprinted Ludlow, 2002), pp. 20-21.

²⁰⁸ Whiteman, *The Compton Census*, p. 255; HRO, Hereford Diocese (HD), 7, 1668/37, presentations to the Diocesan Consistory Court, 19th January, 1668.

²⁰⁹ Evans, J., *Handbook to Ludlow*, 1st edn. (London, 1865), pp. 95-96.

²¹⁰ Deeds of Chapel House (18 Old Street), in possession of the owner, Mr P. Smith, assignment to Church Trustees, 27th Feb., 1830.

town houses.²¹¹ The Methodists were first established on Clee Hill but a chapel was built in Lower Broad Street in 1800, with a congregation of 'about 300' by 1832.²¹² A Primitive Methodist Church began in 1824 or earlier, meeting first in private houses, but a chapel opened in Old Street in 1836.²¹³ As the Ecclesiastical Census suggests, all these churches thrived, John Tharm, Primitive Methodist Preacher, writing in 1843: 'I am enjoying more of the Lord than I have for some time past'.²¹⁴

Friendly societies, providing a range of welfare benefits in return for weekly contributions, proliferated in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, with 9,600 in Great Britain in 1803.²¹⁵ These societies were 'mainly for the artisan classes in towns.'²¹⁶ In Ludlow, at least eight such societies have been identified, the first being the White Horse Amicable Society, to which property in Upper Galdeford was mortgaged in 1782.²¹⁷ The names of trustees are sometimes cited in title deeds, for example James Cook, cooper, and Edward Hartland, leather dresser, who were trustees for the Barley Mow Benefit Society in 1818.²¹⁸ In 1812 there were seven such societies, one of them the Annuity Society at the White Horse Inn, whose members contributed 10s 6d quarterly, receiving 8s weekly for 'casual sickness or infirmity'.²¹⁹ In 1822 it was estimated that the societies had 'between 61 and 100 members each'.²²⁰ The societies kept a high profile in the life of the town. In 1840, for example, members of the Sun Benefit Society 'attended divine service at St Laurence's Church, after which they dined together, passing the evening with great harmony and sociability'.²²¹

²¹¹ *The Journal of Charles Wesley*, Vol.11(Michigan, 1980), entries 3rd-8th June, 1749; 21st Feb.,1750; 22nd July – 7th Aug., 1750; Nov.1750; 29th June. 1751; Williams, A.H., 'The Gwynnes of Garth, c.1712-1809', *Brycheiniog*, 14(1970), 79-94 (pp. 83-84).

²¹² Wright, *History and Antiquities of Ludlow*, p. 180; HCP, 1835, IV, *Reports from Commissioners on Municipal Corporations of England and Wales* (London), p. 2801.

²¹³ *Register of Baptisms, Old Street Methodist Chapel, Ludlow, 1824-37* (Shropshire Family History Soc., Shrewsbury, 1988).

²¹⁴ Grieves, J., *Brief Account of the Life of John Tharm* (London,1844), p. 20.

²¹⁵ Dupree, M., 'The Provision of Social Services', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, 3, 1840-1950 (Cambridge, 2000), 351-94 (p. 359).

²¹⁶ Clark, P. and Houston, R.A, 'Culture and Leisure 1700-1840', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, 2, 1540-1840, p. 611.

²¹⁷ Private deeds of Woodville Cottages, seen by courtesy of Morgans, Solicitors, during a conveyance, Jan., 1995, property on south side of St Stephens Yard, 25th Dec., 1782.

²¹⁸ SA, 5411/48/2, mortgage of 75-76 Lower Broad Street, 12th Nov., 1818.

²¹⁹ Felton, *A Description of the Town of Ludlow*, p. 93.

²²⁰ Ibid , *A New Guide to Ludlow*, p. 34.

²²¹ *Hereford Journal*, 5th Aug., 1840, p. 3, col. 6.

12: Individual finances

With property development and improvement both having monetary implications, individual finances are clearly relevant to this thesis. Yet personal wealth is difficult to assess. The reliability of wills and probate inventories for indicating real net wealth is limited. Statements of personal fortune or annual income sometimes occur in press reports, but they cannot easily be checked. Court and bankruptcy cases often contain much information, but are not necessarily without prejudice. Useful sources are those relating to the development of local banking systems; and the many references in title deeds to mortgages. What does emerge strongly is the existence of a credit economy throughout the 1660 to 1848 period, with the national vogue for 'circulating wealth' and eventually for 'paper wealth' finding echoes at Ludlow.²²²

An analysis has been made of 1,498 wills, of which 91% were proved at the Hereford Diocesan Court (now in Hereford Record Office) and the remainder at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (now at the Public Record Office). The number of inventories was 542, all but eleven of which date from before 1760, after when the practice of exhibiting such documents was infrequent. At first intermittently, but from 1780 with increasing regularity, it was replaced at diocesan courts by the declaration of an upper value of the eligible estate, using rounded, well spaced totals prefixed with the word 'under'. Thus 'under £2,000' is written below the will of Edward Shepherd, mercer, proved 21st April, 1820.²²³ This procedure, which was related to the charges of church officials, was not followed at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

After a study of 'several thousand inventories', Cox and Cox argued that valuations of items were 'consistent' and 'subject to exactly the same factors that have always affected prices'.²²⁴ The total values given, however, are of limited usefulness, as expressed by Spufford:

The sum which occurs at the foot of the probate inventory cannot be taken to indicate any individual's real net wealth, even in an approximate manner, not

²²² Langford, P., *A Polite and Commercial People*, England 1727-1783 (Oxford, 1992), p. 568.

²²³ HRO, AA/20, will of Edward Shepherd, mercer, 21st April, 1804.

²²⁴ Cox, N. and J., 'Valuations in probate inventories: Part 1', *The Local Historian*, 16 (1985), 467-77 (p. 467).

only because it does not indicate, as we all know, real estate, but because it carries no clue to the extent of his indebtedness.²²⁵

Discharge accounts attached to a few Ludlow probates in the 1670s support the latter point. At least four Ludlow tradesmen – John Lewis, chandler; Richard Maund, dyer; William Reynolds, glover; Ralph Sharrett, apothecary – owed more money than they were worth, either through book debts or bonds.²²⁶ Furthermore, as in all inventory collections, the ‘lesser sort’ are poorly represented; and for Ludlow the number of gentry and other elite inventories, though the wills usually survive, is also proportionately low.

The inventory values do show the enormous range in the valued moveable assets of Ludlow residents. Before 1760, the values of the 532 inventories range from 290 under £20, to seventeen of £500 or more, though only four over £1,000, the highest being that of Francis Pryce, Esq., worth £3, 353 5s 7d in 1737.²²⁷ From 1760 onwards, during a time of inflation, the number with high values rose sharply with 49 of more than £1,000 from a wide occupational range; while there were only 46 under £20.

What the inventory values do indicate is the importance of credit. As shown on Fig. 25 nearly two fifths of all inventoried wealth was represented by credit, a figure in excess of the 32.07% found by Holderness in a study of 1320 inventories from fifty parishes in rural Lincolnshire for 1660 to 1799.²²⁸ Some of the debts were small, incurred during the normal course of business, as by Thomas Hill, victualler, in 1686, to whom ‘small debts due’ were £4 out of a total valuation of £25 10s.²²⁹ Different in scale were the £1,183 4s of ‘debts due by Bonds, Mortgages and others’ to Jacob Davies, tin plate worker and hardware dealer in 1733.²³⁰ This figure,

²²⁵ Spufford, M., ‘The limitations of the probate inventory’, in Chartres, J. and Hey. D. (eds.), *English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), 139-74 (p. 173).

²²⁶ HRO, AA/20, inventory of John Lewis, 2nd July, 1675 & acct. of Alice Lewis, widow, 13th April, 1676; inventory of Richard Maund, 18th Dec., 1677 & acct. of Margaret Maund, widow, 16th May, 1679; inventory of William Reynolds, 13th June, 1676 & acct. of Samuel Reynolds, nephew, 8th May, 1678; inventory of Ralph Sharrett, 20th April, 1675 & acct. of Mary Sharrett, widow, 2nd May, 1676.

²²⁷ PRO, Prob. 3/37/23, inventory of Francis Pryce, Esq., 21st Feb., 1738.

²²⁸ Holderness, B. A., ‘Credit in a Rural Community, 1660-1800, some neglected aspects of probate inventories’, *Midland History*, 3 (autumn 1975), pp. 94-115.

²²⁹ HRO, AA/20, will of Thomas Hill, 11th May, 1686.

²³⁰ HRO, AA/20, will of Jacob Davies, 3rd Oct, 1733.

Fig. 25: Debts as a proportion of Ludlow inventory valuations, 1660 to 1848

	1660-1759	1760-1845	Total
Number of inventories	527	533	1060
Total valuations	£41,562	£41,852	£83,414
Number of inventories with debts	186	206	392
Total value of debts	£15,966	£16,845	£32,811
% of debts value of total value	38.41%	40.25%	39.33%

73% of the valuation, shows that Davies was investing his surplus capital in bond loans to others, or in property through mortgages. There are 17 wills with no inventories that also refer to practices of this kind, such as that of Magdalen Baldwin of Ludlow, widow, who in 1731 left her friend, Mrs Elizabeth Lutley, ‘£200 due from Charles Smyth of Ludlow, Esq.’.²³¹

The most frequent form of credit was the mortgage. The amounts could be large and part of complex transactions, as in 1783 when the Ludlow attorney Somerset Davies offered ‘his estates’ as security for the £29,000 he owed to the Government in his capacity as Receiver General of Land Tax for Shropshire, Davies agreeing to pay instalments of £5,000 a year.²³² More common were such arrangements as that made by William Wilmott in 1736, when he took out a bond for

²³¹ HRO, AA/20, will of Magdalen Baldwin, 11th Feb,1731.

²³² HRO, Knight papers (T75), 68, lease and release, 5th & 6th June, 1783, by Somerset Davies, Esq., to Henry Wilmot of Bloomsbury, Esq., and Robert Pardoe of Lincoln’s Inn.

£20 from Thomas Hattam, mason, on the security of the tenement in Upper Galdeford which his wife had inherited from her grandfather, John Pearce, tiler.²³³

Mortgages enabled mortgagees to make use of their surplus capital and mortgagors to undertake building and other projects. In 1703 Richard Browne, attorney, purchased 142 Corve Street, covenanting 'within five years to lay out £30 or upwards 'erecting a good, substantial dwelling house'.²³⁴ He borrowed the £30 off William Page of Ludlow, innkeeper, the building being described in 1711 as 'a large house wherein are three dwellings'.²³⁵ Many mortgagees for building and other projects lived outside Ludlow, the mortgage being the means by which Ludlow became part of a web of circulating capital, embracing the Ludlow region and beyond. When James Smith of Ludlow, maltster, inherited a 'garden and barn' at 51 to 57 Old Street in 1823, he built 'four newly erected messuages' with the aid in 1825 of a £400 mortgage from Richard Watkins of Onibury, a blacksmith.²³⁶ In 1832 the mortgage, now raised to £500, was transferred to Mary Oakley of Leamington Spa, daughter of the Revd. Herbert Oakley of Lydham; and in 1835 it was transferred again to Mary's sister Anna, then living in Shrewsbury; and in 1836 to a third sister, Catherine Oakley of Shrewsbury.²³⁷ The mortgaging system often embraced people of only modest circumstances, as in 1758, when William Bryan, a journeyman watchmaker, took out a £20 mortgage on the Hole in the Wall in Dinham from Mary Winwood, a spinster who paid only 6d church lewn in 1763.²³⁸

Statements on the wealth of rich people occur in various places. At the top of the range was the London merchant Sir Josiah Child, Member of Parliament for Ludlow from 1685 to 1688, whose daughter married the son of the Duke of Beaufort, President of the Council of the Marches.²³⁹ The diarist John Evelyn, who thought

²³³ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-1787, p. 52; *LPR*, p. 820, marriage of William Wilmott and Eliz. Thompson, 3rd Mar., 1735; HRO, AA/20, will of John Pearce, 15th Jan., 1734.

²³⁴ SA, 5411/74/1, lease from Edward Smallman, 6th Nov., 1703.

²³⁵ *Ibid*, 74/2, recited conveyance by Richard Brown to Trustees for his wife, 3rd March, 1711.

²³⁶ *Ibid*, 133/3, mortgage, James Smith to Richard Watkins, 18th July, 1825.

²³⁷ *Ibid*, 133/5-6, mortgage to Mary Oakley, 13th Aug., 1833; *ibid*, 133/9-10, transfer of mortgage to Anna Oakley, 9th/10th May, 1835; *ibid*, 133/11-12, transfer of mortgage to Catharina Oakley, 12th/13th May, 1836.

²³⁸ SA, LB, 4/1/129, Corporation lease to William Bryan and Elizabeth his wife, 15th Feb., 1758; DL, EB, 1763-71.

²³⁹ Weyman, 'Members of Parliament for Ludlow', p. 35.

him 'sordidly avaricious', estimated his estate in 1683 at '(tis said) £200,000'. It is doubtful if any of this wealth permeated to Ludlow, but that of Richard Knight of Bringewood, ironmaster, certainly did. In his will, made in 1734, Knight gave bequests of £28,000, but he had previously made marriage settlements on behalf of his three daughters totalling £26,000.²⁴⁰ Considerable lands had been bought, some of which provided the 'fortune of £7,000 a year' inherited by Richard Payne Knight 'from his late grandfather' when he was 21 in 1772.²⁴¹ Some Ludlow tradesmen attained lesser fortunes. In 1743 William Jones, 'a considerable mercer of Ludlow' died, leaving '£10,000 to £12,000' behind him; and when Samuel Waring died in 1744 he was described as 'an eminent wholesale glover reported worth £20,000, the bulk of which he has left to his Nephew, Mr Samuel Waring, who continues on the business'.²⁴² The wills of Jones and Waring add details. Jones left a farm at Llandewey, Radnorshire and two Ludlow properties, and also £1,000 to each of his four daughters.²⁴³ Waring had 'messuages, farms and land' at Corley, Cleeton, Ditton Priors and Brimfield, and owned or leased several Ludlow properties.²⁴⁴

There was clearly no shortage of capital in the higher echelons of Ludlow society. It will be a significant finding of this study, however, that houses were owned and sometimes built by people from all social groups. It is necessary, therefore, to look briefly at what can be ascertained about income and financial surpluses at lower income levels. This is a vast and highly technical subject, and can only be treated superficially.

The Chamberlain's accounts for 1735 show that the carpenters John Hattam and Edward Woodall, when working for the Corporation, were paid 18 pence a day, whereas men working with them were paid lesser sums, from 1s to 1s 4d.²⁴⁵ Working for several customers, of which the Corporation was one, it is not known

²⁴⁰ HRO, T74, 246, will of Richard Knight, Esq., 22nd Jan., 1734; *ibid*, 258, marriage settlement between Edward Baugh of Leintwardine, Gent., and Elizabeth, eldest dau. of Richard Knight, Esq., 29th May, 1716; *ibid*, 227, marriage settlement between Richard Knight, jun. and Elizabeth, dau. of Folliott Powell of Stanage, 15th March, 1720; *ibid*, 262, marriage settlement between Abraham Spooner of Birmingham, ironmonger, and Anna, dau. of Richard Knight, 18th June, 1733.

²⁴¹ *Hereford Journal*, 20th Feb., 1772, p. 3, col. 4.

²⁴² *Aris's Gazette*, 23rd May, 1743, p. 2, col. 3; *ibid*, 1st Oct, 1744, p. 3, col. 3.

²⁴³ PRO, Prob., 11/727, f.237, will of William Jones, 26th July, 1743.

²⁴⁴ PRO, Prob., 11/735, f.246, will of Samuel Waring, 26th Oct., 1744.

²⁴⁵ SA, LB, 8/1/266/2, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1734-35, receipts from John Hattam (32) and Edward Woodall (34).

how many days they worked or how their hours changed seasonally, but if it is assumed they worked for 300 days their earnings might have been about £22 10s a year. This was considerably less than the 'Common Wages, from Twelve to Fifteen Shillings a week that could be expected by a London craftsman, giving over £30 a year'.²⁴⁶ Wages in the provinces, however, were perceived by contemporaries as lower, though the rates varied regionally and in other ways.²⁴⁷ The men working for Hattam and Woodall, their journeymen and labourers, would have earned less, perhaps about £15 a year.

There is little evidence on which to estimate the cost of living, though annuities left to support single persons may be indicative. In 1735 Richard Rickards charged his grandson to support his mother 'at £5 a year', while in 1740 Mary Prickett left '£10 a year' for the support of Margaret, widow of Jacob Davies.²⁴⁸ Rents of medium sized houses were over £5, for example 2 and 3 Mill Street, which was £6 a year; but settlement examinations showed that cheaper property was available, such as the house hired by Henry Lambert, forgerman, in 1748, for '40s a year'.²⁴⁹ With many variables, such as size of household and number of wage earners, any assessment of the extent to which savings were possible, especially among 'the lower orders' would be incautious; but the fact that in 1774 'one Tipton, an industrious working man', had stolen from him £30 'which he by industry and hard labour had saved', shows that surplus capital could be accumulated.²⁵⁰

13: Banking and bankruptcy

Tipton's misfortune shows the lack of an easily accessible banking system in Ludlow until after the 1770s, but for the affluent there were arrangements for transfer of capital and for investment. In 1663 Lord Herbert of Chirbury, handling his Irish affairs, offered to accept £250 'by bill of exchange on some able person in London',

²⁴⁶ Campbell, R., *The London Tradesmen* (1747), cited in Ayres, J., *Building the Georgian City* (Yale, 1998), p. 37.

²⁴⁷ Ayres, *ibid*, p. 37.

²⁴⁸ HRO, AA/20, will of Richard Rickards, joiner, 3rd June, 1736; PRO, Prob. 11/702, will of Mary Prickett, widow, 25th May, 1740.

²⁴⁹ HRO, AA/20, inventory of Mary Baldwin, 16th Nov., 1736; SA, LB, 15/2/875, settlement certificate.

²⁵⁰ *Shropshire Chronicle*, 26th Feb., 1774, p. 3, col. 2.

while in 1665 he received such a bill for £550 from his agent.²⁵¹ The earliest known company investment was by Henry Charlton, Esq., a lodger in Ludlow, who referred in his will in 1687 to '£500 due to me by bond from the East India Company'.²⁵²

• Later investors included Humphrey Walcot of Lydbury North, who became a Director of the Royal African Company; Francis Herbert of Bromfield, Esq., who had £6,500 shares in the South Sea Company in 1718; and Samuel Waring, glover, who in 1744 'had money in the Bank of England Company and stock in the East India Company'.²⁵³

No banks appeared in Ludlow until the 1780s but as stated by Corfield;

Many attorneys acted as financial intermediaries, lending money, discounting bills of exchange, organising mortgages, collecting debts and functioning as interim deposit bankers. That made them significant players in the money markets, with sizeable sums to invest for themselves and their clients.²⁵⁴

John Baldwin, Esq. attorney, a widower, who lived, with two clerks, in the household of his aunt, Mrs Isabella Sprott, at 17 Broad Street, is a example of such an attorney.

• The extracts in Fig.26 (p.123) are a sample of over three hundred financial dealings presented in Chancery in 1732 as evidence in a family dispute over alleged impropriety by Baldwin.²⁵⁵ He borrowed extensively from local people, such as Sir Charles Lloyd (reference 5/6), investing large sums elsewhere, such as £1300 at Swansea (32). He acted as mortgagee (1), lent money to clients (7) and handled the affairs of clients, such as securing a commission for the son of a Dr Dunster (27/28). Most clients were gentry but one of the bonds (11) was from Edward Woodall (carpenter). He paid tradesmen's bills for a Mr Baldwyn (12-15), perhaps a relative. The most interesting feature of the accounts is the light they cast on the credit economy, showing that interest often went unclaimed for many years, such as that owing since 1705 on the £100 capital sum of 'Mr Wood', a Ludlow brazier.²⁵⁶

• Bank notes and investments continued to promote money circulation. In 1767 William Hodges of Bromfield wrote to his son in Cheshire:

²⁵¹ *Herbert Correspondence* (ed. Smith), pp. 302, 333.

²⁵² PRO, Prob., 11/443, will of Henry Charlton, Esq., 16th Jan., 1697.

²⁵³ SA, 151, calendar to Walcot collection; PRO, Prob 3, 18/271, inventory of Francis Herbert, Esq., 26th May, 1719; PRO, Prob. 11/735, will of Samuel Waring, 26th Oct., 1744.

²⁵⁴ Corfield, P., *Power and the Professions* (London, 1995), p. 73.

²⁵⁵ PRO, C. 11/787/11, Baldwin v. Yapp, 17th May, 1732.

²⁵⁶ DL, EB, 717-24, 1724 entry, Old Street ward.

Fig. 26: Selected items from the inventory of John Baldwin, 1732 (1)

Reference	Year	Entry in Inventory	£ s d
1	1714	mortgage from Mr John Woolley	40 00 00
2	1719	paid to Owen the Taylor for George Walcot, Esq.	20 00 00
3	1719	bond from Mr Yate	100 00 00
4	1720	paid Mr Karver for a debt to Roger Child	28 03 06
5	1722	paid Sir Charles Lloyd	25 05 00
6	1722	paid Sir Charles Lloyd Principal and Interest	425 10 06
7	1724	lent Mr Francis Walker by his servant	40 00 00
8	1724	paid for interest to Mr George Vaughan	8 15 06
9	1724	paid Mr William Bridgen in discharge of Mr Yates bond to him	132 00 00
10	1724	paid Dr Dunster for debts	66 08 00
11	1725	bond from Edward Woodall	20 00 00
12	1725	paid Bowen the Taylor for Mr Baldwyn	6 01 08
13	1725	paid Ralph Harris glover for Mr Baldwyn	2 13 06
14	1725	paid Mr Bowen the mercer	26 16 00
15	1725	paid Mr Edward Robinson for debts of Mr Baldwyn	3 07 00
16	1725	paid Mr Knight for Bond for Mr Aunslow	161 05 00
17	1725	paid for Bond to Mr Wood	100 00 00
18	1725	paid the interest for 20 years at 6%	120 00 00
19	1725	discharge of bond to Mr John Jones	100 00 00
20	1725	paid Interest of Mr Jones from 11 October 1705	132 00 00
21	1727	note from Mr Thomas Yapp	52 10 05
22	1727	paid for a bond debt to Mr Smallman	120 00 00
23	1727	in discharge bond with Mrs Fowler	300 00 00
24	1727	In discharge of bond to Mr Waring	200 00 00
25	1727	paid for interest to Mr Waring for ten years	100 00 00
26	1727	paid for interest to Mrs Fowler	195 00 00
27	1727	paid to Dr Dunster being money he laid down for his a Commission for his son Edward	304 07 00
28	1727	for coach hire on that occasion	10 00 00
29	1727	paid for interest of £1100 to Edward Baldwyn Esq. of Shrewsbury	55 00 00
30	1727	paid for interest to his aunt Mary	390 00 00
31	1727	salarey for collecting rent in (illegible) Lane for 18 years	52 00 00
32	undated	In the hands of Mr Gabriell Powell of Swanzey, £800 whereof belong to Mr Sprott	1300 00 00
	[1]	PRO, Prob., 31, 1770/788.	

I have sent by your brother (viz. 76 guineas, silver, and a Bank note for twenty pounds) £100, which in a former letter you were so kind to say that you would put for me upon good security.²⁵⁷

In 1779 Anne Bowen, in London, wrote to the Rev. William Bennett in Ludlow:

I write a few days ago that a gentleman with money of mine was out of Town. He returned this morning. I send you two Banks Bills for £100 and £40.²⁵⁸

- To facilitate such arrangements provincial banks were rapidly developing. The statesman Edmund Burke estimated that 'in 1750 there were not more than about a dozen bankers in the country', but the number had risen to 'about 120' by the mid-1780s and possibly 400 by the early 1790s.²⁵⁹ One of these was Berwick & Co. at Worcester from 1772, which was used by the Dunnes of Gatley Park and Ludlow.²⁶⁰

The first registered Ludlow bank was that of Coleman, Davies and Kinnersley, described in 1790 as of Leominster and Ludlow.²⁶¹ The bank seems to have started in 1787 or earlier.²⁶² All three partners were lawyers, James Kinnersley being resident at the Broad Gate, Ludlow, in or near which the bank may have been located.²⁶³ Letters to Kinnersley from Thomas Haselwood at Bridgnorth, seeking an advance of £2,000, and from Sir Charles Boughton Rouse of Downton Hall, on land valuation, both written in 1789, are two of many letters dealing with financial business.²⁶⁴ By 1794 Edward Wellings, a Ludlow mercer, had joined the partnership, which by 1802 had become Kinnersley, Coleman and Wellings. Receipts to Dr Martin Dunne show that he deposited £4,275 with Coleman and Wellings between 1802 and 1814.²⁶⁵ By 1826 the partners had a ledger of 748 entries, with most of the

²⁵⁷ Letters of the Hodges family, 1757-77 (Hodges), 38, letter from William Hodges of Bromfield to Thomas Hodges of Holmes Chapel, 15th Oct., 1767.

²⁵⁸ HRO, C. 95/B/4/xuv, papers of the Poole and Bennett families.

²⁵⁹ Grant, G. L., *The Standard Catalogue of Provincial Banks and Banknotes* (London, 1977), pp. x, 1.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 95; HRO, Gatley Park estate records (F76), 1V/75, banknote.

²⁶¹ *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 22nd Oct., 1790.

²⁶² Inf. ex. Michael Pinhorn, Isle of Wight, from research into the Coleman family; confirmed by SA, 1141/1, mortgage of house in Upper Galdeford to James Kinnersley, Ludlow; Thomas Coleman, Leominster; Philip Davies, Gent., 22nd June, 1787.

²⁶³ EB, 1785-88, 1788 entry; Felton, *A Description of the Town of Ludlow*, p. 89.

²⁶⁴ 18th and 19th century letters, in possession of C. Underhill of Ambergate, Derbyshire (Underhill); no. 8, Thomas Haslewood to James Kinnersley, Jan. 5th, 1789; no. 11, C.M. Boughton Rouse to James Kinnersley, Dec. 20th, 1789.

²⁶⁵ HRO, 76, Gatley Park collection, 1V/76, receipts 1802-14.

accounts still open at the time of bankruptcy.²⁶⁶ Most customers came from Ludlow or its region, but business was done as far away as Newtown in Montgomeryshire, Old Radnor, Worcester and Manchester.²⁶⁷ In 1805 a second bank, that of Giles, Edward and James Prodgers, started in Ludlow, growing out of the business of Giles Prodgers, druggist, at 2B Bull Ring.²⁶⁸ A third bank, opened in 1816, was the Ludlow Savings Bank, with Viscount Clive as President, its purpose being to 'encourage the labouring classes to save against the hour of need'.²⁶⁹ By 1820 the Savings Bank had £15,000 credit, with 593 depositors.²⁷⁰

The number of bankruptcies recorded on Fig. 27 (p.126) reflects the sources of information as well as the financial frailty of the time. The most productive sources of information are local newspapers, which grew in number, and carried more local news from 1770. Nevertheless, the high numbers from the 1790s to 1831 are striking, reflecting the economic fluctuations of the years of the French wars and of their aftermath. Those bankrupt included leading owner innkeepers like Richard Hodnet, of the Crown, in 1806 and William Whitney of the Angel, in 1822. Two bankrupts were speculative builders: Duncan Campbell, who bought land in Dinham, and erected a pair of elite houses at 11 and 12; and Benjamin Beech, brickmaker, one of the first developers of back buildings in Upper Galdeford.²⁷¹ The failure of two operators providing for opposite ends of the social spectrum illustrates the risks taken by speculators.

However, it was the failure of the banks which had the widest repercussions. Prodgers and Co. stopped payment in late December, 1824, with 'an immense concourse of creditors' at the meeting of Commissioners in February 1825, an accountant reporting that 'the cash book had never balanced from the first commencement of business'.²⁷² *The Times* reported that debts 'already proved'

²⁶⁶ PRO, Bankruptcy (B3), 1041, bankruptcy papers of Coleman and Wellings, 29th March, 1826.

²⁶⁷ *Salopian Journal*, 7th May, 1794, p. 3, col.3..

²⁶⁸ *Hereford Journal*, 6th Feb.,1805, p. 3, col. 4.

²⁶⁹ *Hereford Journal*, 8th Nov., 1820, p. 3, col. 2.

²⁷⁰ Ibid

²⁷¹ SA, LB, 2/1/6,Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p.162, licence to alien, Duncan Campbell, messuage in Dinham; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 22nd March, 1777, p. 3, col. 4, sale notice; HRO. AA/20, will of William Beach, 1st March, 1780.

²⁷² *Salopian Journal*, 29th Dec.,1824, p. 2, col. 2; *ibid*, 5th Jan., 1825, p. 2, col. 5.

Fig. 27: Known bankruptcies in or near Ludlow, 1660-1848

Date	Bankrupt	Occupation	Place	Source of information	Notes
1695	Job Walker	ironmonger	Bringewood	LG 9 Sept.	ironworks
1724	Edward Harris	mercier	Ludlow	JG 23 Nov.	
1744	Roger Phillips	maltster	Ludford	AG 26 March	
1779	Duncan Caombell	architect	Welshpool	HJ 29 July 1779	
1783	Benjamin Beach	brickmaker	Ludlow	JH 6 March	11 houses, stable
1793	Jeremiah Owen	dealer	Ludlow	HJ 21 Aug.	
1794	William Williams	merchant (late Leeds)	Ludlow	SC 25 April	
1799	Jonathan Massey	cabinet maker	Ludlow	SC 4 Jan.	5 houses
1800	Samuel Harding	linen draper	Ludlow	HJ 26 Feb.	
1800	John Pebby	saddler	Ludlow	HJ 21 May	
1800	John Hayes	woollen draper	Ludlow	HJ 3 Sept.	
1804	Thomas Harding	innkeeper	Ludlow	HJ 17 Oct.	share of Sun Inn
1806	Richard Hodnet	innkeeper	Ludlow	SJ 5 March	
1806	William Beach	mercier	Ludlow	SJ 1 Oct	
1810	William Bowen	blacksmith	Ludlow	SJ 10 Oct	
1811	James Goodwin	linen draper	Ludlow	SJ 16 Jan.	4 houses
1812	John Wilson	rope and bag maker	Ludlow	HJ 22 July	
1813	John Reynolds	wheelwright	Ludlow	SJ 10 Nov.	new house, wheelwright's shop
1814	Thomas Palmer	maltster	Aymestry	SJ 5 Oct.	Broad Street house
1815	Richard Roberts	skinner	Ludlow	SA 1141/15	44-50 L.Broad Street
1815	Thomas Cooke	grocer	Ludlow	SJ 23 Aug.	
1821	William Greenhouse	tanner	Ludlow	Griffiths, p.214	
1822	William Whitney	innkeeper	Ludlow	Griffiths, p.225	Angel
1822	Thomas Pugh	innkeeper	Ludlow	SJ 1 May	
1824	Mssrs Prodgers	bankers	Ludlow	SJ 29 Dec.	many properties
1825	Edward Rea	maltster	Ludlow	SJ 1 June	malthouse
1826	Coleman and Wellings	bankers	Ludlow	PRO B3 1041	many properties
1828	John Harper	baker	Ludlow	HJ 4 Feb.	messuage & bakehouse
1831	Weaver & Hickman	drapers	Ludlow	SJ 23 Nov.	2 houses & church pews

amounted to £200,000, ‘and the funds to meet them only £20,000’.²⁷³ This was part of a nation wide crisis, which deepened in December 1825, when the *Salopian Journal* gave a list of 51 banks that had stopped ‘throughout the country’, including

²⁷³ *The Times*, 21st Feb., 1825, p. 2, col. 3.

several in small towns.²⁷⁴ In March, 1826, the new wave of closures reached Ludlow, Coleman and Wellings deeming it 'prudent to suspend their payments for the present'.²⁷⁵

The failure of the two banks put at least 22 properties on the market, as shown on Fig. 28. Several of these were mortgages, and at least one was held in trust. The

Fig. 28: Properties where ownership changed following bank failure

	date	vendor or mortgagor						date	buyer or mortgagee			
Properties acquired by Prodgers							Disposal after bankruptcy					
28 Bull Ring	1801	Giles Prodgers	druggist	Ludlow	occupier	1827	Harding/Whittall	assigns	Ludlow			
19 Broad Street	1812	Richard Harper	Gent	Ashford B.		1825	J.G.Lewis	ironmaster	Knowbury			
18 Broad Street	1814	W.H.Dyer	Esq.	Ludlow		1827	Rocke/Eyton	bankers	Shrewsb'y			
31 Broad Street	1814	devisees of J.Aingell	currier	Ludlow	trust	1825	John Hutchins	ret.banker	Yeovil	£1,250		
16 Broad Street	1815	Richard Russell	lawyer	Ludlow	mortgagee	1829	Chris.Hughes	farmer	Bromfield			
L.P.almshouses	1817	Richard Greenhouse	tanner	Ludlow		1825	John Owens	skinner	Ludlow			
18 High Street	1818	James Dyke	glover	Ludlow	mortgage	1825	James Jones	hatter	Ludlow			
1 Broad Street	1820	Mrs Hughes	glover	Ludlow		1825	Isaac Jones	tailor	Ludlow	£525		
1/2A Bull Ring	1823	Joseph Smith	gardener	Ludlow	mortgage	1826	John Carter	innkeeper	Ludlow			
82 to 89 Lower G.	1823	Thomas Light	Esq.	Ludlow	mortgage	1825	James Highman	Gent.	London	£140		
Angel Inn	1823	Wm Whitney (bankrupt)	innkpr	Ludlow	mortgage	1825	John Giles	ironmaster	Hope B.	£700		
11 High Street	1823	heirs of Rd Ingram	tailor	Ludlow		1825	Richard Owen	shoemaker	Ludlow			
	?	?				1826	William Gardener	tanner	Ludlow			
Properties acquired by Coleman and Wellings						Disposal after bankruptcy						
138 Corve Street	1699	Wellings family		Ludlow		-1843	Mary Mallett	widow	ex.London			
30 to 32 L.Raven L.	1803	Walter Henry Moseley	Esq.	Leaton,St.		1826	Richard Wakefield	surgeon	Ludlow			
	1809	Richard Ingram	tailor	Ludlow		1826	William Cooke	shoemaker	Ludlow			
Barnaby Hs east	1809	heirs of Jon Massey	cabinet mkr	Ludlow		1829	William Davenport	yeoman	Bringewd.			
Barnaby Hs west	1809	heirs of Jon Massey	cabinet mkr	Ludlow		1827	Benjamin Coates	Gent.	Eyton	£48		
15 Mill Street	1809	heirs of Jon Massey	cabinet mkr	Ludlow		1827	Benjamin Coates	Gent.	Eyton			
4 to Elm, LG	1815	heirs of F.Nicholas	mason	Ludlow	mortgage	1826	Benjamin Urwick	lawyer	Ludlow	£300		
15 to 16 Tower St.	1815	John Challoner	grocer	Ludlow	mortgage	1829	James Davies	Mr	Stanton L.			
9 to 12 St Mary's L.	1817	Samuel Grubb	shoemaker	Ludlow	mortgage	1828	James Highman	Gent.	London	£50		

²⁷⁴ *Salopian Journal*, 28th Dec., 1825, p. 2, col. 4.

²⁷⁵ PRO, B3/1041, bankruptcy papers; *The Times*, 4th April, 1826, p. 2, col. 4.

net effect was a redistribution of ownership. The balance between occupational and social status groups was not much affected, but there was a change in the location of owners. After the bankruptcies ten of the properties were owned by residents outside the town, compared with two previously; while an eleventh, 31 Broad Street, was owned by a banker from Yeovil who had retired to Ludlow.²⁷⁶ The exchanges brought increasing ownership in the town by Clee Hill ironmasters, and multiplied the financial links with London. There is no evidence, however, that the properties were sold significantly below value, the low price received for part of Barnaby House being a reflection of its partition into small cottages rather than potential worth.

The lack of a viable bank in Ludlow was filled before 1828 by Rocke, Eyton, Campbell and Co., who acquired 18 Broad Street from the assigns of Prodgers.²⁷⁷ The partners, banking in Shrewsbury since 1816, came from well established county families, which helped to restore confidence.²⁷⁸ The paramount importance of confidence is seen by the way in which a new bank was opened at 3 King Street in 1840 by a new firm, the Ludlow and Tenbury Bank. It was, the promoters stressed, a firm 'of a large number of persons of wealth and great respectability in both towns and their vicinities'.²⁷⁹ It was managed from the outset by Henry Whittall, a former chemist, who became Mayor of Ludlow in 1844, and who was described in 1849 as 'Managing Director'.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ SCM, deeds of 31 Broad Street, conveyance, assigns of Edward Prodgers to John Hutchins, 22nd Aug., 1825.

²⁷⁷ Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1828), p. 681.

²⁷⁸ VCH, *Shropshire*, III, p. 47.

²⁷⁹ *Salopian Journal*, 23rd Sept, 1840, p. 2, col. 7.

²⁸⁰ Robson, *Commercial Directory of Shropshire*, p.67; Slater, *Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1849), p. 27.

Chapter 4

Property

This chapter examines property, one of the three substantive themes of the thesis. Urban properties are organised as plans, which locate them and define their shape. The town plan is therefore at the core of this chapter.

The chapter is in three sections. Section I is historical, and puts the plan as it was between 1660 and 1848 into a time frame. Many of the concepts and terms used to describe and explain the evolving plan after 1660 can only be understood within a chronological context. Section II is descriptive, and is organised as a perambulation round the town. Different kinds of property and plan forms are identified, and changes over the 1660 to 1848 period are considered. Section III is thematic and explanatory, and seeks order and pattern behind the mass of data that has been considered. Sections I and III are presented in numbered sub-sections, but in section II the lettered blocks A to Z and AA to AB have been used, as shown on Fig 30.

Both before 1660 and throughout the long eighteenth century the town plan provided the parameters for the processes which have been called 'the Urban Renaissance'.¹ At first these were largely cosmetic, as many houses were rebuilt or re-fronted.² However, a number of new buildings were erected on sites damaged in the Civil War,³ and some large properties were divided, there being less need for large residences for members of the Council of the Marches than previously.⁴ After 1770, in contrast, there was a great increase in housing, reflecting an expanding population.

¹ Borsay, P, *The English Urban Renaissance Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989).

² e.g., 5-7 Old Street, described as 'a good, new dwelling house' in *Gloucester Journal*, 23rd Aug., 1726. Many other examples are given later in this chapter and particularly in Chapter 6, Section 2 (pp. 311-18).

³ SA, LR, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p.223, lease of two several messplaces on west side of Corve Street, 8th April, 1686; SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 52d., Mr Hammond to 'continue the posts in Corve Street before his house', 9th June, 1694. Taken together, these references show that a new house was build on a vacant site between 1686 and 1694.

⁴ SA, LB, 4/1/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 17, 'The Lady Lloyd.....five several burgages, late Sir Marmaduke Lloyd'; SA, LB, 8/3/122, Window Tax assessment, 1751, Broad Street, Lady Frances Lloyd; *ibid*, 8/3/125, Window Tax assessments, 1753, Lady Lloyd, deceased; *ibid*, 8/3/128, Window Tax assessments, 1757, Mr Dunne, Mrs Muscott, Mrs Baugh.

Much of this was of low status, either as back building or by terraces, and a great deal of it occurred in the extra-mural suburbs, especially in Upper and Lower Galdford, and in Holdgate Fee.⁵

Section I: Historical Development

1: The Town Plan, a palimpsest of property development

The town plan of Ludlow, described by Beresford as ‘a classic example of Norman town plantation’, has aroused much debate.⁶ A detailed review of that debate is not relevant here, but because a town plan at any moment in time is a palimpsest of what has happened previously, some discussion of historical development is necessary.⁷ Borsay makes the same point when he writes ‘The starting point for any understanding of the early modern townscape is its inherently historic character’.⁸

The territory is the historic borough of Ludlow, which was also the parish of St. Laurence. During the 1660 to 1848 period, the borough and parish, shown on Fig.29 (p.131), had an area of just over 172 acres.⁹ The plan area includes Ludlow Castle, a separate parish until 1901, and portions of adjoining parishes, which were part of the town, though administratively distinct.¹⁰ The plan area was bounded on three sides by the River Teme and its tributary, the Corve. The long eastern boundary was man made, marked most clearly by what became Portcullis Lane in the north and Weeping Cross Lane in the south. Economically, the town was part of an integrated unit that went beyond these boundaries into ‘the liberties of Ludlow’, where Ludlow burgesses enjoyed rights and privileges.¹¹

⁵ See Section II below, esp. pp. 174-179, 184-185, 187-188.

⁶ Beresford, M., *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Gloucester, 1988), p. 481.

⁷ Martin, G. H., ‘The Town as Palimpsest’, in Dyos, H. J. (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968), 155-169 (p.155).

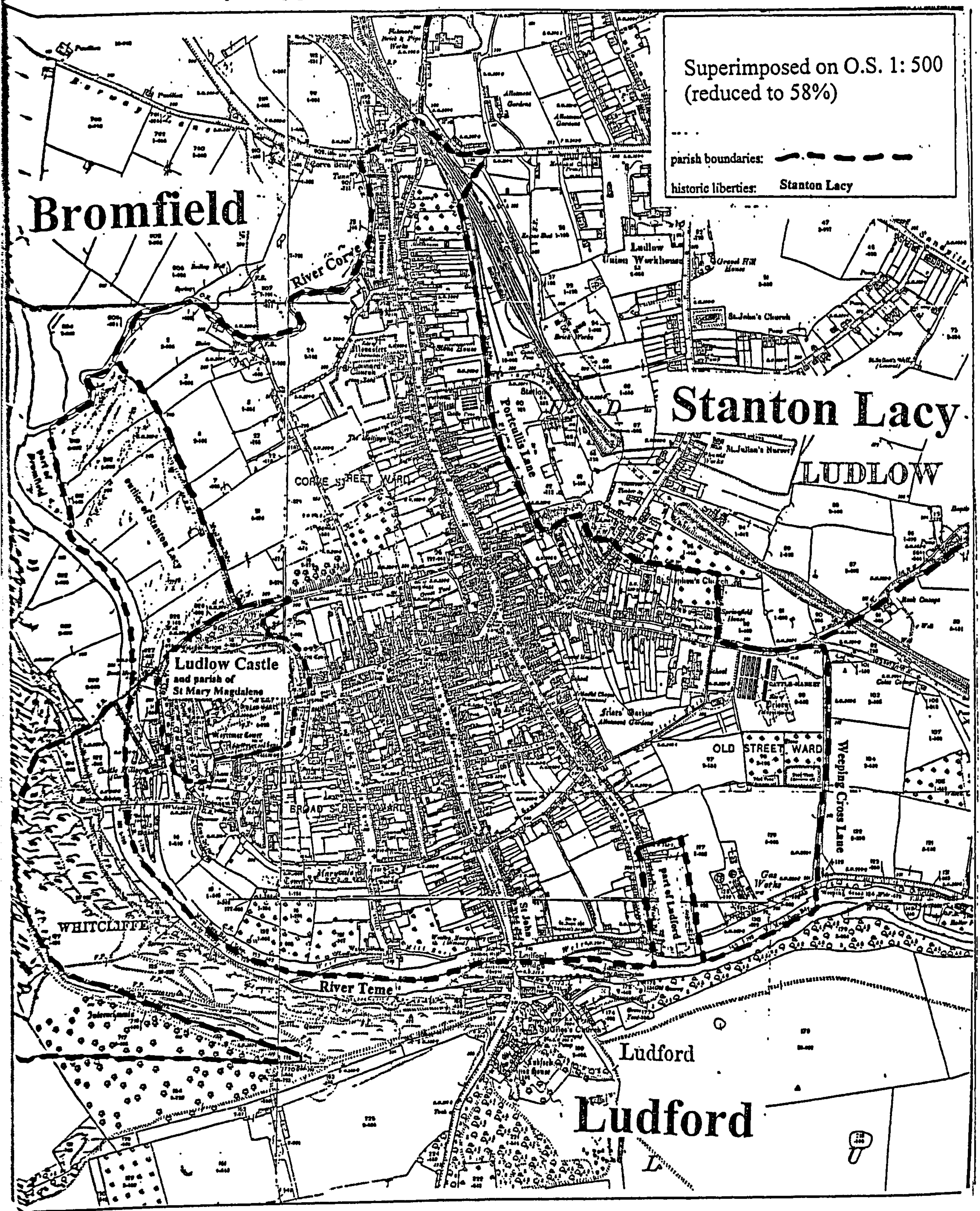
⁸ Borsay, P., ‘Early Modern Urban Landscapes, 1540-1800’, in Waller, P. (ed.), *The English Urban Landscape* (Oxford, 2000), 99-128 (p. 99).

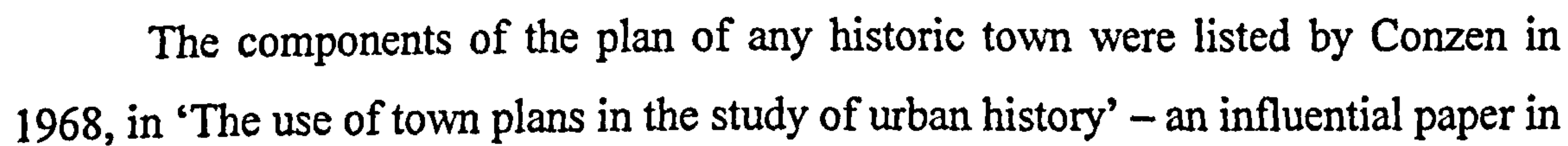
⁹ Kelly, *Directory of Shropshire* (London, 1900, p.126); *Victoria County History, Shropshire*, II (London, 1973), p. 224. There is no evidence of boundary changes after 1660 and before 1901, but in the latter year the boundary was extended.

¹⁰ *Victoria County History (VCH), Shropshire*, II (London, 1973), p. 104.

¹¹ Lloyd, D. J. and Klein, P., *Ludlow: A Historic Town in Words and Pictures* (Chichester, 1994), p. 30.

Fig. 29: The Borough of Ludlow and Ludlow Castle in 1669, with parts of adjoining parishes.





which he formulated new ideas about the phased development of towns, using Ludlow as an example.¹² He identified three main elements:

1. The streets and their association in a street system.
2. Individual land parcels or plots and their aggregation in street-blocks with distinct plot patterns.
3. The buildings.

At Ludlow, an ambitious and complex town plan, 27 street-blocks have been identified. These are shown on Fig.30 (p. 132), where each one has a key letter or letters. The streets and public spaces are also marked, though not all are named. The blocks vary in size but 13 of them are between one and five acres, including all those (P-R, T-Y) constituting what Conzen called 'the central and southern plan unit'.¹³ Together, the blocks account for just over 142 acres, 82% of the Borough. The rest of the Borough was occupied by streets and open spaces (14%) and the Ludlow half of the two rivers (4%).

Within the blocks 528 properties have been located. Most of these consisted of one or more burgages, characteristically 'long and narrow' units of land which are 'the basic cells in any analysis of medieval town plans'.¹⁴ Others have different origins, such as the 'selda' or shops which had colonised open spaces in the Middle Ages, or the parcels of the town ditch, used as gardens and for other purposes when defence was no longer the prime function.

2: Physical features and the pre-urban frame

Physical features have had a continuing influence upon the town plan. The rivers provided boundaries and helped to shape adjoining properties, as in lower Corve Street (block E). The rapids on the River Teme, later masked by weirs, caused 'the loud waters' (lud) which gave the name Ludlow its prefix.¹⁵ The tilted block within the bend of the Teme provided a building site for much of the town, especially the broad, level ridge, 350 feet high, occupied by the castle, the parish church and the

¹² Conzen, M. R. G., 'The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History', in Dyos, *The Study of Urban History*, p. 117.

¹³ Ibid, p. 124.

¹⁴ Slater, T., *The Analysis of Burgages in Medieval Towns*, Department of Geography, University of Birmingham, Working Paper, 4 (Birmingham, 1980), p. 211.

¹⁵ Gelling, M., *The Place Names of Shropshire* (English Place Name Society, Nottingham, 1990), p. 186.

original High Street market place. To the south the ground drops 100 feet to the River Teme with a gradient of 1:16. This provided a fine site for Conzen's 'central and southern plan unit', described by Lilly as 'orthogonal in form, that is having straight sided streets and plots, with a predominance of right angles'.¹⁶ To the north, along a geological fault, the gradient is in places 1: 6, though in Linney it then drops onto the flood plain of the rivers Corve and Teme. Corve Street, the principal route north from the town centre, takes a gentler slope, though with a gradient of 1: 12 from the Bull Ring.

Conzen emphasized the 'morphological frame' of pre-existing tracks which were another influence on development.¹⁷ He cites the ancient north-south route-way of Corve Street, the Bull Ring and Old Street and suggests that Upper and Lower Galdeford might also 'antedate the building of the area'. They converged at the tumulus which was once on the site of the parish church and which was sufficiently important to provide the suffix 'hlaw' in the place name Ludlow.¹⁸ Another track was the 'Clun-Clee rideway', identified from the distribution of pre-historic artefacts, which intersected with the north-south route-way at what is now the bottom of Corve Street.¹⁹

Further evidence for use of the site before the Norman plantation comes from place names. Galdeford, Linney and Dinham, all referring to districts rather than to streets, are names which may have early origins. It has been suggested that Galdeford was a farmstead or a township, perhaps at the bottom of Lower Galdeford, where a former stream, now culverted, was crossed by a ford.²⁰ Linney is an Anglo-Saxon place name, probably meaning 'dry land above the flax growing area from which linen was produced'.²¹ Dinham, south of the castle, is the most problematic. 'Ham' is an Anglo-Saxon suffix meaning settlement, but this an unlikely interpretation here

¹⁶ Lilly, K. D., 'Taking measures across the medieval landscape: aspects of urban design before the Renaissance', *Urban Morphology*, 2 (1998), 82-92 (p. 83).

¹⁷ Conzen, 'The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History', p. 126.

¹⁸ Gelling, *Place Names of Shropshire*, p. 186.

¹⁹ Chitty, L. 'The Clun-Clee Ridgeway: a prehistoric track across Shropshire', in Foster, I. and Alcock, L, *Culture and Environment* (London, 1963), 171-92 (p. 180).

²⁰ Faraday, M. A., *Ludlow 1085-1660: A Social, Economic and Political History* (Chichester, 1991), p. 1.

²¹ Gelling, M., *Place Names in the Landscape* (London, 1984), pp. 34-36.

because the earliest occurrences are as 'Dinan', suggesting a French or Celtic origin.²² It is possible that Dinham is a post-Conquest place-name, derived from Joce de Dinan, who held Ludlow castle in the 1140s.²³

3: An outline tenurial history

Knowledge of the tenurial history of properties is essential for an understanding of land holding in Ludlow after 1660. Ludlow was a seigneurial borough, held before 1241 by the Lacys, Marcher lords who owned many manors on the Welsh border, including Stanton (later Stanton Lacy).²⁴ As shown in Fig. 29 (p.131), a detached portion of Stanton survived in west Linney. The new town also embraced part of Ludford, on outlier of which remained on the east side of Holdgate Fee. The line of the Anglo-Saxon boundary between Stanton and Ludford is marked by a sunken ditch, Rock Lane, and its continuation as Friars' Walk.

The Lacys and their successors as lords of Stanton Lacy, the last of whom were the ambitious Mortimers, were also lords of Ludlow.²⁵ Ludlow Castle was one of their strongholds, and they retained some demesne properties in their own hands, but most properties were let to burgesses by burgage tenure. Such burgage tenure was free, that is the tenants were at liberty to let, sub-divide or sell the land, but owners were subject to a standard rent, aptly called 'a rent certain' by the eighteenth century lawyer Blackstone.²⁶ In the thirteenth century or earlier Ludlow was one of several boroughs where the standard burgage rent was 12d, payment of which continued until 1669.²⁷

Under its lords, the town attained a considerable degree of self government, but formal independence did not come until 1461, when Edward IV, grandson of the last male Mortimer and lord of Ludlow by inheritance, granted Ludlow its charter of

²² Inf. ex. Dr Margaret Gelling.

²³ Coplestone-Crow, B., 'Payn Fitz-John and Ludlow Castle', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society (TSAS)*, 70 (1995), 171-83 (pp. 180-81).

²⁴ Faraday, *Ludlow 1085-1660*, pp. 1-10.

²⁵ Weightman, W. E., *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194* (Oxford, 1966), p. 134.

²⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1989), II, p. 666.

²⁷ Bateson, M., 'The Laws of Breteuil', *English Historical Review*, 15 (1900), 73-78 (p. 73); Shropshire Archives (SA), Ludlow Borough Collection (LB), 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669..

incorporation as a Parliamentary borough.²⁸ The castle remained a Crown possession but all other demesne lands were given to the Corporation, in return for an annual fee farm.²⁹

In 1552 the estates of the Corporation were increased by receipt of a much greater number of properties from the dissolved Palmers Guild. The Guild, founded in the mid thirteenth century, had a membership of several thousand by the early 16th century, about a quarter of them in Ludlow and its vicinity, the rest further away.³⁰ The Guild employed up to ten priests, who lived in the College in College Street, and had an impressive Guildhall in Mill Street. They owned about a third of the town's properties and collected annually a number of rent charges. They also owned farms and lands outside the town. They provided a number of public services, including the administration of a grammar school and of Hosier's almshouses, endowed by a rich merchant in 1463.³¹ Following the Chantry Acts of 1545 and 1547, negotiations led to the dissolution of the Guild in 1551, but ensured that its properties and obligations were transferred to the Borough in 1552. The Ludlow properties were 152 tenements, 14 shops and 75 other lands or rent charges, with a number of farms and other territories outside the Borough. Initially, the distinction between former Demesne and Guild properties was preserved in Corporation rentals and accounts, a rental of 1592 listing 71 'Demesne' and 283 'Gylde' properties and rent charges, as well as another 51 that were 'foreign', that is outside the town.³²

4: The developing plan and townscape.

The circumstances in which the new town of Ludlow was laid out remain largely speculative, though a few dates are available. Because there is no reference in the Domesday Book to a settlement in Ludlow, it is generally assumed that the town started after 1086, though some scholars have challenged this view.³³ Mid thirteenth century rentals and title deeds name the main streets and there are signs that

²⁸ Felton, W., *Charters and Grants to the Town of Ludlow* (Ludlow, c.1819), pp. 5-44.

²⁹ Ibid, p.1, letter from Richard Duke of York, 1450.

³⁰ Gaydon, A. T., 'The Palmers Guild of Ludlow', in *VCH, Shropshire*, II, pp.134-40.

³¹ *VCH, Shropshire*, II, pp. 108-10; 147-50.

³² In custody of Lloyd, D. J. (DL), Corporation Rental, 1592.

³³ Renn, D., 'Castel de Dynan: the first phases of Ludlow', in Kenyon, J. R., and Avent, R. (eds.), *Castles in Wales and the Marches: Essays in honour of D.J. Cathcart King* (Cardiff 1987), 55-74 (pp. 56-58).

the town was fully grown before that, probably by 1199, when it was necessary to rebuild and enlarge the parish church.³⁴ A dispute about tithes in 1200 shows that Ludlow was already a parish. This had probably been so for several years, for the Vicar claimed that he had held his cure 'for some time in peace and quiet'.³⁵ Early acquisition of parish status is a measure of the town's success and suggests the antiquity of the parish boundary, within which the town probably reached its full medieval extent.

The essential features of the town plan laid out in the twelfth century have persisted to the present day, and have played a major part in shaping every period of Ludlow's development. Appreciation of the postulated phases of growth is therefore helpful in describing and explaining events between 1660 and 1848. Before 1199 there are three known dates. The earliest documentary references to 'Lodelowe' were in 1138 and 1139, when the castle was involved in the civil wars of Stephen and Matilda, but the town is only specifically mentioned in the later Chronicle of Melsa, which was not finalised until the 14th century.³⁶ The other date is 1186, the death of Hugh Lacy II, before which he gave twelve burgages on the west side of lower Corve Street to the Knights Hospitallers of Dinmore – the origin of the liberty which bore that name.³⁷ Also, there are 34 references to Ludlow in the Pipe Rolls between 1169 and 1200, relating to fines, coinage and trading infringements, indications of an established town.³⁸

Within these parameters, urban historians must turn to map analysis to elucidate the planning process. The approach is based on what Bond has called 'the assumption of a fundamental stability in the arrangement of plan components'.³⁹ He continues:

³⁴ SA, LB, 5/3/63, Palmers Guild rental, c.1270; Wright, T., *History of Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1852), p. 14; BL, Cotton MSS, Nero A4, *Chronica Landavensis*, fol. 40.

³⁵ Cheney, C. R., *English Bishops' Chantries, 1100-1250* (Manchester, 1950), p. 176.

³⁶ *Henrici Archidiacon Huntendunensis Historica Anglorum*, Arnold, T. (ed.), Rolls ser. 75 (London, 1879), pp. 261, 265.

³⁷ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, Record Com.11 (London, 1812-18), p. 69.

³⁸ Pipe Roll Society, *Henry II*: 15, p. 139; 23, p. 52; 26, pp. 10, 116; 27, pp. 1, 16; 28, pp. 12, 14, 22; 29, pp. 109, 111; 30, pp. 25, 27; 31, pp. 25, 27; 31, pp. 196, 198; 32, pp. 29, 31; 33, pp. 64, 66, 130, 131; 34, pp. 96, 97, 210, 211; *Richard I*: 2, pp. 7, 45, 125; 3, p. 5 (Pipe Roll Society, London, 1905-1926).

³⁹ Bond, C, J, 'Central place and medieval new town: the origin of Thame, Oxfordshire', in Slater (ed.), *The Built Form of Western Cities* (Leicester, 1990), 83-108 (p. 96).

The belief is that changes usually take place on a piecemeal basis within a framework of constraints provided by neighbouring property boundaries, and that only in exceptional cases of wholesale re-planning on a very large scale can all such restraints be over-ridden and eliminated.

The first major contribution to map analysis of Ludlow, by St John Hope in 1909, noted the regularity of the streets and identified the original High Street market place, with infilling at the eastern end.⁴⁰ He also identified redundant streets, including Christ Croft between Dinham and Mill Street, and postulated a southern extension to Raven Lane. The most serious shortcoming was lack of attention to Corve Street and Linney.

Conzen, in 1966, found much of St John Hope's work 'untenable in the light of what plan analysis produces and of what we now know about medieval plans in general'.⁴¹ He stressed that streets and plots must be considered together and identified five 'plan units', from which he inferred 'phases of development', beginning with the foundation of the castle and culminating in the central and southern plan unit, which, with its 'very regular layout of functionally differentiated streets', exhibits 'a more advanced style of planning'. A later paper by Hindle sought to put these phases in sequence, and to assign them to particular periods, the details of which were amended by Conzen in 1988.⁴²

Later contributions have come from Slater, who uses Ludlow to illustrate general facets of urban development.⁴³ With the aid of metrological analysis – ground measurements followed by computation – he revealed blocks of properties with frontages conforming to perch (16 feet 6 inches) measurements, which were 'sub-divided by the first landowners into smaller units'. He also uses the more refined techniques of geometrical analysis to identify large plots with different length-breadth ratios, which again were later sub-divided. Slater suggested that Conzen 'has given

⁴⁰ St. John Hope, W. H., 'The Ancient Topography of the Town of Ludlow', *Archaeologia*, 61 (1909), pp. 383-88.

⁴¹ Conzen, 'The use of town plans in the study of urban history', p. 122.

⁴² Hindle, B. P., *The Study of Medieval Town Plans with special reference to Shropshire*, University of Salford Department of Geography, Discussion Paper 14 (1981), pp. 26-32; Conzen, M. G. R., 'Morphogenesis, Morphological Regions and Secular Human Agency in the Historic Townscape, as Exemplified by Ludlow', in Denecke, D. and Shaw, G. (eds.), *Urban Historical Geography: Recent Progress in Britain and Germany* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 253-72.

⁴³ Slater, T., 'English Medieval New Towns with Composite Plans: Evidence from the Midlands', *The Built Form of Western Cities*, 60-82 (pp. 72-79).

too much prominence to the castle as the pre-urban nucleus', and suggests 'a revised chronology', with two foci of settlement: one along the length of Old Street, later expanding down Corve Street, and the other at the castle and Dinham, the two being eventually linked by the High Street and the sophisticated plan unit to the south.⁴⁴ Another enduring feature of the plan are the walls, gates and ditches, which have a perimeter of about a mile. As shown by murage grants, the main building phase was from 1260, with at least one gate, at Galdeford, by 1270.⁴⁵ It is likely that in places the walls followed the line of earlier, perhaps earth and wooden defences, for example in Upper Linney, where the plan unit north of High Street (block B) is 'carefully integrated with the position of the town wall', strengthening the impression that 'walls and plan unit were conceived at the same time'.⁴⁶ In the south, however, the wall and ditch seem to have been super-imposed upon a pre-existing street and plot pattern, as suggested by St John Hope.⁴⁷

The extent of the defences was to create a dichotomy in the plan between the walled zone, covering 72 acres, and extra-mural land of 132 acres. The burgaged areas along the roads beyond the walls became suburbs, but they had been created by truncation rather than sporadic ribbon development. The most distinctive was Corve Street (D, E, F), with a length of a third of a mile, a fine series of burgage plots on each side and a triangular open space at its northern end. As a plan unit and for economic importance, Corve Street was comparable to such suburbs as Wigford at Lincoln or Fore Street at Totnes.⁴⁸ Another distinctive extra-mural suburb was Linney (AB), covering 40 acres, which abuts onto the west of the Corve Street burgages, though not initially integrated with them. The rectangular fields which occupied this area in the seventeenth century had been formed from large east-west burgages within linear north-south bands, served by parallel lanes. They constituted a

⁴⁴ A speculative plan of Ludlow. c.1180, based on these ideas, was published by Hindle, B. P., *Medieval Town Plans*, Shire Archaeology (Princes Risborough, 1990), p. 60.

⁴⁵ Train, C., *The Walls and Gates of Ludlow* (Ludlow 1999), pp. 12, 2-23, 50-55.

⁴⁶ Slater, T., 'The Analysis of Burgage Patterns in Medieval Towns', *Area*, 13 (1981), 211-16 (p. 215).

⁴⁷ St John Hope, 'The Ancient Topography of the Town of Ludlow', p. 386.

⁴⁸ Lloyd, D. K., *The Making of English Towns* (London, 1984), pp. 105-08; Slater, 'The Analysis of Burgage Patterns in Medieval Towns', p. 215.

plan unit comparable to the Leaze, a meadow at Wimbourne, Dorset, which has been interpreted as 'a twelfth century planned extension' to the town.⁴⁹

5: Identification of burgage plots and other properties

The process by which the historic pattern of burgages and other properties can be established at Ludlow was devised in the 1970s by Ludlow Historical Research Group, with the writer as co-leader.⁵⁰ The process entails matching maps and documents in such a way that boundaries can be drawn and the ownership and tenure of specific properties established. With slight variations, the process has been employed in a few other towns, for example by Scrace at Wells.⁵¹ The process is illustrated in Fig. 31(p.141) from part of the south side of Lower Galdeford (block K).

Analysis was done from the O.S. 1:500 series, surveyed in 1884. 'These large scale plans', it has been said, 'present a remarkable source for the study of the Victorian town.....with many small details recorded'.⁵² They are the best basis available for earlier reconstructions, while the large scale enables measurements to be made with reasonable accuracy. The 1: 500 O.S. map for part of block K is reproduced as Fig. 31, with trees and outbuildings among the details shown.

The method is to form a grid of information from documentary sources, so that a sequence of properties can be established. This sequence is matched to the map, at first hypothetically, but with more assurance and eventually near certainty as later evidence is integrated. On Fig. 32 (p.143) the rows represent properties and the columns the principal documentary sources. The most important sources are those in columns D and E: the 1592 Corporation Rental and the 1619 Burgage Rental of freeholds. These have been used as the basis for numbering properties, using the letters C for Guild, D for Demesne and F for Freehold, with both C and F properties occurring on Figs. 31 and 32.

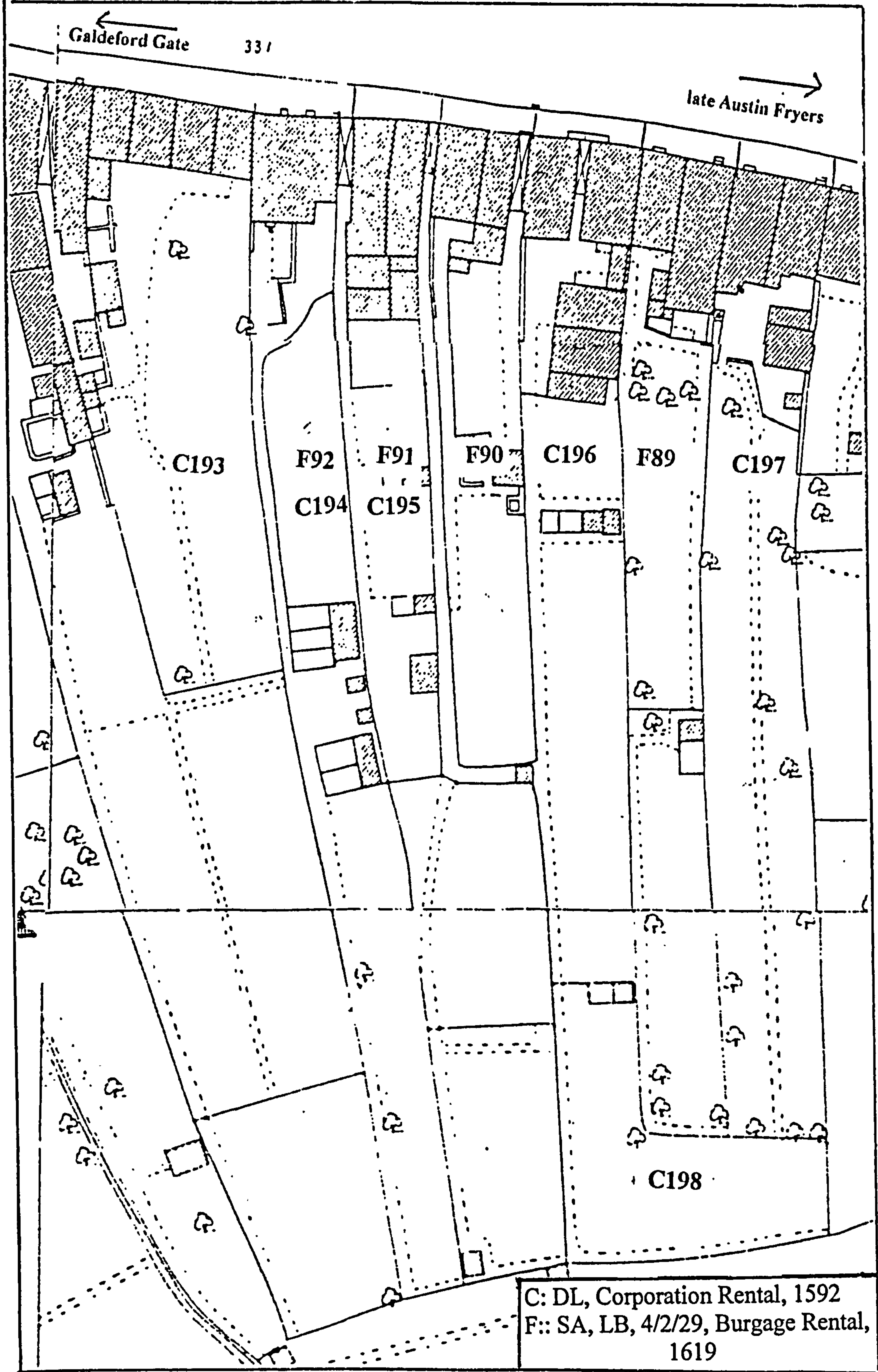
⁴⁹ Field, N., 'The Leaze, Wimbourne: an excavation in a deserted quarter of the town', in *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 94 (1972), pp. 49-62. I owe this reference to Dr Colin Platt.

⁵⁰ Speight, M. and Lloyd, D. J., *Ludlow Houses and their Residents* (Ludlow Research Paper 1, 1977).

⁵¹ Scrace, A. J., 'Development and Change in Burgage Plots: the Example of Wells', in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 15 (1989), pp. 349-65.

⁵² Hindle, B. P., *Maps for Local History* (London, 1988), p. 140.

Fig. 31: Part of the south side of Lower Galdeford, showing historic properties marked on the 1885 O.S. 1: 500 map.



The 1592 rental begins by listing 'Gylde' properties by wards, starting in Castle ward by the churchyard. Properties are listed in identifiable order around the ward. For Corve Street ward the enumerator started at the top on the west side, then descended the street and returned on the east side. On the south side of Lower Galdeford, in Old Street and Galdeford ward, progress was up the street from the 'late Austin fryers' (now SSDC car park) towards Galdeford Gate. The later sections of the Rental cover Demesne and Foreign properties but here there is no discernible sequence. In the sample area on Fig. 32 there are four 'Gyle' properties, with rents of 1s 2d, 6s, 5s and 4s. For this area the 1592 rental also lists two rent charges (C194, C195) payable to the Corporation on freehold properties. These are important aids for correlating this rental with earlier documents. Altogether, 402 properties were listed, 68 of which were rent charges.

The 1619 Burgage Rental was drawn up by 'good and diligent examynacon of old Rentalls in the Feast of Easter 1619....by the laborioise paynes of...(the) Baliff', assisted by ten other members of the Corporation.⁵³ It listed 275 properties, counting the burgages in each. There were 150 single burgages, with 75 that were smaller (49 were half burgages) and 50 that were larger, twelve having four burgages or more. These assessors ignored ward boundaries but went round the town by streets, beginning 'next adioyning to the Castell ditch one the North side of the streete' and finishing in 'Greene Linney'. The Rentall often lists not only the 1619 owner, sometimes with the tenant as well, but also some former owners, who can often be linked with other documents.

One such document was the 1562 Burgage Rental (column D), which included several Corporation properties themselves chargeable for burgage rents at this time.⁵⁴ This rental is valuable because it describes these Corporation properties in burgage terms. For example, C193 was 'half a burgage'. The 1619 Corporation rental (column F), though not in street sequence, and entries in a Corporation register (column G) give ancilliary information.⁵⁵ Finally (column H) is the fine 'Rentall of

⁵³ SA, LB 4/2/29, 'Rentall of all the Burgages' (Burgage Rental), 1619; bound photocopy and transcription available (Ludlow Historical Research Group, 1992).

⁵⁴ Ludlow Town Council (LTC), Ledger Book of Ludlow Corporation, with copies of rentals, accounts and other documents, 1498-1699, in possession of Ludlow Town Council, pp. 18-24.: 'True Rentall of all the landes tenem(en)ts, etc....', 1562.

⁵⁵ SA, LB, 4/2/29A, Rental of Corporation Properties, 1619; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases and Tenants, 1637-1728.

Fig. 32: Part of Lower Galdeford, 1562-1669, an illustration of tenurial reconstruction.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
property	burgages	1562	1592	1619	1619	Lease register	1669
		burgage rental	Corp.rental	burgage rental	Corp.rental		burgage rental
C198 rear 71-79 LG	one & more	Bailiffs two parts divided 1s 2d	William Comber garden 1s 2d		John Comber parcel of land 1s 2d	1652: John Walbridge garden 1s 2d	
C197 71-72 LG	"	"	Margaret Sharrett tenement/garden 6s		Richard Sharrett hosue/garden 6s	1646: Joyce Sharrett: 6s tenement/garden	
F89 73-74 LG	one 12d	heirs of Wm Foxe late John Russell 12d		Edward Fox Esq. late Russell (Wydow Smyth)			Richard Nash before Ed.Foxe (Rd Nash/mother)
C196 75-79 LG	one & more	Bailiffs two parts divided 1s 2d	Will(ai)m Comber tenement/garden 6s 8d		John Comber house/garden 6s 8d	1652: John Walbridge house/garden	
F90 80-81 LG	third 4d	Walter Taylor late Lord Talbots before Orleton.	C195 John Taylor sock 4d	John Comber late Taylor (diverse tenants)			William Adams whole was Ed.Miles (Adams/tenant)
F90 80-81 LG	two thirds 8d	"	"	"			Sybil Palmer whole was Ed.Miles Palmer/tenant
F91 C195 85-89 LG	one 12d	Walter Taylor late Richard Peers		Richard Baker, Gent late Benson, Taylor (self)			Katherine Earsley late Baker (Mary Palmer)
F92 C194 90-91 LG	one 12d	Hopton gent	C194 Mrs Hopton sock: 12d	Edward .Waties Esq. late Evans/Hopton (Thos.Watkys)			Richard Nethway was Thos.Evans (Wm Mullard)
C193 92-96 LG	half	Bailiffs late Gylde	Thomas Aubrey tenement 4s		Thomas Watkiss tenement/garden 4s	1658: 2s Edward Earsley messplace/garden	
Key		Freehold properties					
		Corporation properties					
		[Guild]					
References							
1562	Ludlow Town Council, Corporation ledger, 1498-1699						
1592	DL, Corporation Rental, 1592						
1619	SA, LB, 4/2/29, Burgage Rental						
1620	SA, LB, 4/2/29A, Corporation Rental						
1637-1728	SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Corporation Leases						
1669	SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental						

all the Burgage Rentes of the towne of Ludlowe....written by Samuel Weaver then high Bayliff in August 1669, which can be correlated with its 1619 predecessor.⁵⁶

When this data is plotted on the 1885 O.S. 1: 500 map the pattern on Fig. 31 (p. 141) results. This can be confirmed by runs of title deeds known to relate to specific properties. For property C197, for example, now 71 to 72 Lower Galdeford, deeds held by Morgan solicitors cover the 1619 to 1901 period, ending with a mortgage in 1900 to Gaius Smith, who transferred it in on 25th March, 1901 to his wife Mrs Ada Smith. Deeds held by South Shropshire District Council, labelled 71-72 Lower Galdeford, begin with the sale of the properties on 25 March 1912 by Ada Smith and finish with their sale in 1973 to Ludlow Rural District Council, the predecessor of SSDC.⁵⁷

These techniques, though appropriate for most of the town, must be varied to meet the circumstances of different parts. In some places a demesne property must be incorporated into a street sequence, usually by reference to neighbouring properties on leases. The burgage rentals omit the liberties of Dinmore and St John's and the small extensions into Ludford and Stanton Lacy parishes. But nearly always the method works.

6: 'Underlying regularity'

On the face of it the plan of Ludlow, like that of other historic towns, is 'a mosaic of distinct morphological units', but metrological and geometrical analysis can reveal what Slater has termed the 'underlying regularity'.⁵⁸ Metrological analysis is the measurement of plots as they exist to-day on the ground or on large scale maps. Geometrical analysis also involves measurements but it looks at plots 'in terms of relative proportions', especially those that occur in blocks of properties, leading to the identification of initial holdings 'that may have been quite large'.⁵⁹

The results of metrological analysis in Ludlow can be seen in Fig.33 (p.145). They show the frequency with which the perch measurement was used as a standard

⁵⁶ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669.

⁵⁷ South Shropshire District Council, title deeds of Council properties, packet 318.

⁵⁸ Slater, T., 'English medieval new towns with composite plans: evidence from the Midlands', pp. 71-74.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 74.

Fig. 33 Results of metrological analysis.

Properties which had dimenions which conformed to perch multiples				Properties which conformed or did not conform to perch measurements.					
Feet	Perches	Lengths	Widths						
16.5	1	13	42						
20.5	1.25	5	19			Did conform	453	88	376
24.75	1.5	8	36			Did not conform	62	12	139
28.875	1.75		16				515	515	
33	2	9	91						
41.25	2.5	8	36						
49.5	3	11	42						
57.75	3.5	17	20						
66	4	17	28						
74.25	4.5	4	13						
82.5	5	13	5						
90.75	5.5	8							
99	6	24	6						
107.25	6.5	16	6						
115.5	7	20	3						
123.75	7.5	19							
132	8	5	3						
140.25	8.5	7							
148.5	9	28							
156.75	9.5	7	10						
165	10	24							
173.5	10.5	6							
181.5	11	17							
189.5	11.5	4							
198	12	9							
206.25	12.5	2							
214.5	13	8							
231	14	10							
239.25	14.5	5							
247.5	15	15							
255.75	15.5	1							
264	16	35							
272.25	16.5	8							
280.5	17	26							
288.75	17.5	2							
297	18	18							
305.25	18.5								
313.5	19	7							
321.75	19.5	3							
330	20	2							
338.25	20.5	1							
346.5	21	9							
354.75	21.5								
363	22	2							
TOTAL		453	376						

for laying out plots, as it was in many towns.⁶⁰ No less than 88% of all plot lengths and 73% of plot widths were perch multiples. The number of multiples was great. There were 42 different plot lengths, the most common being 264 feet (16 perches), which occurred 35 times, 26 of them on the west side of Corve Street and the east side of Linney (block D). The next most common was 148 feet 6 inches (9 perches), occurring 28 times, and 280 feet 6 inches (17 perches) occurring 26 times. Shorter lengths occurred in the Rows (block S) in the original High Street which were one perch (16 feet 6 inches) long. There were 16 different plot widths, the great majority of them 66 feet or less. Widths of 33 feet (two perches) occurred 91 times and widths of 16 feet six inches (one perch) 42 times. Good series of the two perch wide plots occurred on part of the west side of Corve Street (block D) and on the north side of Lower Galdeford (block J). This range of plot widths is matched in other towns, as at Leeds, where frontages of eight different widths, between 80 feet and 16 feet 6 inches, have been identified on Briggate.⁶¹

Areas, measured in square perches, showed a less consistent pattern. There were many very small properties, including 33 of a single perch, in the Rows (block S) or fronting the central streets (blocks C, G, L and R). A total of 49 properties had areas of 15, 16 or 17 perches, among them the Bull and the neighbouring properties to the north in the Bull Ring (block C). In a distribution graph there were other concentrations at 32 and 33 perches and again at 36 perches. These included six on the east side of Corve Street (block F), which were 297 feet (18 perches deep) and 33 feet (2 perches) wide, among them what is now Station Drive, a clearly visible burgage. Another 18 plots have areas between this size and 40 perches (quarter of an acre), the latter being the original burgage size tentatively postulated for Bromyard.⁶² The concentration immediately above this – one of 41 perches and seven of 42 – is only slight, although this acreage has been described as ‘one of the most commonly

⁶⁰ e.g. Penn, K. J., ‘Historic Towns in Dorset’, *Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* (Monograph series, 1, 1980), p. 97; Slater, T., *The Analysis of Burgages in Medieval Towns* (Department of Geography, University of Birmingham, 4, 1980); Underhill, C. H., *History of Burton-upon-Trent* (Burton, 1928), p. 181.

⁶¹ Woledge, G., ‘The medieval borough of Leeds’, *Thoresby Soc.*, 37 (1945), pp. 288-309.

⁶² Hillaby, J. G. and Pearson, E. D., *Bromyard: a Local History* (Bromyard, 1970), p. 38.

recurring sizes of urban plots in medieval towns'.⁶³ Just over a quarter of all plots were larger than this, including 24 of more than 200 perches, all of them towards the edges of the planned area.

A major difficulty in the interpretation of the above data is the degree to which the original plan has changed, with the division, amalgamation and alteration of plots. A few plots are known to have been late in origin, for example 1-3 King Street, which were described as 'two shops' paying a burgage rent of 8d in 1470 but as 'one and a half burgages' paying 18d in 1482.⁶⁴ This was part of a process of encroachment onto the churchyard for which owners still paid rent in 1724; and is a reminder that 'the term burgage was increasingly used to describe a unit of land within a town regardless of the legal position'.⁶⁵ Re-assessment continued in the seventeenth century, with 'a Burgage and a halfe' in 1619, paying 'xviijd' rent, but as two separate burgages in 1669, each paying 12d.⁶⁶ Burgages varied greatly in size, from very large properties such as 35-53 Upper Galdeford, with an area of 44.8 perches, to 44-46 Bull Ring, short plots running back to Pepper Lane, with an area of 4.55 perches; but the rent was always the standard 12 pence. In some cases the plan suggests that a smaller property had been created from a larger, as was the case with 80-81 and 85-89 Lower Galdeford (block K), but the rent for each was 12d. For stalls, described in 1669 as 'the third p(ar)te of a burgage', the rent was usually four pence, though for two High Street properties (block S), 10 and 17, 2d was paid in commutation for 'a pound of Commingsede', a kind of pepper-corn rent payable in 1470 on a number of properties in Barons' Row.⁶⁷

There are parts of the town where burgage regularity suggests an almost unchanged survival from the original plan, as in Stratford-on-Avon, where Slater has shown that 'original plot dimensions laid down c.1196 survived almost in their entirety until the nineteenth century'.⁶⁸ Such areas include part of the west side of Corve Street (block D) and the north side of Lower Galdeford (block J). Such regularity, however, can often embrace plots of various sizes, as illustrated by an

⁶³ Slater, T, 'English medieval new towns with composite plans: evidence from the Midlands', p. 76.

⁶⁴ SA, LB, 4/2/6, Burgage Rental, 1470; SA, LB, 4/2/7, Burgage Rental, 1482.

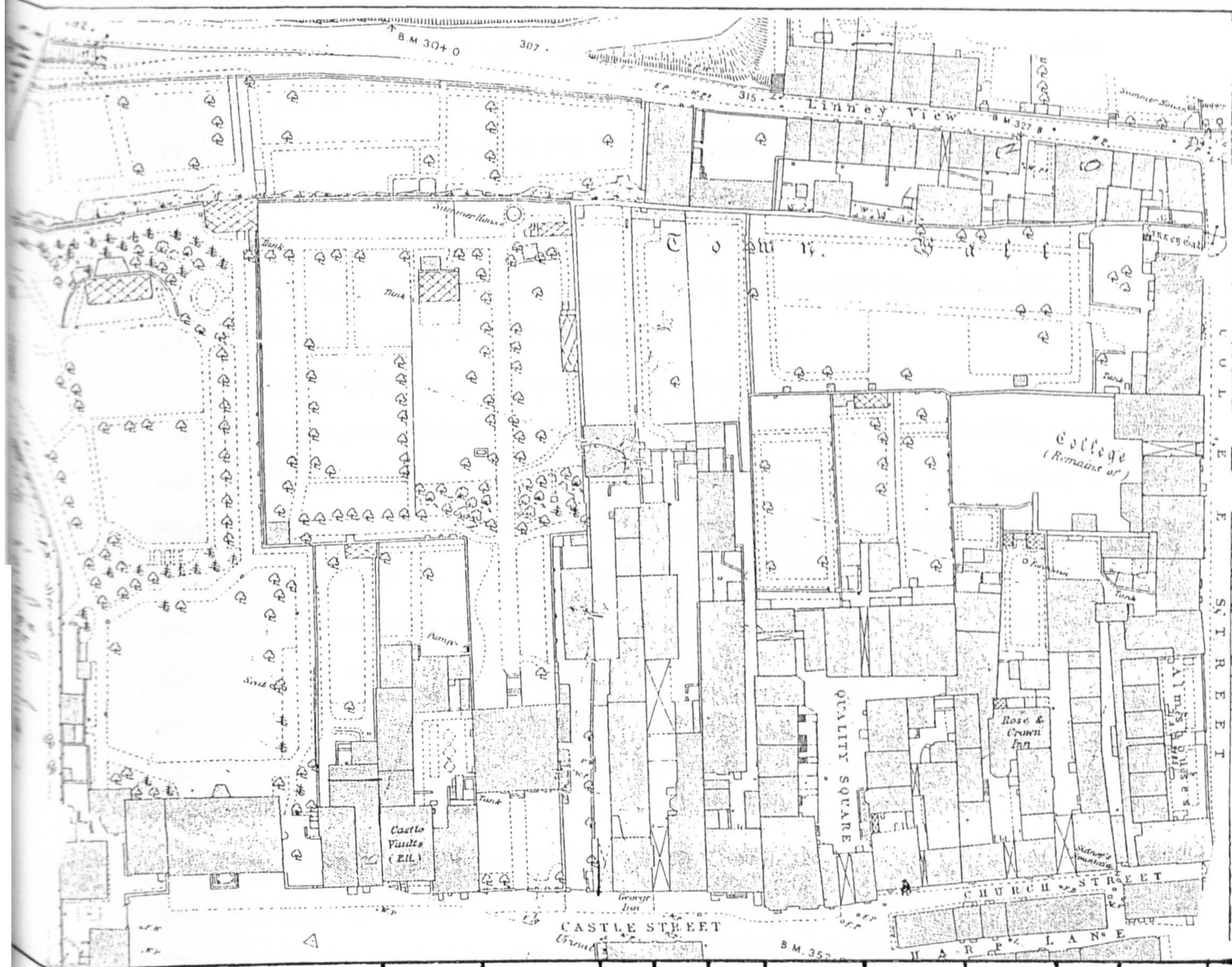
⁶⁵ Sowerby, I., *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester 1983), p. 39.

⁶⁶ SA, LB, 4/2/29, Burgage Rental, 1619, p.1; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 19.

⁶⁷ SA, LB, 4/2/6, Burgage Rental, 1470. .

⁶⁸ Slater, *The Analysis of Burgages in Medieval Towns*, p. 5.

Fig. 34: Burgage widths on the north side of Castle Street and Church Street, part of block B.



		3 perches
C22	2 perches	
C23	3 perches	
F10b	2 perches	
F10a	2 perches	
F9	31 feet	
F8	31 feet	
F7	31 feet	
F6	56 feet	
F5	3 perches	
F4/C35	3 perches	
F3	3 perches	
F2	24.75 feet	
F1	24.75 feet	

analysis of block B on Fig. 34 (p.148). Here, plots F1 to F9 are 21 perches long, running back to the town wall, though the plots further east are shorter, abutting to that once occupied by the Palmers' Guild College (C4). The front of the block is 35 perches (5,445 feet), divided into 14 properties.⁶⁹ One plot, C22, is only two perches wide, but the remaining plots do conform to a three perch base. They are either amalgamated plots, single plots or two halves (F1 and F2), except for F6, F7, F8 and F9, which together have a width of nine perches (149 feet), though divided into one wide plot of 56 feet and three narrow plots of 31 feet. Another variation came with F4, part of which, C35, measuring '54 feet from the street and 27 feet in breadth', was a Palmers' Guild property by 1461 or earlier.⁷⁰

Series of plots abutting onto a main street with a back access lane behind, are a feature of some parts of Ludlow. The east side of Dinham (block Z), backing to the redundant Christ Croft, and the east side of Corve Street (block D, backing to Portcullis Lane, are examples. In places a change in plot size may reflect a stage in the planning process, as in Corve Street (block F), where two perch wide plots become four perch wide plots just south of what is now Station Drive. There is a change again to narrower plots just north of the lower bar of Corve. In most places plots are rectangular but on the south side of Lower Galdeford (block K) the pattern is lamellate, of the kind that Conzen identifies as 'presumably early' in his study of Alnwick.⁷¹

Problems of analysis posed by Conzen's 'central and southern plan unit' have been addressed by Slater.⁷² As implied by Conzen, some of the longer properties abutting onto the south side of the original High Street market place are probably survivors from the twelfth century, when the High Street market place and its burgages were probably laid out.⁷³ Two of these, 5-6 Market Street and 7-8 Market Street (block T), appear to be original plots, but others, for example along the south side of Pepper Lane (block R), may be truncated remnants. It may be, however, that

⁶⁹ Slater, 'English Medieval New Towns with composite plans: evidence from the Midlands', p. 76, gives their frontage as 33.5 perches, perhaps because he omitted F1, not easily accessible for field measurements.

⁷⁰ SA, LB, 4/1/1077, lease of the White Lion in Castle Street, 20th Feb., 1733; SA, LB, 5/3/66, Palmers' Guild rental, 1439.

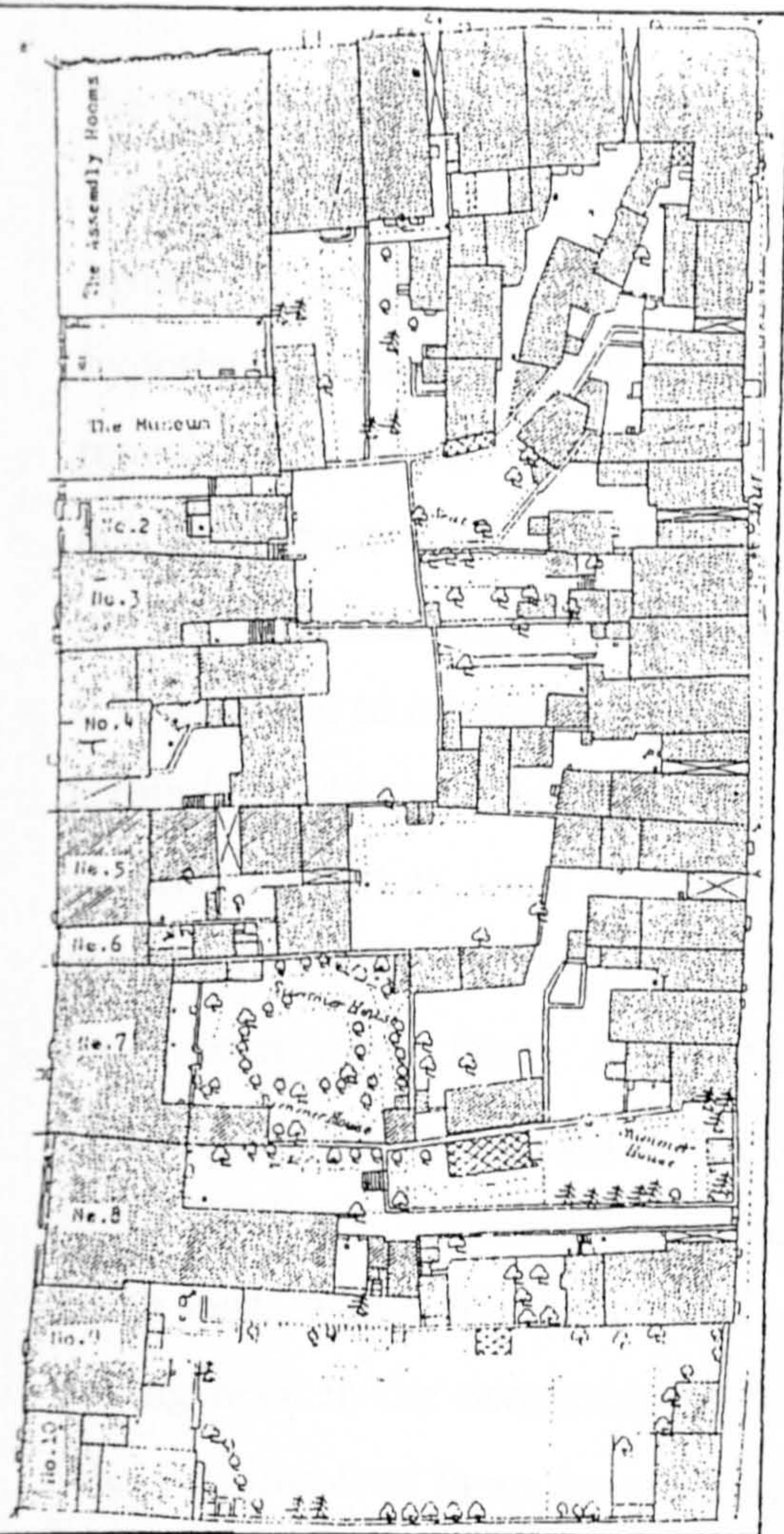
⁷¹ Conzen, M. R. G., 'Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in Town-plan Analysis', *Institute of British Geographers*, 27 (1960), pp. 19, 28.

⁷² Slater, 'English Medieval New Towns with composite plans', p. 76.

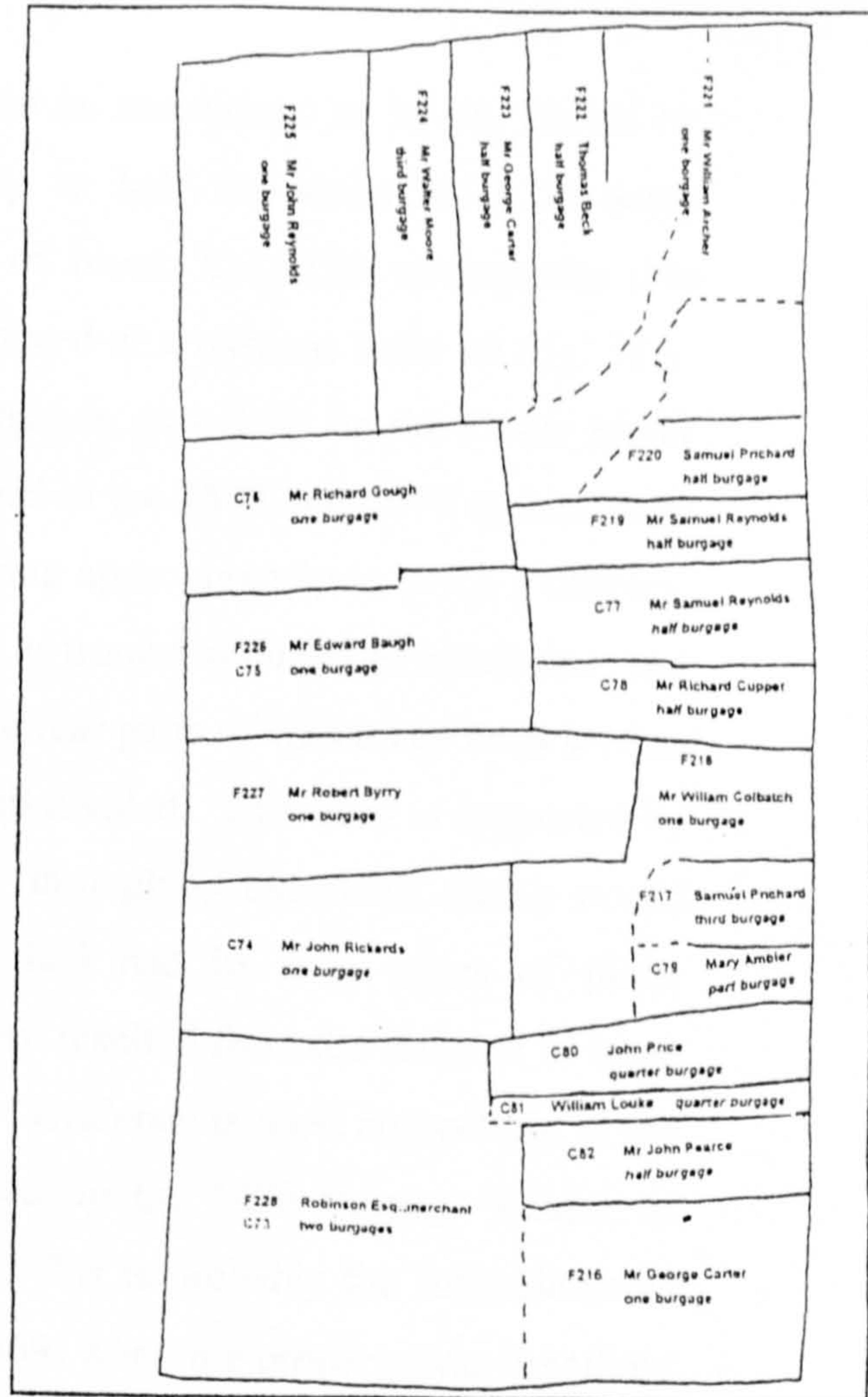
⁷³ Conzen, 'The use of town plans in the study of urban history', p. 125.

Fig. 35: Property ownership in block X.

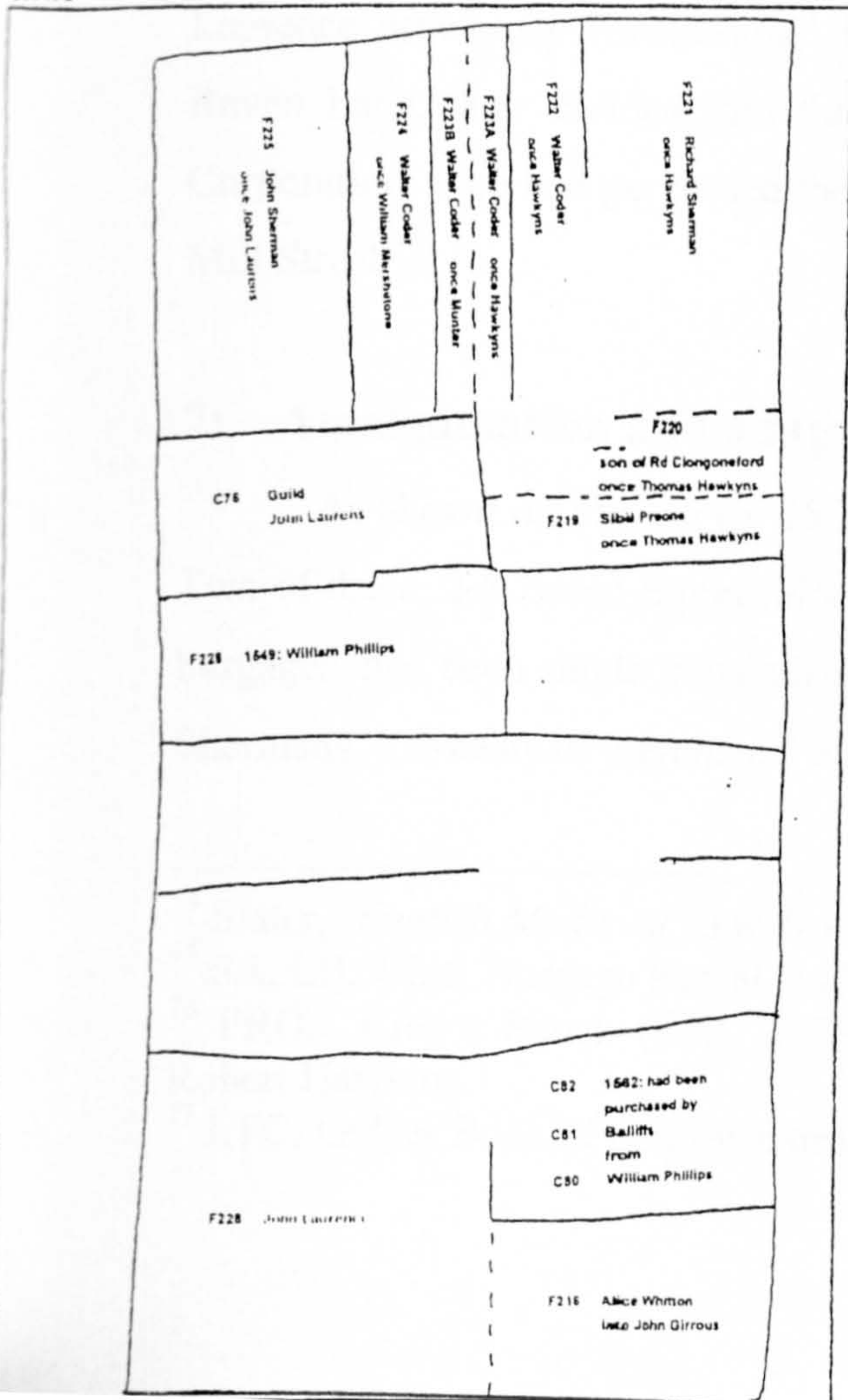
C.S. 1:500, 1885



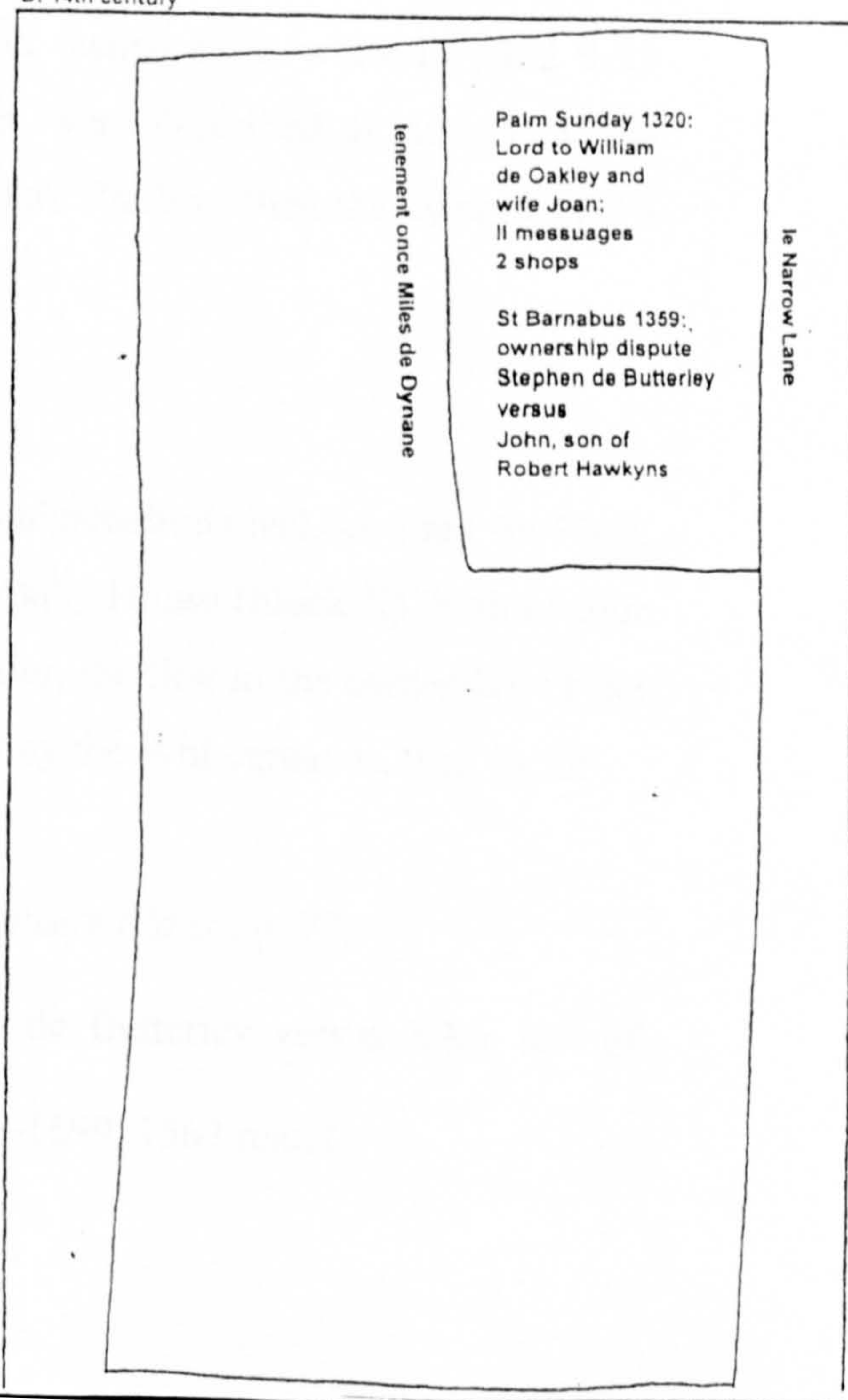
B: 1669



C: 1470



D: 14th century



the blocks absorbing these earlier plots can best be understood as having started by containing large initial holdings, perhaps 'up to half the street block in some instances', as suggested by Slater.⁷⁴ Analysis of block X (p.150) strengthens this hypothesis. The 1885 O.S.1: 500 map, reproduced at a reduced scale on Fig. 35A, reveals plots that do contain a number of burgages, especially on the Castle Street and Mill Street frontages. These can be matched to the 1592 and 1619 rentals, with the burgages abutting to Mill Street corresponding approximately to perch multiples. It is tempting to interpret these Mill Street plots as truncated burgages which once ran through to what was then 'the Narrow Lane', the rear parts of which had been sold as separate properties, some of which were later sub-divided. This view is supported by the absence of a primary north-south boundary throughout the block, which would have been more likely if the Narrow Lane had had its own series of plots. Documents, however, suggest that the plot pattern resulted from the division of large initial holdings of the kind suggested by Slater. Evidence is most compelling in the north east, where five properties were described, in the 1470 Burgage Rental, as having been in the ownership of 'Hawkins'.⁷⁵ This is probably the John Hawkins who was involved in an ownership dispute of 1359, when the property was described as having been in 1320 'a tenement with eleven messuages and two shops'.⁷⁶ There may have been another large property on the east side of Mill Street. In 1470 'John Laurence previously Hawkestone' leased 2-3 and owned 8-10, while in 1562 9-12 Raven Lane, later divided into three leaseholds, were described as owned by the Corporation, who had purchased them from William Phillips, then the owner of 8-10 Mill Street.⁷⁷

7: Amalgamation and adaptation

As shown on Fig. 36 (p. 152), several amalgamations had occurred by 1669. Two of these, 2-8 Broad Street (block R) and Barnaby House (block X), both of four burgages, had been single units since 1470 or earlier, the first in the ownership of the Shermans, a dynasty of merchants, the second first by the Whitegreaves, then by the

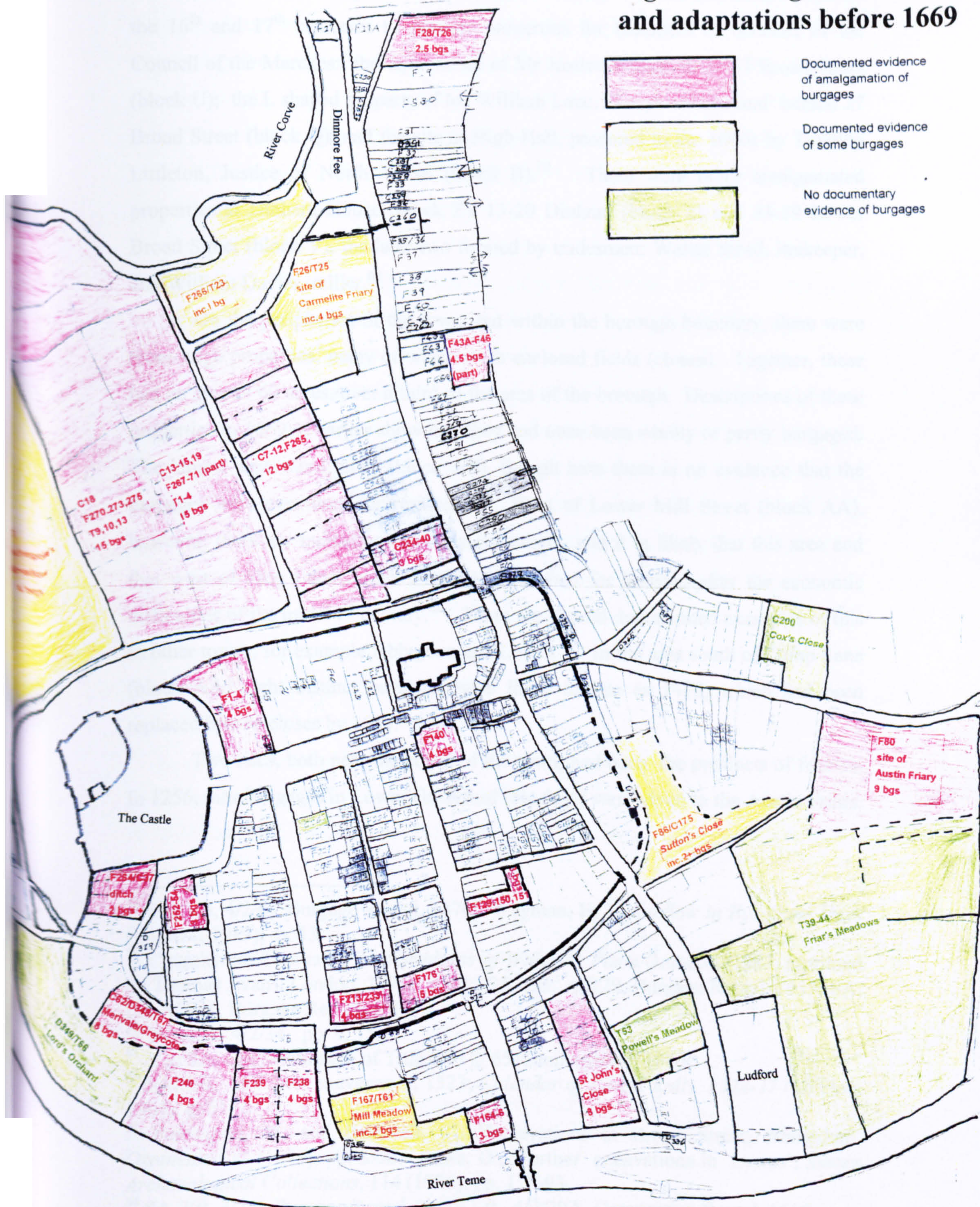
⁷⁴ Slater, *English Medieval New Towns with Composite Plans*, p. 77.

⁷⁵ SA, LB, 4/2/6, Burgage Rental, 1470.

⁷⁶ PRO, King's Bench (KB), 27/397, Stephen de Butterley versus John, son of Robert Hawkins.

⁷⁷ LTC, Ledger Book of Ludlow Corporation, 1498-1699, 1562 rental.

Fig. 36: Amalgamations and adaptations before 1669



Barnabys, officials serving the lords of Ludlow Castle.⁷⁸ Three had been formed in the 16th and 17th centuries to provide properties for members or officials of the Council of the Marches: 'the fayre house of Mr Justice Walter' at 35-37 Broad Street (block U); the L shaped property of Mr William Lane, 'Keeper of the Seal' behind 27 Broad Street (block Q); and the site at High Hall, procured in the 1660s by Timothy Littleton, Justice of North Wales (block B).⁷⁹ There were other amalgamated properties at Dinham House (block Z), 13-20 Dinham (block Z) and 33-39 Lower Broad Street (block V), the later two formed by tradesmen: Walter Stead, innkeeper, and William Davies, miller.⁸⁰

On the peripheries of the town, but within the borough boundary, there were more large properties, many of which were enclosed fields (closes). Together, these had an area of 60 acres, over a third of the area of the borough. Descriptions of these properties in 1669 or earlier show that they had once been wholly or partly burgaged. The largest area was Linney (block AB), though here there is no evidence that the burgages were ever used for residence.⁸¹ West of Lower Mill Street (block AA), however, there are indications of early settlement, and it is likely that this area and that west of Frog Lane (block P) were abandoned for housing after the economic difficulties of the mid-14th century.⁸² There are several documented examples of this in other towns, for example Abingdon and Lewes.⁸³ In the area south of Camp Lane (block AA) eight distinct burgages were listed as late as 1470, which had been replaced by two closes by 1619.⁸⁴

Two sites, both near the edges of the town, had been the precincts of friaries. In 1256, nine burgages in Lower Galdeford (block K) were given to the Austin Friars,

⁷⁸ SA, LB, 4/2/6, Burgage Rental, 1470; Weyman, H. T., *Ludlow in Bye-Gone Days* (Ludlow, 1913), p. 53.

⁷⁹ Churchyard, Thomas, *The Worthiness of Wales: A Poem* (London, 1587, reprinted by Thomas Evans, London, 1776), p. 84; SA, LB, 4/2/29, Burgage Rental, 1619; SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669.

⁸⁰ SA, LB, 4/2/34, pp. 9, 15.

⁸¹ e. g. SA, LB, Muniment of Title (MT), 651, conveyance, 1365.

⁸² SA, LB, MT 341, conveyance, 1323; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1324-27* (London, 1904), p. 51.

⁸³ Parrington, M. and Balkwell, C., 'Excavations at Broad Street, Abingdon', *Oxoniensa*, 11 (1975), pp. 3-58; Freke, D., 'Further excavations in Lewes', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 114 (1976), pp. 176-93.

⁸⁴ SA, LB, 4/2/6, Burgage Rental, 1470; LB, 4/2/29A, Corporation Rental, 1619.

- perhaps because the take up of planned plots was below expectation.⁸⁵ In 1350 the Carmelite Friars secured the use of seven burgages in Corve Street (block D), where archaeology has revealed house foundations.⁸⁶ In some parts of the town – Sutton's Close (block K), Mill Meadow (block AA) and adjoining the River Corve north of Friars' Lane (block AB) - a few burgages were still yielding rent in 1619 and 1669, probably the remnants of a more extensive system.⁸⁷ Four other enclosed areas have no trace of former burgages. In two of them, Cox's Close (block J) and Powell's Meadow (block O) the shape of the plots and, in the case of Cox's Close, its configuration with the parish boundary, suggest that they may once have been burgaged. This is less likely in the case of Lord's Orchard (block AA) or the large area later covered by Friars Meadow (block M).

Adaptations contributed to the complex mosaic of plots which constituted the town plan. One of these was the absorption of redundant streets and lanes. This can be seen at Christ Croft in Dinham (block Z), most convincingly interpreted as a road abandoned by the mid-13th century or earlier, and then deepened by quarrying.⁸⁸ The same process can be detected between Broad Street and Old Street (block R), where Broad Street properties have absorbed parts of the strip which in part link surviving streets at Fish Street and Frog Lane.⁸⁹ Less obvious examples occur at 19-21 Upper Galdeford (block H, once a long, narrow lane leading to the Town Barn); at 69 Lower Galdeford (block K), described in 1669 as 'the lane to Sutton's Close'; and the 'lane to the gardens' west of Lower Mill Street (block AA).⁹⁰

The truncation of a long plot by a shorter plot at right angles is illustrated at 34 Bull Ring (C219) and 6-8 Tower Street (C218), both Corporation properties in block In 1592 the former, a long narrow burgage, was leased by John Pryce for 33s 4d a

⁸⁵ Faraday, *Ludlow 1085-1660*, p. 60; SA, LB 4/2/29, Burgage Rental, 1619, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Klein, P. and Roe, A., *The Carmelite Friary, Corve Street, Ludlow: its History and Excavation*, Ludlow Research Paper 5 (1987), pp. 5, 28-29.

⁸⁷ SA, LB, 4/2/29, Burgage Rental, pp. 5, 14, 16; SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, pp. 7, 11, 21.

⁸⁸ St John Hope, 'The Ancient Topography of the Town of Ludlow', pp. 384-385.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Ludlow Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 170; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 43; SA, LB, 4/2/29, Burgage Rental, 1619; SA, LB, MT 91, 349, 360, 401, 415.

year, while the shorter, wider plot was held by Thomas Aubrey at 8s.⁹¹ In 1596 the latter was acquired by William Aston, who extended his property northwards to absorb the rear of C219, so that in 1619 his widow was paying 20s rent while George Wilkes, the tenant of the remainder of C219, paid the reduced rent of 21s 4d.⁹² Larger truncations perhaps occurred in the 13th century, when the construction of the town wall on the east side of Old Street (block L) may have shortened the original burgages.

8: Streets, infill and encroachment.

The streets and open spaces, 14% of the area of the Borough, were part of the demesne, administered by the Corporation. A number of the original streets had widths which can be related to perch measures, including the original High Street market place, which was seven perches wide. The main north-south skeletal streets are at least two perches wide, as needed for their role as main thoroughfares; and they expand to up to four perches at places, giving cigar shapes which may reflect an original market function. Back access and cross lanes, in contrast, are much narrower, as in 'Narrow Lane' (now Raven Lane) and Bell Lane, only a perch wide in some places.

As in many historic town plans, the wider streets attracted infill and encroachment. Triangular infill may have occurred at the north end of Corve Street, where three early route-ways converged, and at Dinham, between the rectilinear block to the east and the crescent shaped series to the west, itself reflecting the curve of the River Teme and the town wall. The most spectacular instances of infill, however, are within the historic High Street market place, widely cited as an example of market colonisation.⁹³

The western third of the original street had remained open, except for a central Market Hall built in the mid-sixteenth century. Eastwards, the street has been colonised since the thirteenth century or earlier by three rows of shops, originally

⁹¹ DL, Ludlow Borough Corporation rental, 1592; SA, LB, 4/2/29A, Rental of Corporation properties, 1619, nos. 181, 202.

⁹² SA, LB, 2/1/1, Corporation Minute Book, 1590-1648, p. 22.

⁹³ e. g. Platt, C., *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976), p. 36.

Fig. 37: Encroachments, mid 17th century. [1]

Encroachments listed in the 1679 Corporation rental			
1	Edward Agborough	2 encroachments at ye 2 gardens belonging to Barnaby House	
2		one within Millgate & the other without	vjd
3	William Baugh	all ye ground within ye stone wall before his house in dinham	iiijd
4	Mrs Katherine Berrie	Encroachment of A porch & pales at ye corner house in brodstreete	vjd
5	Richard Browne	Encroachment of a Coblers Shop at his house in corvestreet	vjd
6	John Browne of ye Sanpitts	tenem(en)t & garden Encroched on the waste	ijs vjd
7	Mrs Margaret Crumpe	an Encroachment at ye house at the Bull Ring	vjd
8	Mr Rich:Cupp(er)	yt place wheare Mr Wm Colbatch shop was & now held by Mr George Long	
		at upp(er) End brod streete	xijd
9	Hum: Crundall	ye forep(ar)te of ye house called the Bull	ijs
10	Hum: Cornwall Esq.	a dore place throw ye Towne Wall	vjd
11	Tamb.Davies	an Encrochm(en) upon w(l)th p(ar)te of his house over against the Almshouse	
12		doth stand & another of a window & staire steppes at his house next ye Crosse	ijs vjd
13	Griffith Edwards	two Encrochm(en)ts at ye house yt Rich.Bond glazier lives in	xd
14			
15	Jane Evans	a smiths Trevis w(l)thout Galfords gate	viijd
16	hen: Fayres	an Encroachm(e)nt w(l)thin ye s(a)id gate (old streete) on the east side	iiijd
	1648: libertie to Mr Thomas Clybury to erect an Enchrochm(en)t there on the streete within the town wall		
17	Mrs Abigaill Fletcher	for 3 Encroachm(e)nts at ye house where Tho.Gwillaim doth dwell	ijs
18	ditto		
19	ditto		
20	ditto	more for Encroachm(en)ts at Tamd.Davies shop being a staire case behind, And	vjd
21	ditto	seller staires shop, stepps, to Boulke before, at the End	xd
22	Rich:Gardner	Encrochm(en)t of a porch at ye house late Mr Rich:Walkers in the old streete	vjs viijd
23	Mrs Margaret Jones	an Encrochm(en)t at her shop	xijd
24	Capt.Thos.Jones his widow	for ye Porch at y house over against ye Bull	ijs ijd
25	Richard Maund	the Trevis in ye Brodstreete	ijs
26	Marg(are)t Oakes wid(ow)	an Encrochm(en)t of ye porch & staires at her house south side ye Tolsey	ijs ijd
27	Marchant Robinsons	Encrochm(en)t for p(ar)te of his house & porch upon ye eastside of Mill streete	ijs
	executors	[C74: tenement next above the great stone house	ijs
28	John Sharett	a shop w(l)thin galfords gate	vjd
29	Walter Taylor	ye Encrochm(en)t at his house in ye Bulring	xijd
30	Mrs Margery Williams	ye Encrochm(en)t of her house porch	vjd
31	Rich:Wigley	a smiths Trevis on East side brod streete	ijs
Encroachments listed in the 1669 Burgage Rental			ijd
32	Robinson Esq.	encrochm(en)t of a stone porch	iiijd
33	Mrs Cornewall	encrochm(en)t of a stone wall at orchard or garden	ijd
34	Mrs Cornewall	encrochm(en)t of a pale at the gardem	iiijd
Encroachment listed in the 1619 Burgage Rental but not 1669			
35	1619: Mr Foxe	Two encroachments at his barns without the Myll gate	viijd
1	The first 31 enchroachments are given as recorded in the 1679 Corporation rental, though nearly all of them occur in		
	earlier documents		

single storey 'selda', which later acquired cellars below and solars above.⁹⁴ East of the High Cross, close to the present Butter Cross, the pattern was different, with encroachment from south and north leaving a very narrow street between – from the 18th century called 'the Narrows'. To the north, encroachment was initially a row of shops, known in the 13th century as 'the row of the tailors', but later these extended onto the churchyard. In the south, the final stage of encroachment was by stalls in front of earlier shops and at a higher level than the under-crofts of those shops. The two levels can be detected at 13, 14-15 and 19-20, while at 14-15 the under croft survives and is a working part of the present shop. Finally, the original High Street widened into a triangular space, which attracted its own infill: a substantial row to the south, north of Pepper Lane; a shorter and diagonal row to the north west known as 'the Shelde' (derived from selda); and the Court House/Tolsey in the centre from the mid-fifteenth century.⁹⁵

As well as the major features cited above, encroachment often occurred on a small scale from the 15th century onwards, usually in front of one property.⁹⁶ Encroachments involved the payment of small annual rents and were granted by leases. As shown in Fig. 37 (p. 156), 35 encroachments have been identified, nearly all in the town centre. Ten of these were parts of houses, such as 'the forepart of the Bull'. Another six were porches, one of which, 'over against the Bull', is still standing at The Feathers, though it was moved from its original location, in front of the north bay, to the centre between 1837 and 1846.⁹⁷ Three external stairs are named, two in the congested area near the High Cross, the third on the south side of the Bull Ring. Six encroachments were shops in front of larger buildings, such as that of John Sharrett at the west end of what is now Tower Street. Three smiths had trevises protruding into the street: two in Broad Street and one outside Galdeford Gate. There were a number of extensions to gardens and other properties in Lower Mill Street and Dinham, while the 'porch and pales' of Mrs Katherine Berrie in Broad Street are a foretaste of coming fashion. An encroachment of a different kind was the

⁹⁴ SA, LB, 5/3/63, Palmers' Guild Rental, c.1270; *ibid*, 5/3/64, Palmers' Guild Rental, early 14th century.

⁹⁵ Weyman, *Ludlow in Bye-Gone Days*, pp. 36-37, 49/50.

⁹⁶ SA, LB, 4/2/6, Burgage Rental, 1470, fol.2, John Rede, in 'the Lane Leading Towards the Tailorsyate and the White Conduit', paid 1d. 'for an entrance to a wine cellar there'.

⁹⁷ Lloyd, D. J. and others, *The Feathers* (Ludlow Research Paper, 5, 1986), p. 36.

‘dore place throw ye Towne Wall’, from a Brand Lane garden into the town ditch first leased to Mr William Botterell in June 1654.⁹⁸

Section II: ‘Streets, plots and buildings’⁹⁹

This section looks in detail at each block of properties, showing how private and public spaces were organised in the town plan.¹⁰⁰ Essentially, the aim here is to illustrate how Ludlow properties acquired their shapes and orientations, prior to their ownership being considered in chapter 5. The section is based on the principles of Conzen, Slater and others, as elaborated above, but focuses on describing and analysing urban form in what are effectively a series of micro-studies.

Block A (Ludlow castle; Fig. 38, p.159)

Sums totalling £4,500 had been voted in 1661 and 1662 to repair and refurnish Ludlow Castle, part of the process of re-establishing the Council of the Marches.¹⁰¹ About 30 rooms were brought into commission, but neglect occurred after the Council’s dissolution in 1689, and in 1699 the ‘theft of lead from the castle’ was investigated by a local court.¹⁰² Though a ball was held in the castle in 1719, Defoe reported in 1722 that ‘all the fine Courts, the Royal Appartments, Halls and Rooms of State lye opened, abandoned and some of them falling down’.¹⁰³ The castle remained in royal ownership and a series of custodians or governors was appointed.

The use of the castle was debated intermittently, beginning with the suggestion in 1704 that it ‘should be pulled down and the ground built into a handsome square’.¹⁰⁴ Parts of the castle were used for what Borsay calls ‘gentlemanly sports’, a bowling green and a shaded garden being marked on a map

⁹⁸ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 218.

⁹⁹ Conzen, *Alnwick*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Reed, M., ‘The Transformation of Urban Space 1700-1840’, in Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, 2 (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 615-40.

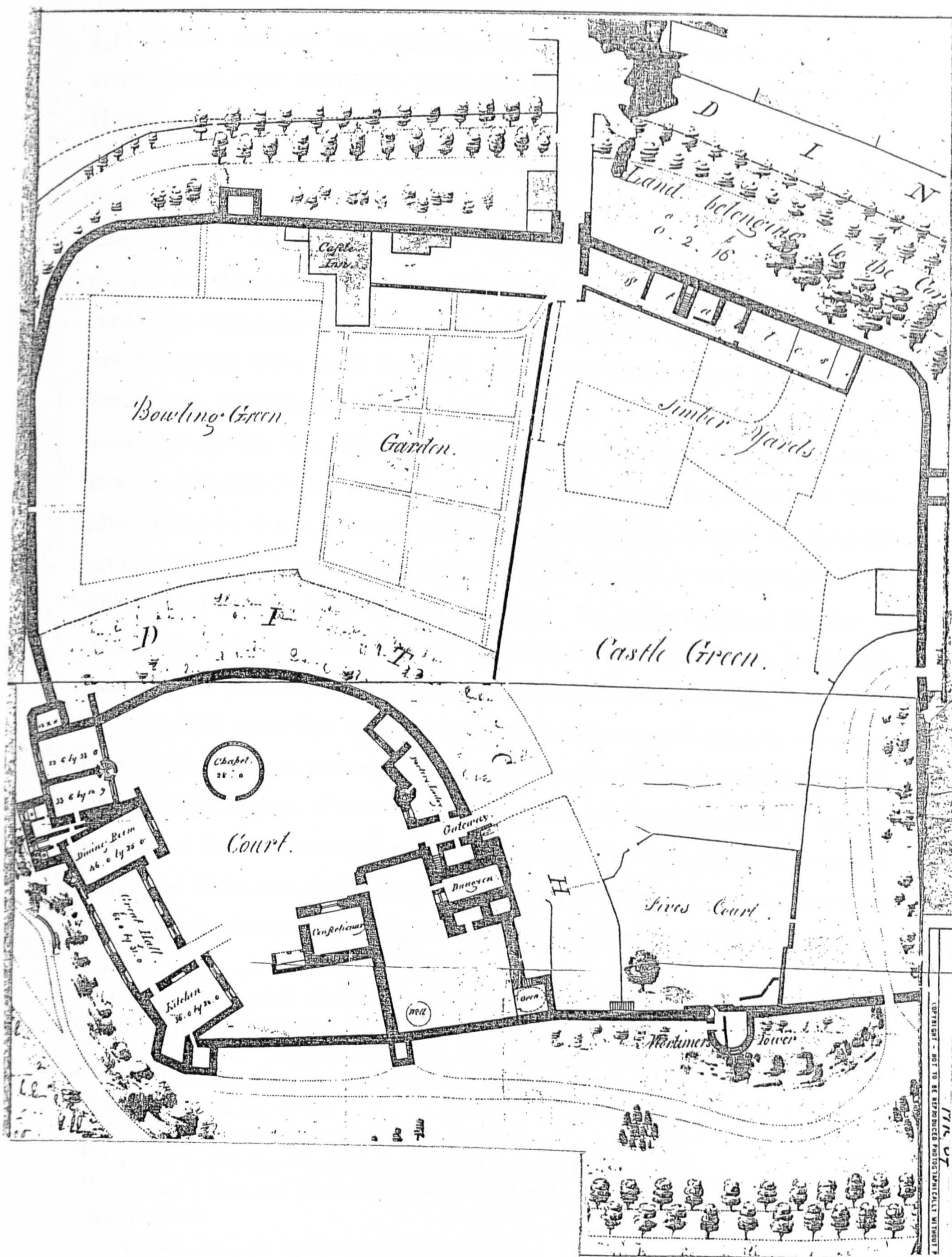
¹⁰¹ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1661-62* (London, 1861), pp. 163, 402.

¹⁰² Felton, W., *A New Guide to the Town of Ludlow* (1822), pp. 133-35; SA, LB, 11/4/123, Quarter Sessions, 1697, deposition of Richard Sabery, 6th Nov.

¹⁰³ British Library (BL), Burney, 195b. *Ludlow Postman*, 9th Oct., 1719, p. 5; Defoe, D., *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, ed. Furbank, P. N., Owens, W. R. and Coulson, A. J. (Yale 1991), p. 188.

¹⁰⁴ Reports of the Historical Monuments Commission, *Report on the MSS of the Duke of Portland*, 8 (London, 1893), p. 125.

Fig. 38: Map of Ludlow Castle by John Haycock of Shrewsbury, 1811. [1]



[1] PRO, Map Room, 64 RE/1755

made by William Stukeley in 1721.¹⁰⁵ In 1745 Francis Winwood, 'living in ye castle', sold ale there and kept a 'pin alley'.¹⁰⁶ A later map, made in 1811 (Fig. 38, p.159), shows the Castle Inn adjoining the Bowling Green and garden, while a fives court is marked near Mortimer's Tower – the home, until his death in 1804, of 'John Harris, a noted pugilist and player of fives'.¹⁰⁷

The most far reaching proposal for the use of the castle came in the 1760s from Henry Arthur Herbert, Earl of Powis.(pp.48-50).¹⁰⁸ 'He had a desire', it was later reported, 'to erect a House on the said Ground for his own residence', making use of 'the Materials of the Ruins of the Castle'.¹⁰⁹ The conversion of medieval castles into fashionable post-Restoration residences had many precedents, Powis itself and Monmouth being local examples. The Government stalled, employing the Shrewsbury architect, Thomas Farnolls Pritchard, to survey the castle, with demolition and sale of the site apparently under consideration. Though the Ludlow attorney, Somerset Davies, seemed to support the Earl, writing that it would be 'some advantage to the crown to be relieved of such an unprintable charge', the plans did not materialise.¹¹⁰ A 31 year lease was issued in 1772, but it is not known if the Earl still intended to build, for he died the same year. His family continued his plans to enhance the walks round the castle and kept the buildings in good order, in line with their policy of garnering the good will of Ludlow for electoral advantage.¹¹¹

In 1803 a new Earl sought to renew the lease but was diverted by a proposal from the War Office to 'convert the Castle to a Depot for French Prisoners of War'.¹¹² 'The present buildings, if roofed in', a survey showed, 'might be made to contain about Three Thousand Prisoners and, by the addition of other buildings, to be erected against the Walls, One thousand more'.¹¹³ Again, the plans were not implemented, but in 1811 the Government did agree to sell the Castle and its walks to the Earl for

¹⁰⁵ Borsay, P., *English Urban Renaissance*, p. 173; William Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (London, 1724).

¹⁰⁶ SA, LB, 11/4/172, Quarter Sessions, 1745, names of victuallers, 14th May.

¹⁰⁷ PRO, MR 64, RC/1753, map of Ludlow Castle, 1811.

¹⁰⁸ See chapter 2, pp. 47-50.

¹⁰⁹ SA, Earl of Powis Collection (522), 26/2.

¹¹⁰ Ionides, J., *Thomas Farnolls Pritchard* (Ludlow, 1999), p. 195.

¹¹¹ National Library of Wales (NLW), Powis Castle Collection, 20573-91, papers on Ludlow Castle.

¹¹² SA, 552, 26/2, re. a prison at Ludlow Castle.

¹¹³ Cited by Hughes, P., 'The Castle in Decline', in Shoesmith, R. and Johnson, A., *Ludlow Castle: Its History and Buildings* (Almeley, 2000), 89-98 (p. 96).

£1,560.¹¹⁴ Before 1828 a medium size house had been built on the site of the Tudor indoor tennis court, which was rented to tenants.¹¹⁵ Though modest in size, its location and the fine lawn, which replaced the bowling green, gave it the style of a grand mansion, as revealed by a plan made in 1904.¹¹⁶

Block B (north side Castle Street and Church Street, east side College Street, south side Upper Linney; Figs. 39 and 40, p. 162).

Here, differences of layout within the original plan were accentuated during the 1660 to 1848 period. The westernmost properties, most of them freehold, ran north to the town wall, but further east their length was restricted by properties abutting to College Street. In Upper Linney there were small demesne properties in the ditch.

A long tradition of elite residences was continued in the west of the block after 1660, the grandest being at High Hall, where three properties and part of a fourth had been amalgamated by the 1660s.¹¹⁷ This large property is marked on Fig. 39. East of F6, on three long, narrow plots, development was commercial, with inns, malthouses and stables. The fronts of these adjoining properties are shown on Fig. 40. Beyond was an imposing six perch wide court yard development round what is now Quality Square. In the late 16th century this had been 'the fayre house that Maister Secretarie Foxe did bestowe great charges on'.¹¹⁸ There was a major restructuring in 1705, when number 6, the western arm of Foxe's house, became a large self contained house, but the rest of the courtyard was divided, with lateral infilling in Church Street.¹¹⁹ In 1843 the complex had 4 houses (three above shops), 5 more houses round the courtyard, and also three warehouses, two workshops, two stables, a gig house and a bake-house.

Further east, in Church Street, all the properties were Corporation. The first, C23, three perches wide, had been a courtyard since 1492 or earlier, the rear property

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ DL, 1828 Corporation map of Ludlow and its fields.

¹¹⁶ SA, Surveyors' Plans (DA), 3/710/12, Alterations to Castle House, Ludlow.

¹¹⁷ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Churchyard, *The Worthiness of Wales*, p. 85.

¹¹⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 129d, liberty to Bailiff Price 'to make a passage through the Town Wall for carriage of the rubbish from the Great House in Castle Square to Linney, he making the passage up again'.

Fig. 39: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block B.

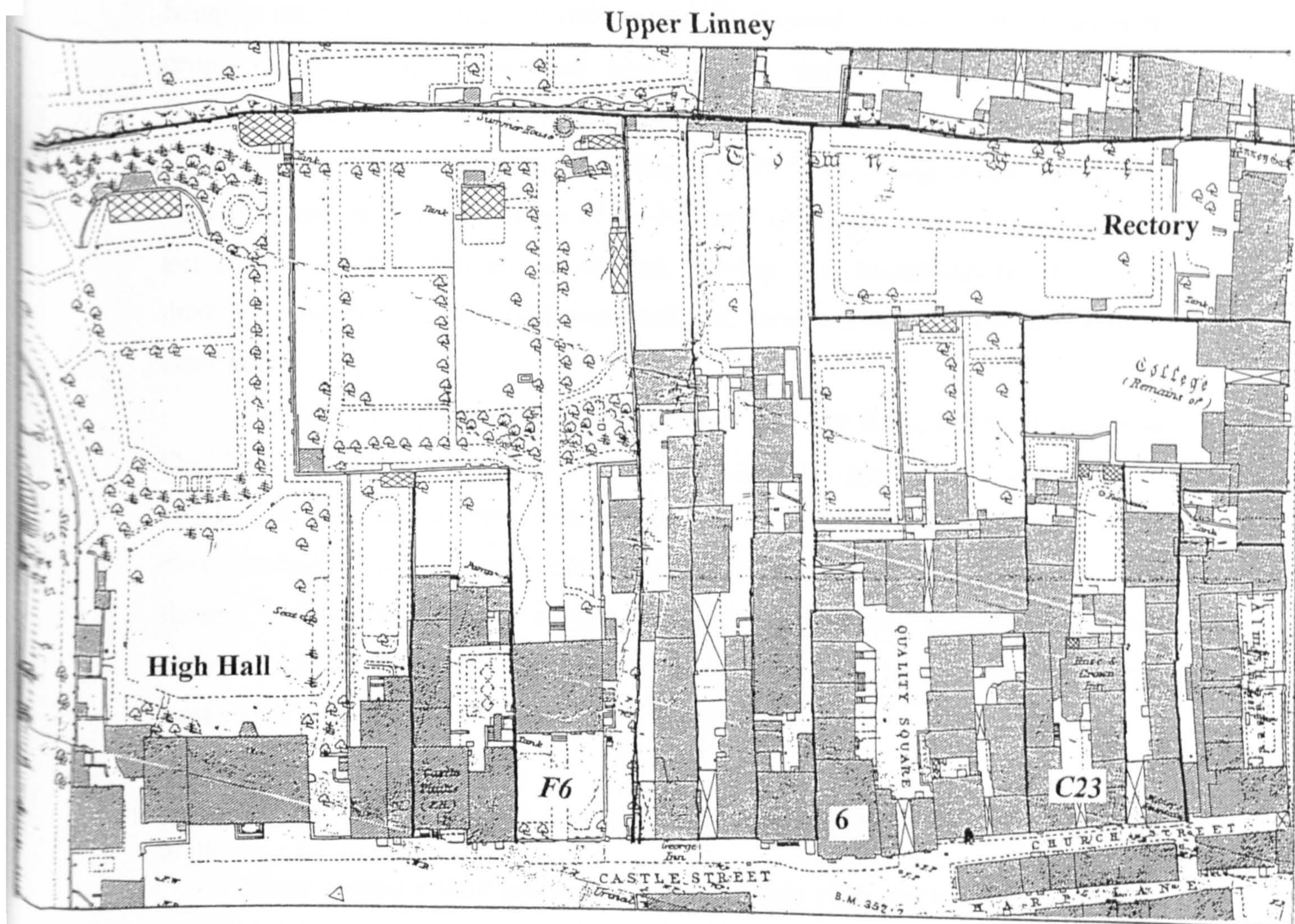
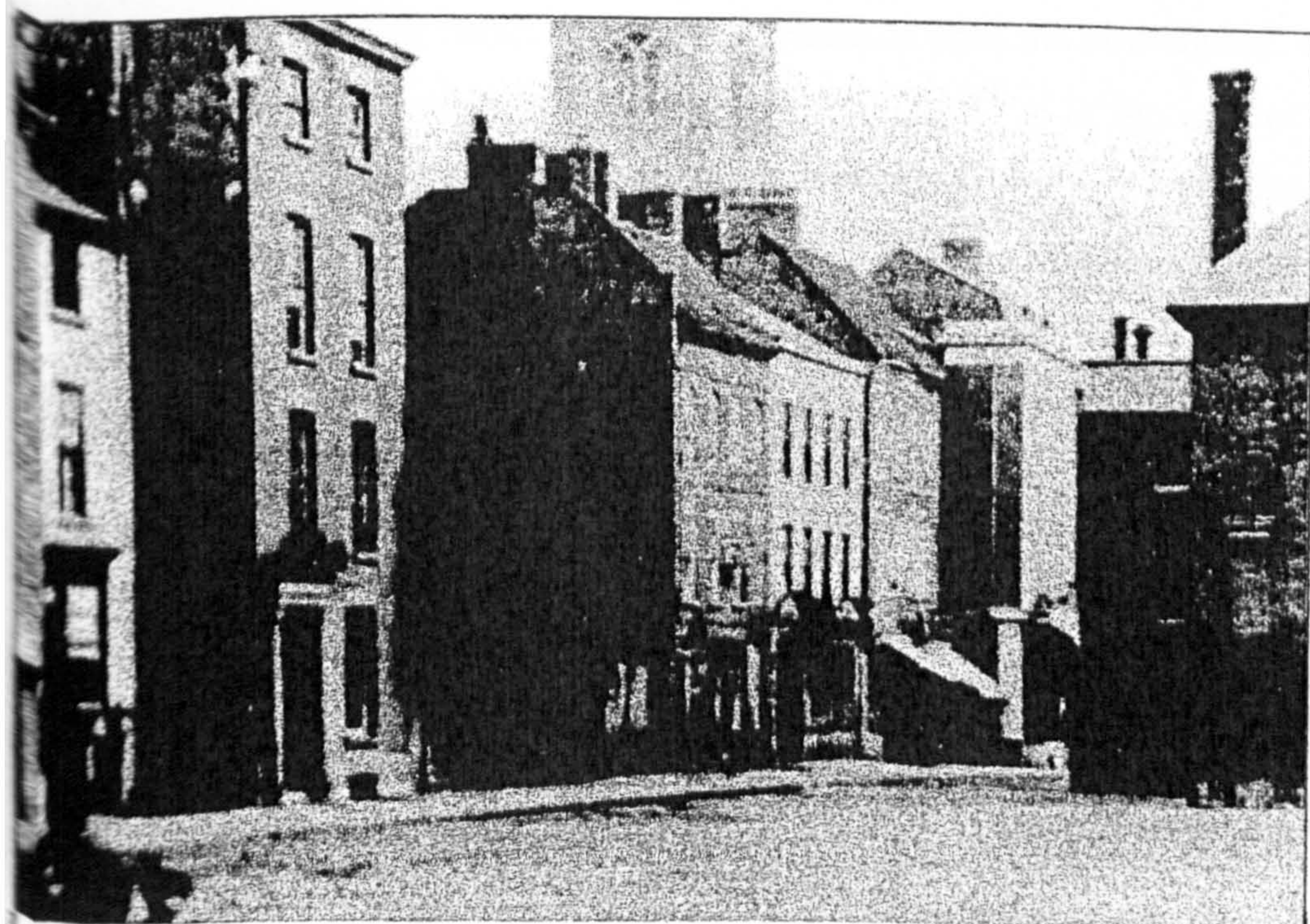


Fig. 40: Mid-19th century photograph of part of the north side of Castle Street.



16 and 18, far left, occupy a three perch burghage, with a fossilised medieval plan: hall left (recessed), rebuilt 1672, with later alterations; solar wing right, rebuilt 1838.

14 (plot F6), unusually, was built well back from the street line, trees and railings visible;

12, 10 and 8, C18th frontages; 8 replaced 1902;

6 protrudes into street, part of the Quality Square complex, altered c.1705;

on the far right, parts of the Market Hall built in 1702

18	16	14	12	10	8	6
----	----	----	----	----	---	---

being an inn for most of the post 1660 period.¹²⁰ Beyond, a narrower two perch wide property had a large house and side passage, while a three perch burgage accommodated Hosier's Almshouses, which originally probably opened onto Church Street, but to College Street after rebuilding in 1758.¹²¹ In College Street, once called Parson's Lane, the former College of the Palmers' Guide provided a spacious house, but this too was progressively sub-divided, having nine households by 1843. The medieval Rectory, on Glebe land, was unaltered, though from 1837 the Rector lived elsewhere.

Beyond Linney Gate the demesne land of the town ditch, shown at the top of Fig. 39, was divided into small parcels, first used as gardens and stables, often attached to houses in the town centre which lacked such amenities. Other developments occurred from 1762, including 'a small hovel' and then 'two nail shops'.¹²² The 1843 rate book records three other houses, two warehouses, a stable and one surviving nail-shop. By then, another substantial house had been built at the west end of the ditch, adjoining the Castle walks.¹²³

Block C (north side King Street, north west side Bull Ring, backing to Church Walk; Figs. 41 and 42, p. 164).

These generally short properties, stretching only eight perches or less from the street to their rear boundaries, are in the commercial core of the town, forming a crescent south and east of the churchyard. Those behind the Cross and on the north side of King Street were encroachments onto the churchyard, for which annual rent was still payable in the eighteenth century.¹²⁴ In the eastern part of King Street, often called the Narrows, the protruding properties are a legacy of a fourteenth century detached row of tailors shops.¹²⁵ With no space for lateral or rear expansion,

¹²⁰ SA, LB, 5/3/49, Palmers' Guild renter's account, 1481-82.

¹²¹ SA, LB, 2/1/15, Index to Corporation Minute Book, 1667-1827, p. 7, 'Names of the Poor admitted and Remayninge in the Almshouse on 8th Oct., 1669'. There are references to chambers which were 'east side' and 'west side', implying a long north-south courtyard, which must have opened to the south as the College adjoined on the north.

¹²² SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 201; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 165.

¹²³ *Hereford Journal*, 29th March, 1820, p. 3, col. 1, sale of 'a neat, new-built house contiguous to the Castle Walk'

¹²⁴ DL, Easter Book (EB), 1717-24, 1724 entry.

¹²⁵ SA, LB, 5/3/63, Palmers' Guild Rental, 14th century.

Fig. 41: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block C.

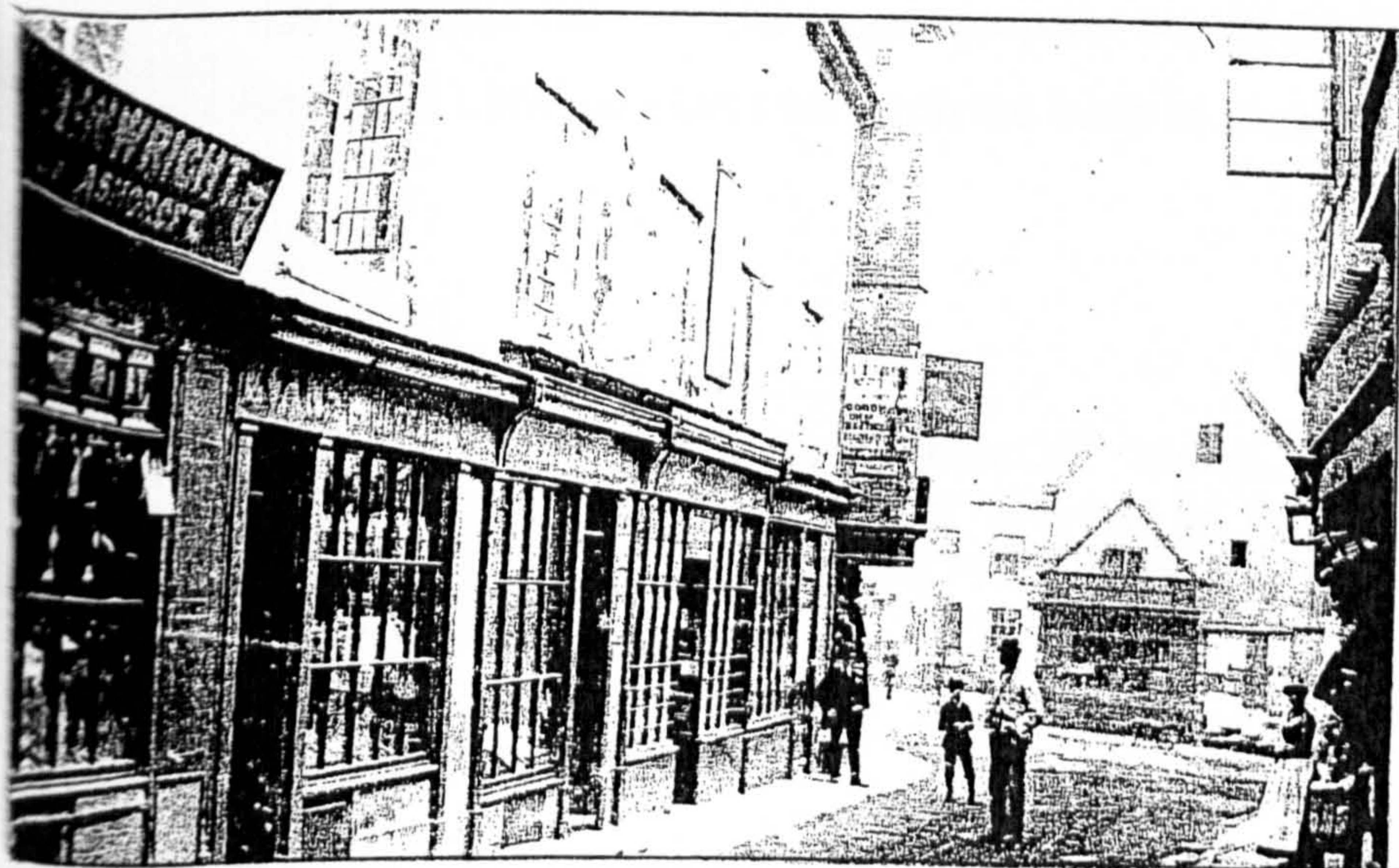
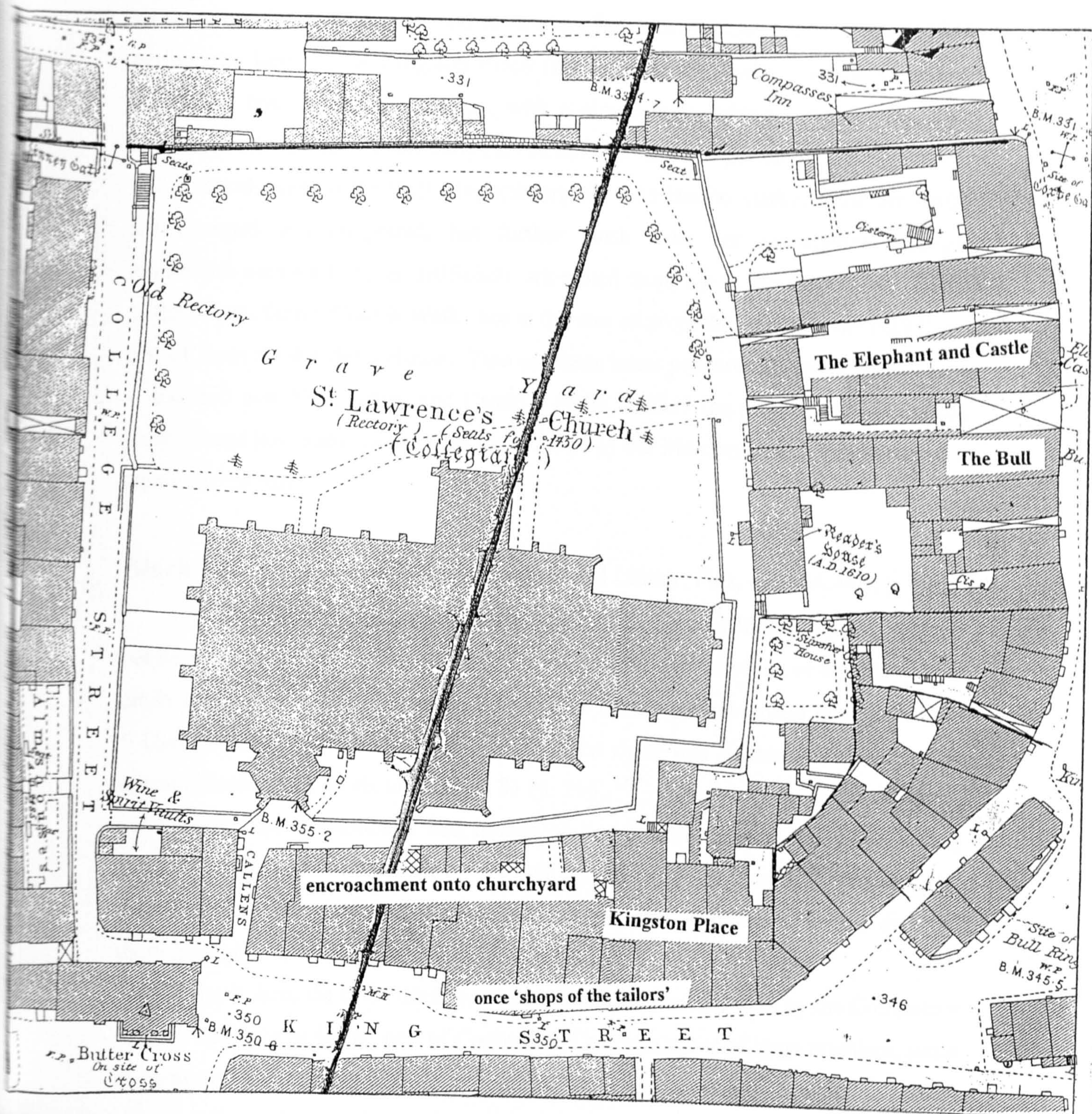


Fig. 42: Kingston Place and the Bull Ring.

A Victorian photograph, looking east along that part of King Street traditionally called 'the Narrows'. Kingston Place is on the left, with its five shops having similar frontages. The two on the far left survive but the rest of the building was replaced in the 1880s. The street widens into the Bull Ring, with the Tolsey on the right and a view into Tower Street beyond.

all the properties have cellars, and several are four storeys high. In the 1660 to 1848 period, the largest was Kingston Place (Fig. 42), a late Tudor 'capital messuage' embracing five ground floor shops, with a single house above, where prominent citizens lived especially in the early part of the 1660 to 1848 period.¹²⁶

North west of the Bull Ring (historically 'the Beaste market'), the properties are cramped and congested, but further north there are rectangular burgages terminated westwards by an artificially steepened slope up to the churchyard. Some of the houses facing Church Walk are at the rear of properties fronting the Bull Ring, one of them the Reader's House. Two of these latter properties were important inns - the Bull and the Elephant and Castle - while in 1843 the properties to the north, once a large house associated with the Council of the Marches, had a malt-house and stables at the rear.

Block D(west side Corve Street, east side Broad Linney; Figs, 43, 44A,44B, p.166).

Two sets of east-west burgage plots make up this block, but the contrast between them is great. In Broad Linney, amalgamation into a series of small closes or crofts had begun by 1432 or earlier, but the only housing development took place at 1-5 Upper Linney between 1807 and 1828, when there was reference to 'four newly erected messuages', as visible on Fig. 81 (p. 216).¹²⁷ The west side of Corve Street, on the other hand, eventually had houses along its entire length, though following Civil War damage some houses were not rebuilt until the late 17th or early 18th centuries. The houses all had long gardens running back to fences or hedges dividing them from properties abutting to Linney.

Apart from the town ditch, occupied by tradesmen and then by the Compasses Inn, the southern or higher part of Corve Street had a number of large premises, some of them amalgamated from earlier properties. At 8 and 11, contiguous land in Linney was also acquired. The largest property was 8, the Corve Street frontage of which was 5 and a half perches wide, with the lands in Linney 10 perches wide. In 1717 it

¹²⁶ Deeds of 7 to 10 King Street, lease 20th March, 1750.

¹²⁷ SA, LB, MT 662, feoffment of '2 crofts yn Brodlyney', 1433; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 196; SA, LB, 4/1/1745, Corporation lease, 28th Oct., 1825.

Fig. 43: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, much reduced) of the east part of block D.

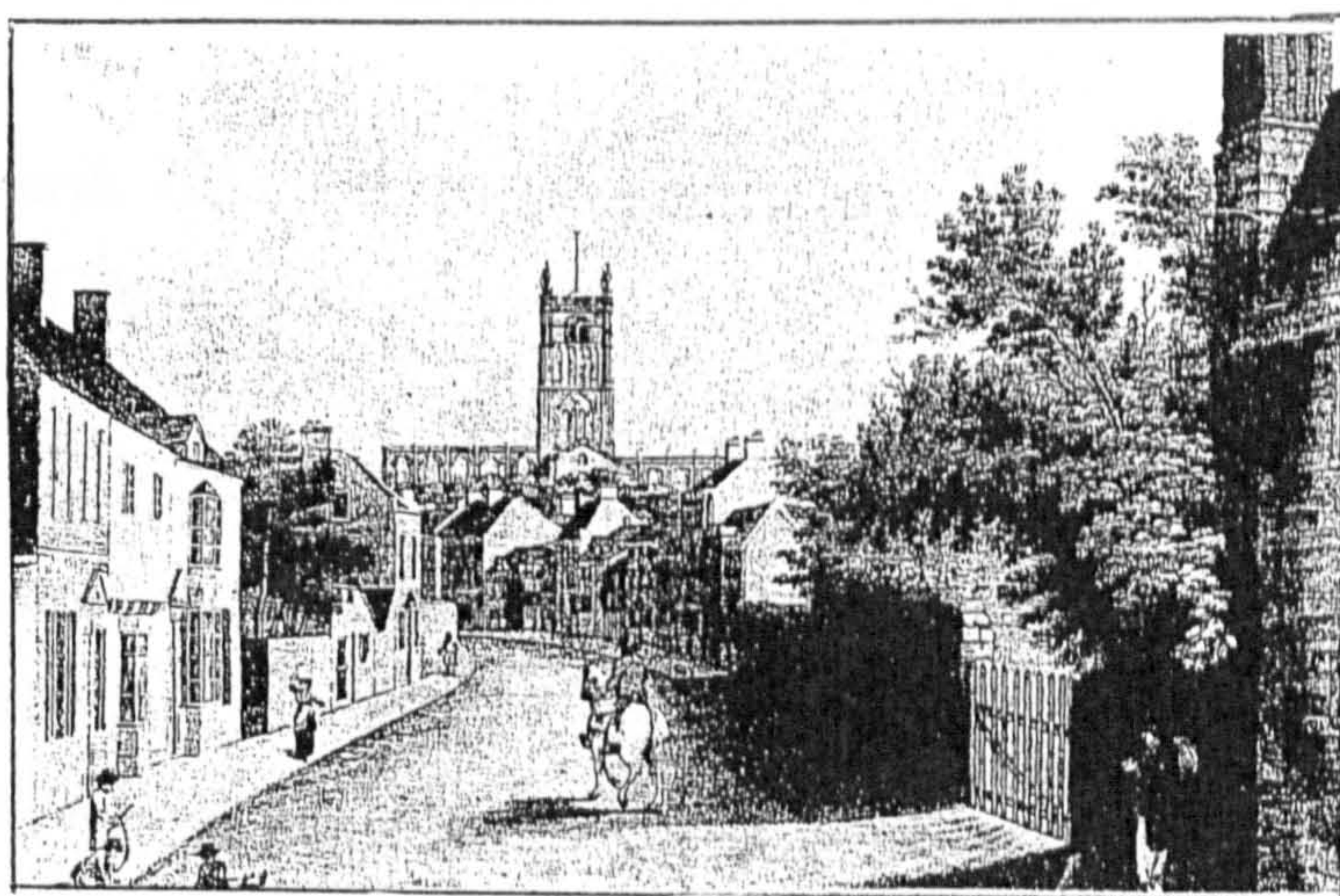
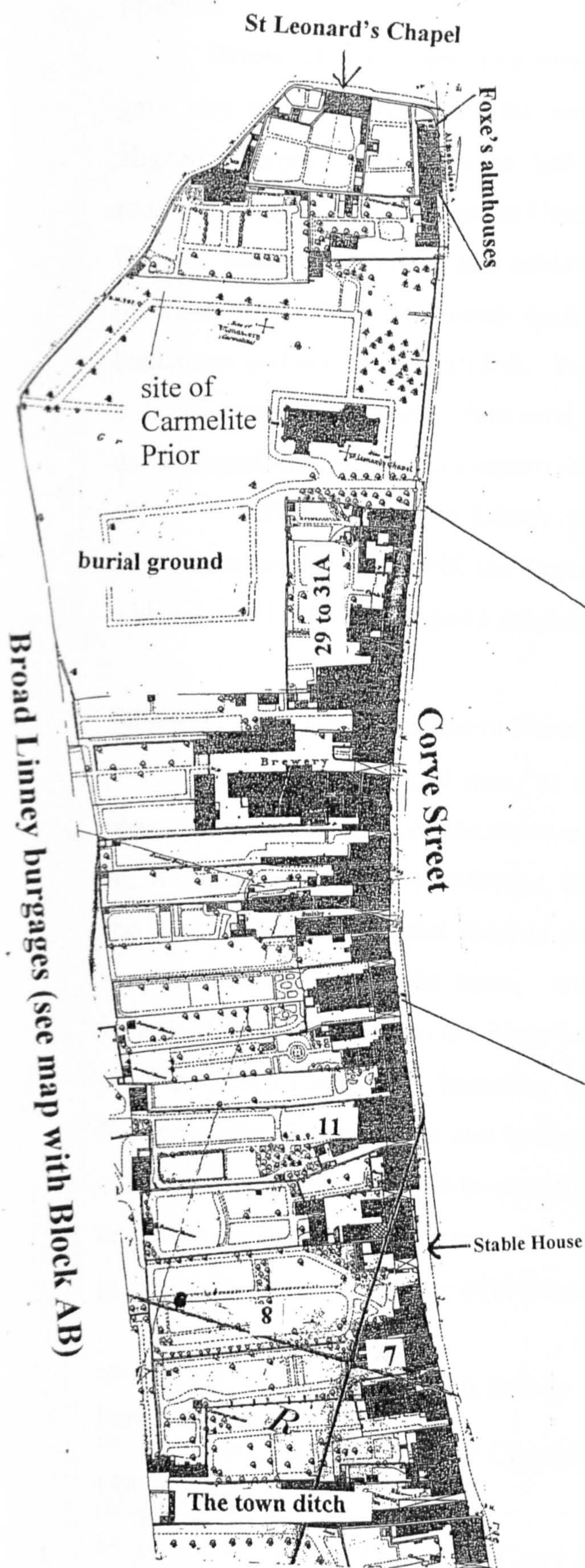


Fig. 44A.

A picture of Corve Street in 1812 by local artist, William Gwynn. On the right, the line of buildings is broken by the site of the medieval Carmelite Friary, not built on since before 1660. This became a new parish burial ground in 1824.

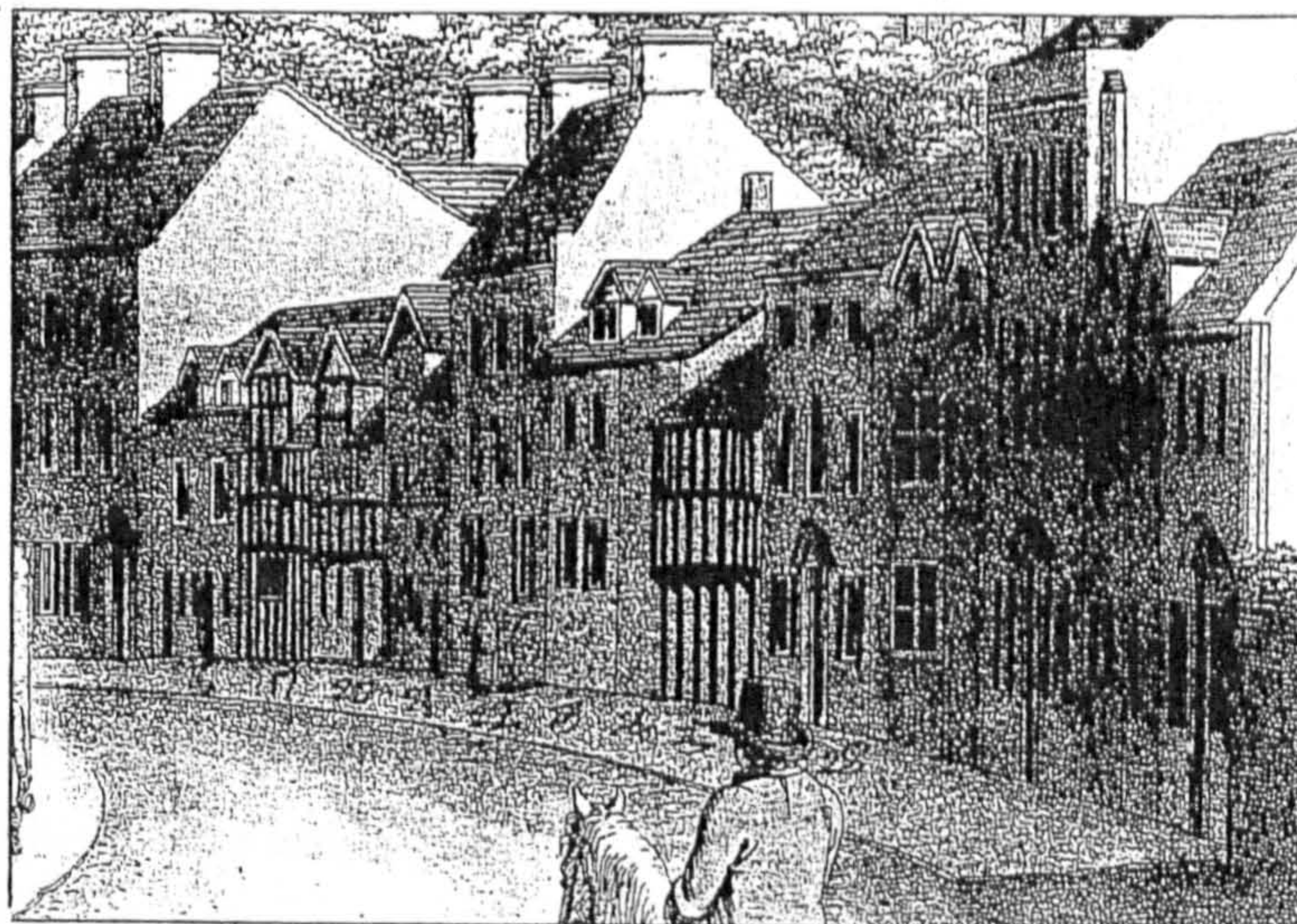


Fig. 44B.

Magnification of the central part of the street, with buildings of several architectural styles.

was described as 'house, stable, barn, garden, backside, outbuildings and meadow'.¹²⁸ Views west to the castle and Whitcliffe made these attractive properties for elite residents.

Below 11 was a series of two perch wide plots, though further down these gave way to larger properties, the first of them (Nos. 29 to 31A) an enigmatically aligned burgage with its long side to the street – probably a result of land redistribution from the time of the Carmelite Friary.¹²⁹ These plots, clearly visible on Fig. 43, attracted industrial and commercial uses, with a number of fine houses built by tradesmen. There was some back building, with four malthouses, a granary, a bakehouse and six stables in 1843. Further down, on the site of the Carmelite Friary, a large house had been destroyed in the Civil War, and the land remained undeveloped until, after some controversy, it became the new parish burial ground in 1824.¹³⁰ Before the turn to Linney were almshouses founded by Charles Foxe in 1590; then, at the turn itself, the Norman chapel of St, Leonard, the demolition of which in the 1770s had caused a municipal scandal.¹³¹

Block E (west side lower Corve Street; Figs. 45 and 46, p. 168).

This was a crowded area, as shown on Fig. 45 (p.168), with houses and industrial premises between the street and the River Corve. Except for the tannery at the north end, close to Corve bridge, this had been the liberty of Dinmore Fee from the late twelfth century, and there is no record of burgaging.¹³² Traditionally, this was a working part of the town, with a particular concentration on trades that benefited from proximity to the River Corve, such as tanning and malting. As shown on Fig. 46 (p.168), some imposing houses faced the street, with narrow entries between them to small yards and back properties, especially in the south. The chapel of the Independents was built in one of these yards in the 1730s. The triangular infill east of the street has another area of crowded housing at the south, with a small field in the north, and a narrow line of houses encroaching into St Mary's Lane.

¹²⁸ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p.46, lease to Mr Richard Perks, 14th Aug., 1717.

¹²⁹ Klein, P. and Roe, A., *The Carmelite Friary, Corve Street, Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1987), p. 29.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 32.

¹³¹ Felton, W., *Proceedings in the Court of Chancery* (Ludlow, c.1820), pp. 33-34.

¹³² Faraday, *Ludlow, 1085-1660*, pp. 4, 14.

Fig. 45: 1885 O.S. map (I; 500, reduced) of block E.

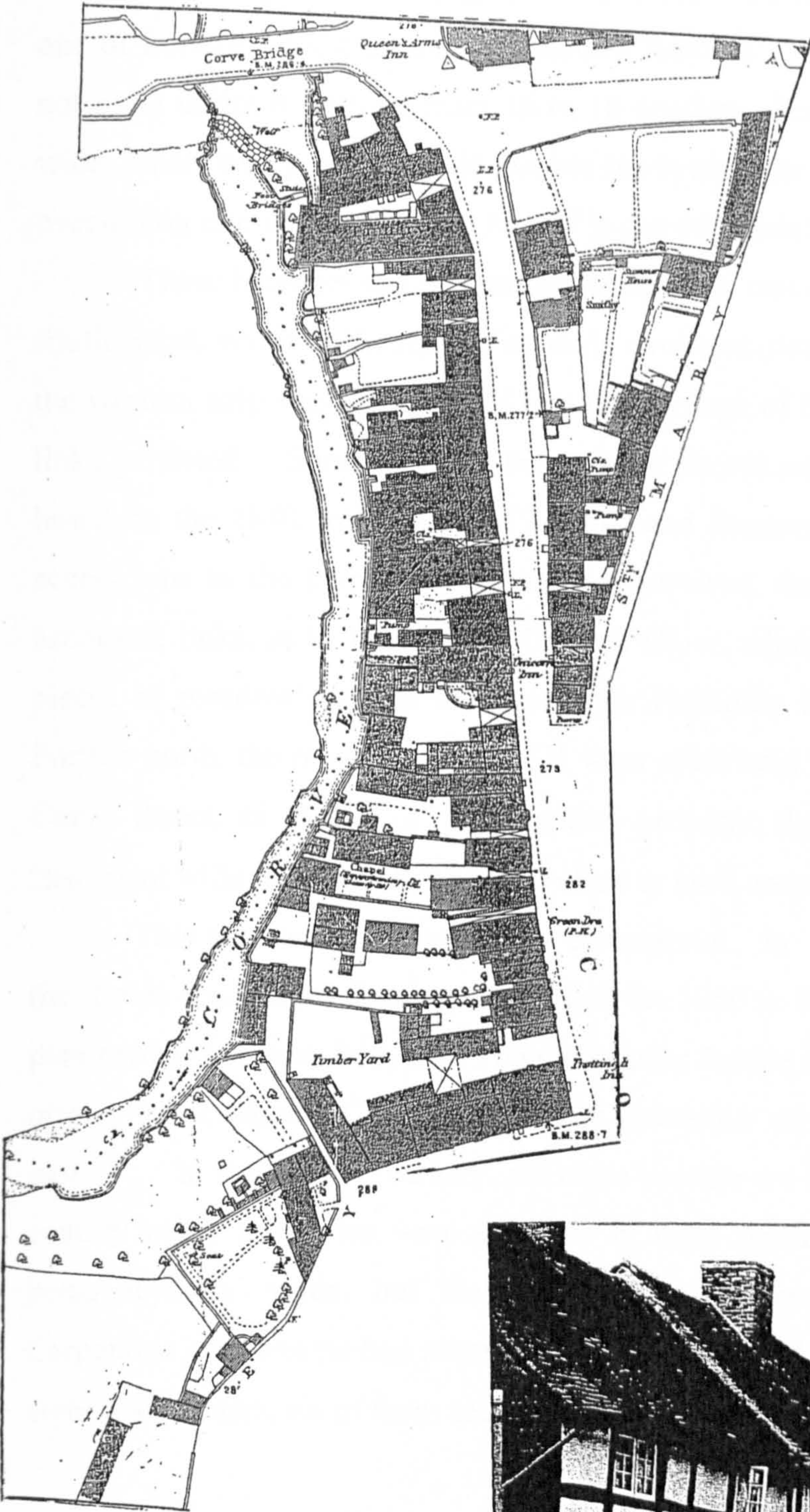


Fig. 46: This Frith's postcard, issued c.1930, shows part of Dinmore Fee on the west side of lower Corve Street.

Block F (east side Corve Street, to parish boundary; Figs. 47/47A, p. 170).

This long line of burgages, between Corve Street and the parish boundary, is one of Ludlow's most impressive planned features. The length of the burgages is not quite uniform, varying from 16 to 18 perches. Some burgages are four perches wide, others two perches, while outside the lower gate other widths occur. Yet the over-riding impression given by Fig. 47 is one of regularity.

These burgages can be seen as the western unit of an ensemble of four north-south strips, which is the relic of an early over ambitious town plan. Although only the western strip was incorporated into the borough of Ludlow, physical and tenurial links persisted. Some of these features are shown on Fig. 47A (p.170), which is based on the 1840s tithe maps of Ludlow and Stanton Lacy. In the south a rear access lane to the Corve Street burgages survived, though sometimes traversed by economic links, as in 1800, when Conduit Close, adjoining Corve Street, and 'other pieces of meadow' east of the lane (later Portcullis Lane) were sold as a unit.¹³³ Further north, the properties in unit B were often held jointly with those abutting to Corve Street, as at 102, a Corporation property, described as early as 1500 as 'tenement without Nether Gate with a close or croft annexed'.¹³⁴

This area was predominantly commercial. In some burgages, proximity to the fields encouraged farming throughout the 1660 to 1848 period. At 106-109 the plan reveals a former foldyard. The rectangular feature at 116 may have had a similar origin, for it adjoins Conduit Close, an extension of the agricultural land further east.¹³⁵ In the late 19th century, the close became the livestock market. In the 16th century many properties were involved in cloth production, their rear parts often being teynters' yards, but these were later replaced by other industrial uses. Carpenters and masons had premises here, and by 1843 there were many stables and eight malt-houses, six of them accessible from the back lane.¹³⁶ Some back building

¹³³ SA, Clark & Co.(1141), 30, conveyance, 2nd Jan., 1800.

¹³⁴ SA, LB, 15/3/39, will of Geoffrey Baugh, 1500.

¹³⁵ SA, 1141, 30, conveyance of 'several pieces of meadow bounded by Corve Street to the west', 2nd Jan., 1800.

¹³⁶ SA, LB, 15/2/245, Ludlow Borough Council, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843; all information in this chapter relating to 1843 is from this source unless stated otherwise.

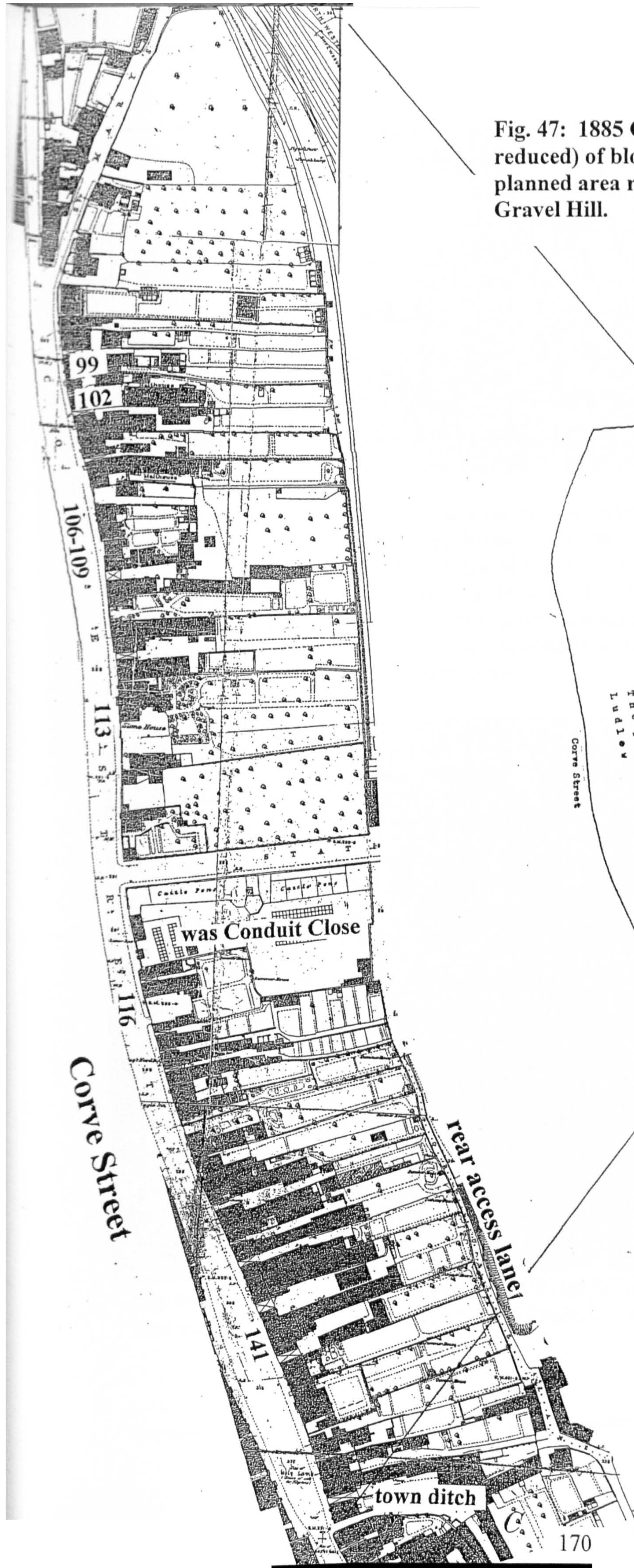


Fig. 47: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, much reduced) of block F, shown as part of a planned area reaching to what is now Gravel Hill.

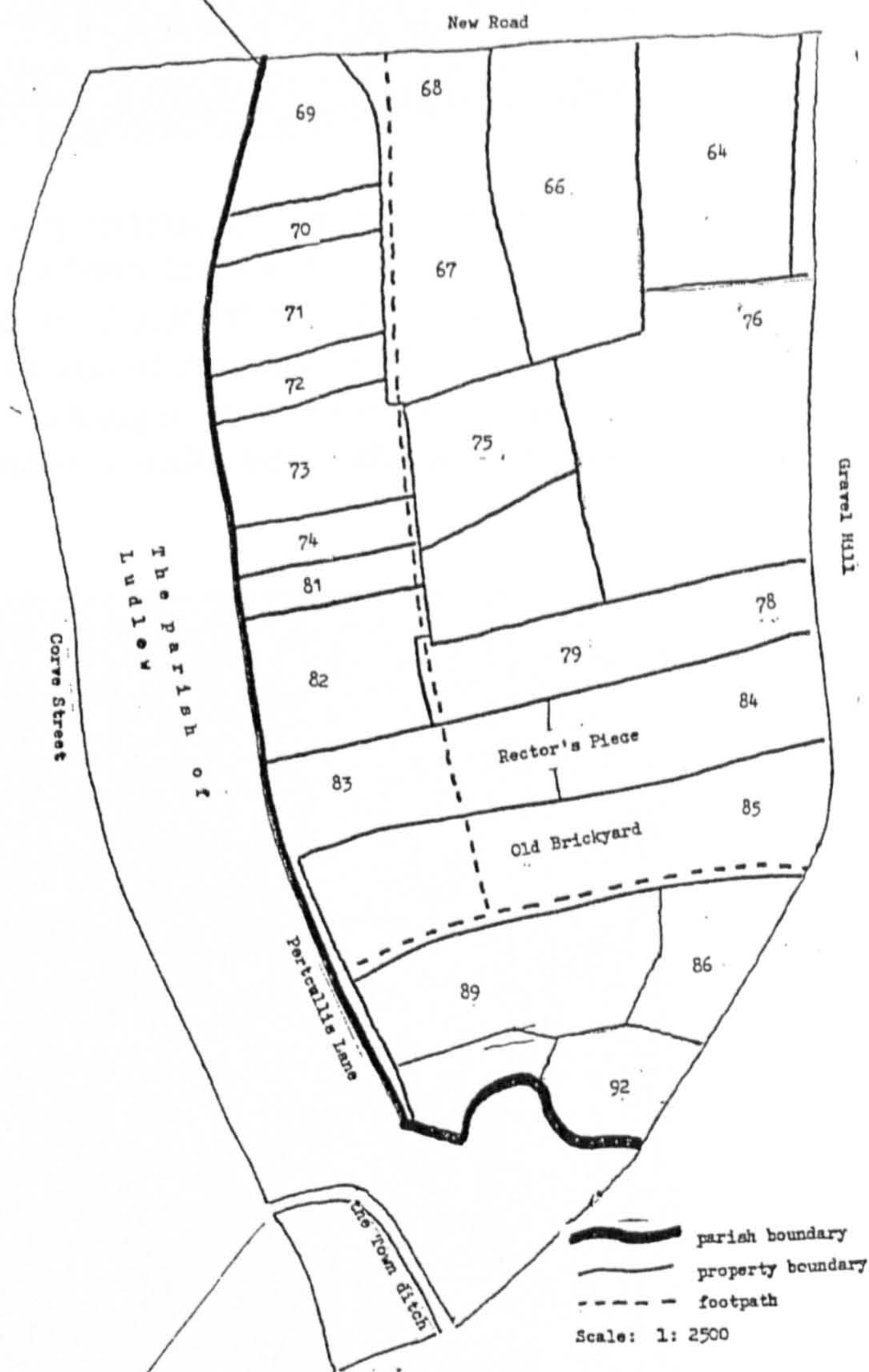


Fig. 47A. This map, based on the Tithe maps for Ludlow and Stanton Lacy, shows the remnants of a planned burgaged area east of Corve Street. Only the Corve Street ones were taken into the parish of St Laurence's, Ludlow.

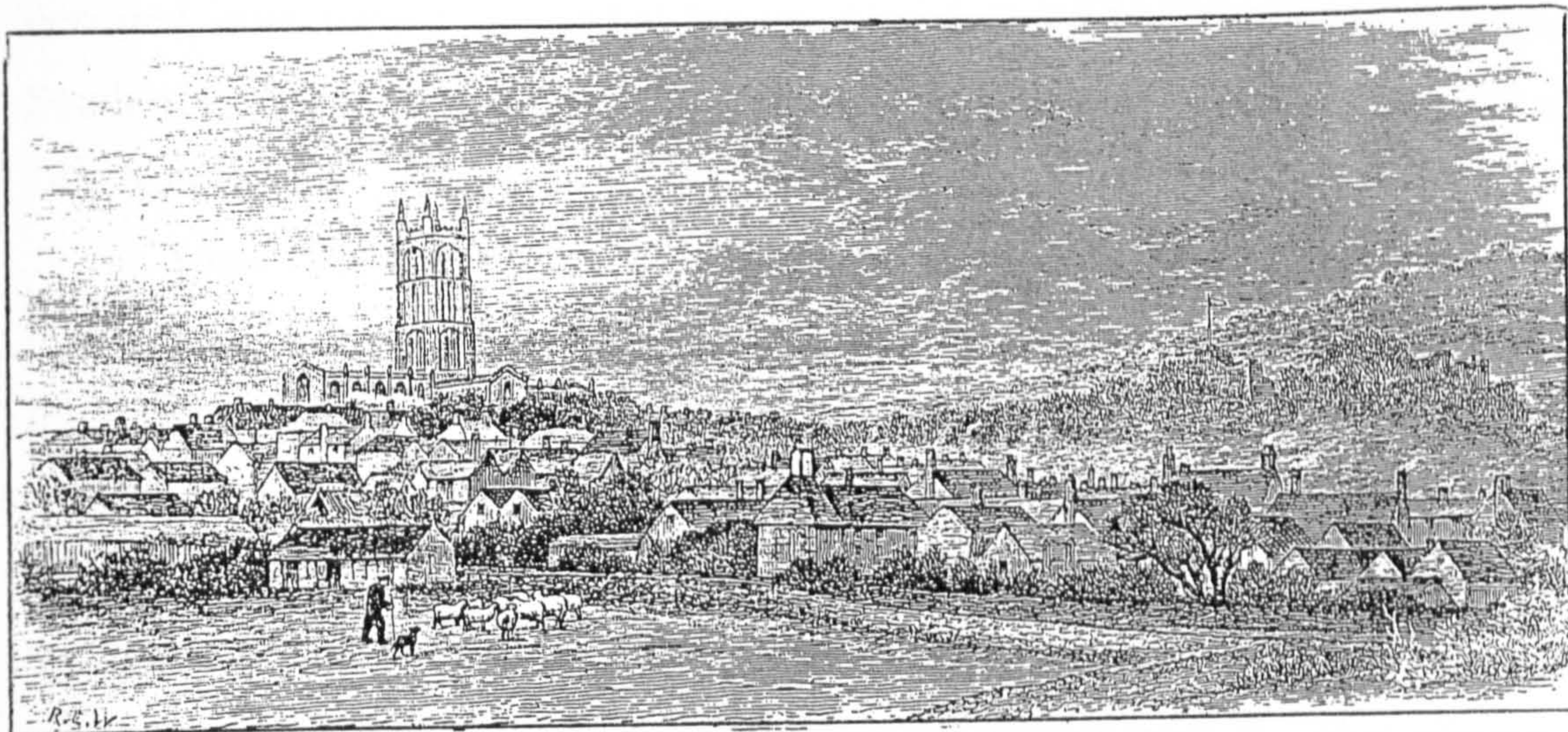


Fig. 48: An engraving of Ludlow from the railway station, soon after its opening in 1852.¹ It emphasises the sharp break between the town and the town fields. The small close with the shepherd and his sheep is characteristic of many on the peripheries of Ludlow. The stone wall at the west end of the close marks the line of the back access lane, where the Corve Street burgages terminated at the parish boundary. In the centre of the buildings beyond is a malthouse with its kiln, until 1835 worked by members of the Hand family.

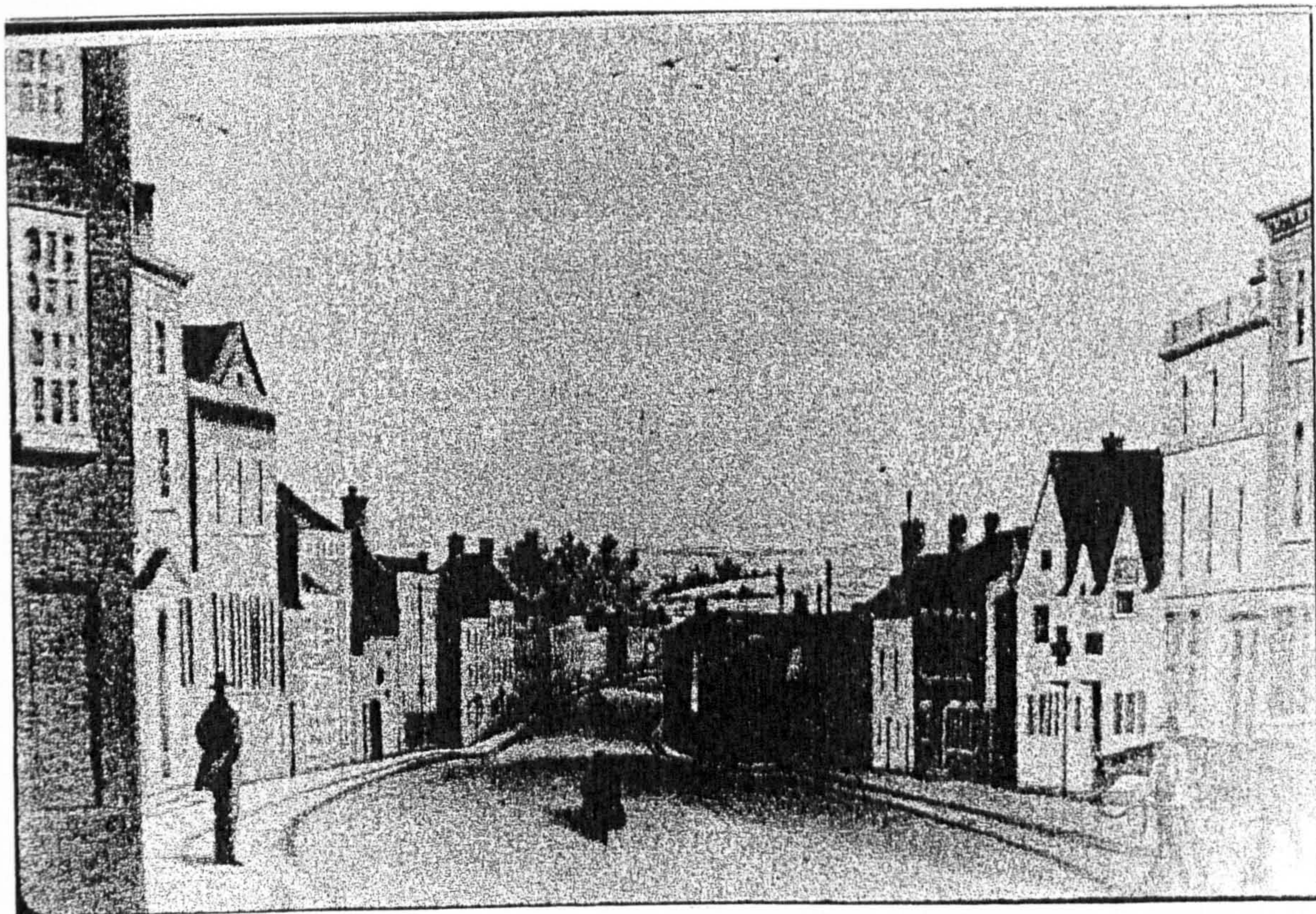


Fig. 49: An engraving of Corve Street c. 1830 by William Gwynn, a Ludlow artist. Two inns, The Holy Lamb and The Spread Eagle, can be seen on the right

¹ *Our own Country*, published by Casseel, Petter, Galpin (London, n.d.), p.93.

occurred, often behind inns and alehouses, a process noted by Conzen at Alnwick.¹³⁷ South of Conduit Close, only two properties avoided back development, 143-144 and 145, both elite residences with gardens to the rear wall.

Some amalgamations took place in the years of rebuilding after the Restoration, as at 141, where three former Corporation messplaces were one leasehold from 1662.¹³⁸ The combined property, four perches wide, became a long distance carrier's depot from 1774, with room for warehouses, stables and turning vehicles.¹³⁹ At 113, in a part of the street where initial burgages were four perches wide, amalgamation had occurred by 1669 of two adjoining properties - a half burgage and a burgage - , giving a property approximately six perches wide.¹⁴⁰ This became an elite residence, rebuilt, probably in the 1820s, to form Stone House.¹⁴¹

Block F terminates southwards at the town ditch, which attracted back development. There was a malt-house by 1750, to which a stable was added by 1799 and a cottage by 1830.¹⁴² Development then accelerated, leading to three houses, a malthouse, two stables and a coach house by 1843.

Block G (east side Bull Ring, north side Tower Street, backing to town wall, Figs. 50, 51, p. 173))

As shown on Fig. 50, this is another congested area, with back building along every plot. Land use was predominantly commercial, with four important inns for all or most of the period.¹⁴³ The King's Head yard in 1728 exemplifies the diversity

¹³⁷ Conzen, M. G. R., 'Geography and Townscape Conservation', in Whitehand, J. W. R., *The Urban Landscape: Historical Development and Management* (London, 1981), 75-86 (pp. 106-07).

¹³⁸ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Corporation leases, 1637-1728, p. 201, properties C275, C 276 and C278.

¹³⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 188, licence to alien to Thomas Gaskell, carrier, 18th May, 1774.

¹⁴⁰ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 28.

¹⁴¹ See chapter 6, p. 318.

¹⁴² SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 24d., licence to alien of messuage and malt-house; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 116, lease of house, malt-house, stable and garden; deeds of 153 Corve Street, Globe Insurance Policy, 1829, 'house, offices, malt-house, stable, and cottage'.

¹⁴³ Lloyd, D. J. and others, *The Feathers* (Ludlow, 1986), pp. 4-5 (The Griffin at 20-21 Bull Ring; The Feathers at 24 Bull Ring); HRO, AA/20, will of Catherine Taylor, 10th March, 1718; SA, Morgan (5411), 161/5; HRO, AA/20, will of William Botterell, 21st May, 1801, 'The Buck's Head'.

Fig. 50: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block G.

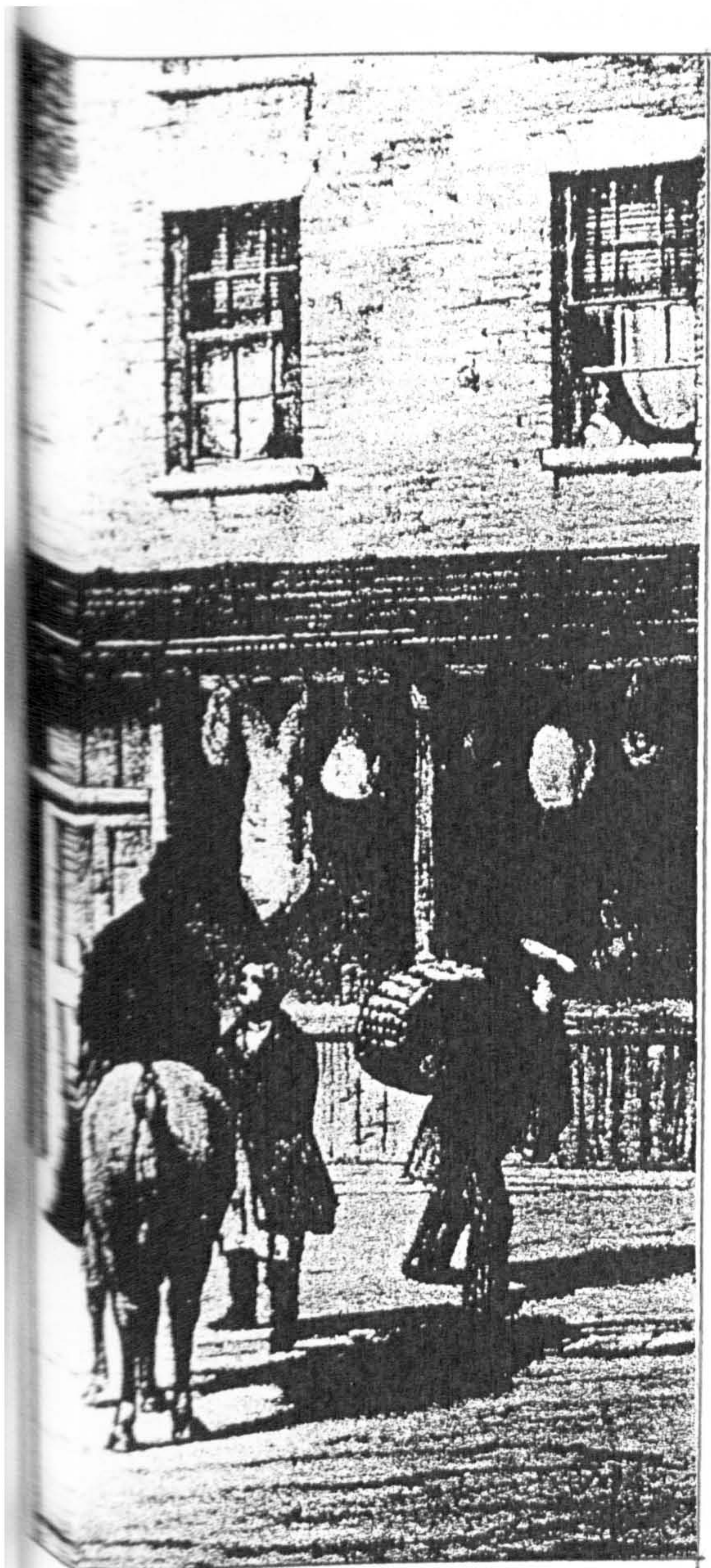
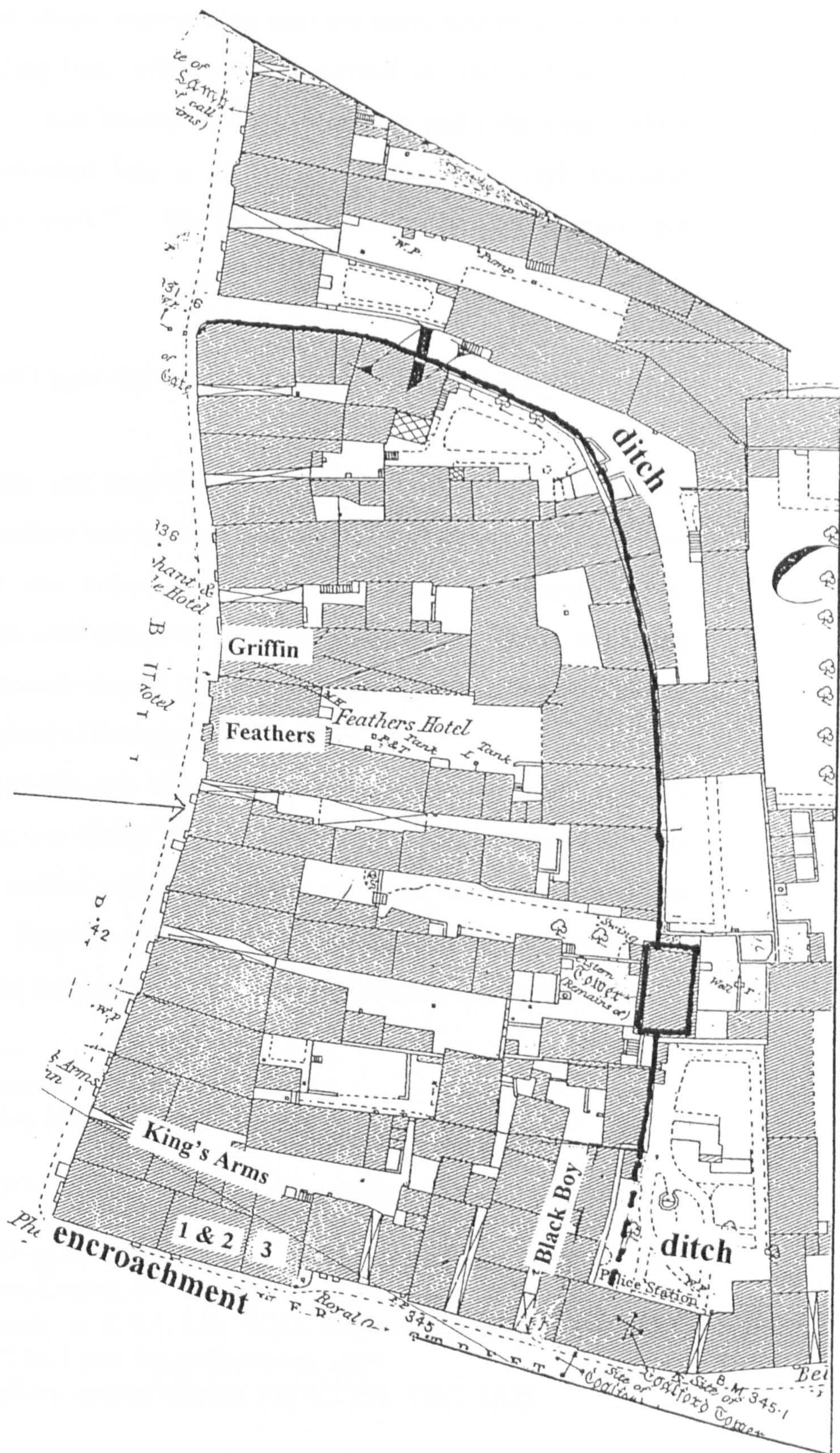


Fig. 50A. This detail comes from a 1846 engraving of The Feathers, which is off the picture to the left. It shows the butcher's shop of William Ward Evans. The shutters have been taken off, but the 'pentice' roof gives shelter from the weather and facilities for display.



of an innkeeper's economy, having a malthouse, stable, pigsty, convenient house, mixen store and foldyard.¹⁴⁴ By 1843 the block had a number of shops, one of which is shown on Fig. 50A, and also three bake-houses, two slaughter houses, a smithy and a candle-house, the latter converted from the medieval wall tower at the back of 27. Only two properties in this block had houses on their back premises: in 1843 there were seven at 27 and five at the King's Arms.

There were two small shops encroaching onto the north side of Tower Street, in front of the street building line, which were described as 'old and ruined' in 1717.¹⁴⁵ By 1744 number 3 had become 'a shop, tenement and solar over', while later 1 and 2 were incorporated into a narrow but four storey high building overlooking the King's Arms yard.¹⁴⁶ The indentation of the street line marks the encroachment.

Block H (north west side of Upper Galdeford, backing to the parish boundary; Figs. 51 and 52, p. 176).

Map analysis suggests that large burgages, 21 perches deep and four perches wide, occurred here when Ludlow was laid out, probably in the twelfth century. Most of them were sub-divided into halves, two-thirds and thirds, but numbers 1-3, adjoining the ditch, survived until after 1885, as shown on Fig. 51. Three adjoining Corporation properties, differently shaped from the burgages and all outside the parish boundary, became integral parts of this complex.¹⁴⁷

For much of the period this area had the character of an urban fringe. In 1669 there were five small houses, one with a blacksmith's shop, but most properties were gardens, presumably of the market variety.¹⁴⁸ There were two barns in 1669, and a third was added by 1699.¹⁴⁹ Between 1749 and 1822 four inns were established at the front of the properties nearest the town.¹⁵⁰ They had stables and other outbuildings

¹⁴⁴ SA, Clark (1141), 6, conveyance, 7th March, 1728. .

¹⁴⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 50.

¹⁴⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/5, p.334.

¹⁴⁷ The properties were C212/213, C214 and C216 (the coding system is explained on p. 140).

¹⁴⁸ Watkins-Pitchford, *The Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672* (Shrewsbury, 1949), p. 166; HRO, AA/20, will of William Crowe, 29th Jan., 1694.

¹⁴⁹ DL, 1679 Corporation rental, p. 8; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, pp. 145, 197; SA, LB, 8/3/156, Land Tax assessment, 1699.

¹⁵⁰ SA, LB, 11/3/3-4, Victuallers' recognizances, 1749, 1754, 1763, 1822.

Fig. 51: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block H.



behind, but retained rear gardens. A few single houses were built further east and a wheelwright became established at 19 to 21, but from 1780 or earlier all the street fronts had back building behind them (as shown on Fig. 52), culminating with the Greyhound yard before 1840.¹⁵⁰ Page's Yard, at 23 to 33, was the long, narrow development characteristic of many towns at this time, and the triangular development beyond, at 35 to 55, was particularly crowded, but most of the housing had access to yards and open land.

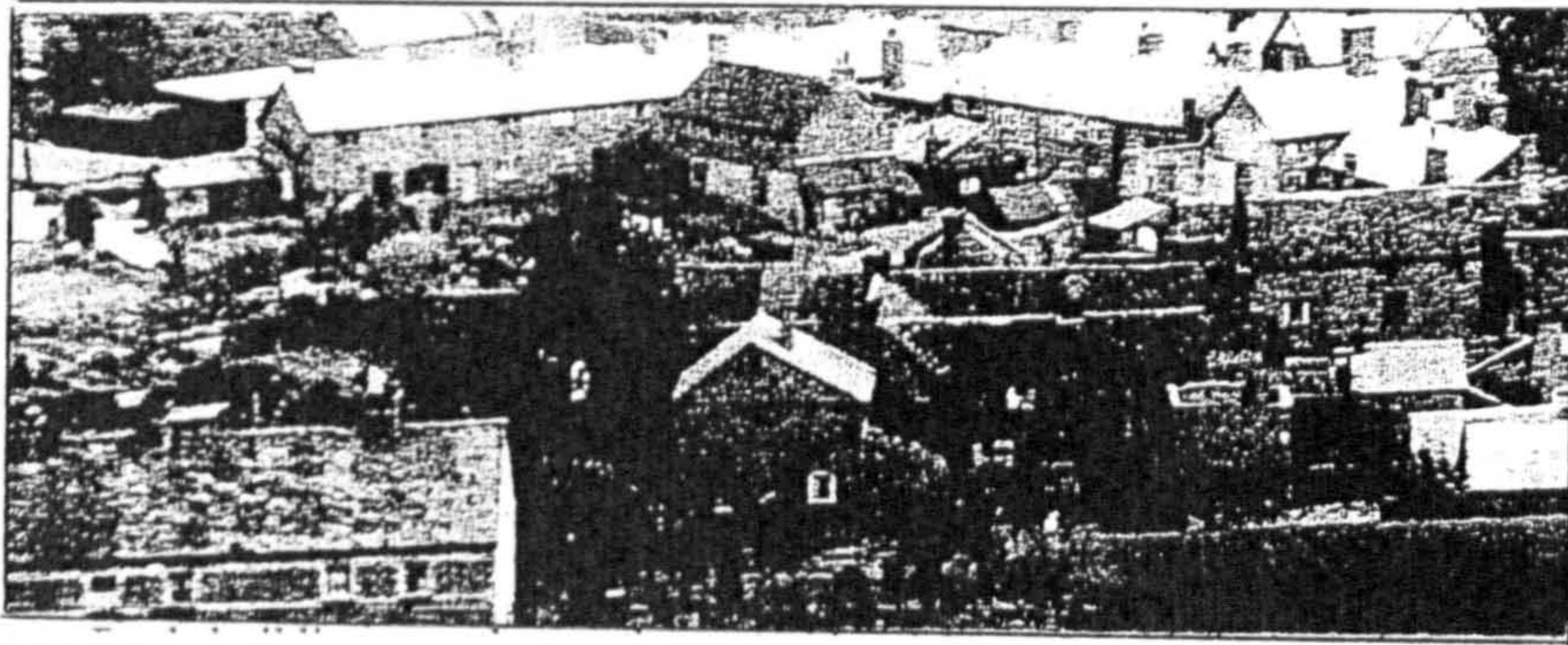


Fig. 52: Back buildings on the north west side of Upper Galdeford, photographed from the tower of St Laurence's in the 1950s. The area has since been redeveloped. The long line of buildings in the distance overlooked the Greyhound Yard.

Block J (south side Upper Galdeford, north side Lower Galdeford, backing to parish boundary; Figs. 53, 54, pp. 177-178)

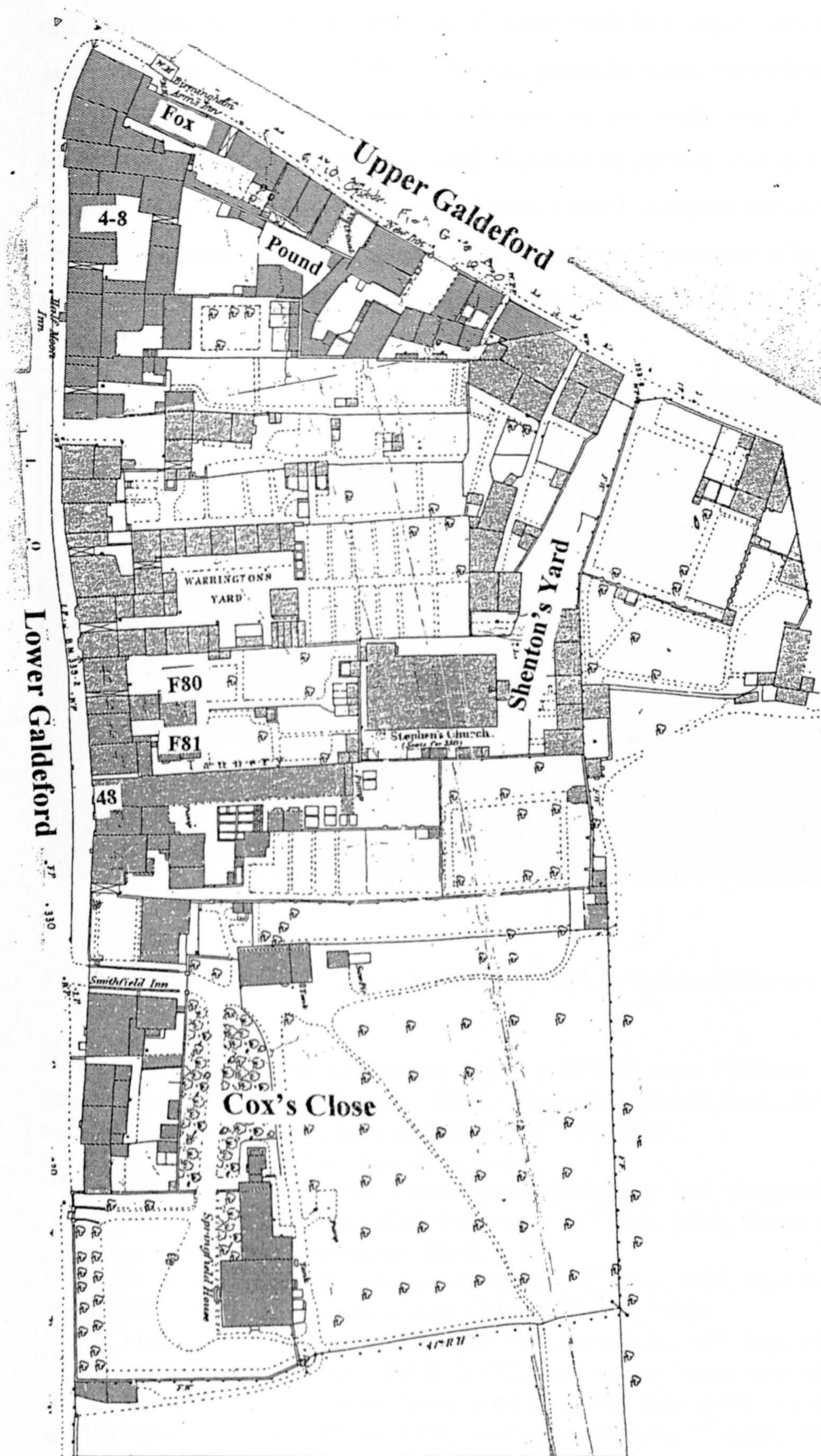
This trapezium shaped block was dominated by a well preserved series of two perch wide burgage plots, abutting to Lower Galdeford, though divisions and amalgamations had occurred before 1669. The more easterly burgages, furthest down the slope, reached to the parish boundary, but further up they were truncated by a series of short plots of irregular shape, opening to Upper Galdeford. In the east, amalgamation before 1660 had created a rectangular close, called after a 16th century leaseholder, John Cox.¹⁵¹ These features are all visible on Fig. 53.

In 1669 this was an area of small houses, with some plots having no buildings. The two largest houses were occupied by farmers, while another property had a barn

¹⁵⁰ SA, LB, 4/1/1360, Corporation lease 4th April, 1764; HRO, AA/20, will of Thomas Meredith, wheelwright, 3rd Nov. 1810; HRO, AA/20, will of William Beach, brick-maker, 1st March, 1780; SA, 1141, sale bill of the Greyhound, 28th Aug., 1840.

¹⁵¹ DL, Palmers' Guild Rental, 1549, p. 33.

Fig. 53: 1885 O.S. (1: 500, reduced) of block J.



by 1685.¹⁵³ The town pound, now occupied by Pinfold Close, had a narrow opening to Upper Galdeford.¹⁵⁴ Various commercial enterprises developed, including inns, one being the Fox, near the west end of Upper Galdeford, which was established by 1689 and was still there in 1849.¹⁵⁵ Houses, generally small, multiplied rapidly from the 1780s. In 1782 there were four houses on the south side of what became Shenton's Yard (now St Stephen's Yard), followed by another four in 1786, and four more in 1800.¹⁵⁶ At 4 to 8 Lower Galdeford, a small courtyard had seven houses by 1809.¹⁵⁷ The most spectacular back development was Warrington's Yard, occupying two freeholds, F81 and F81A, where there were ten tenements by 1801 and 17 by 1838.¹⁵⁸

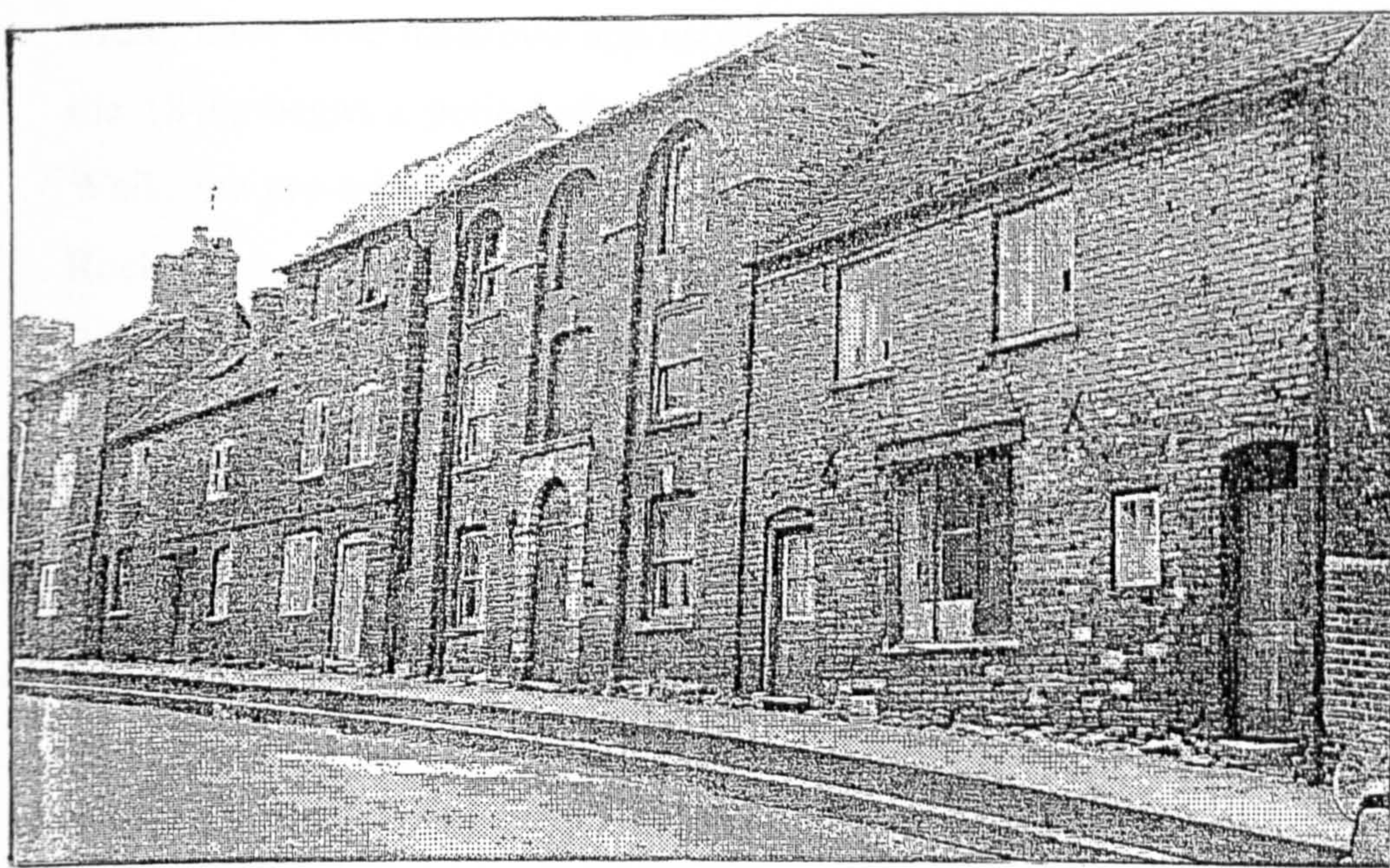


Fig. 54: A tannery and houses in Lower Galdeford, before demolition in the 1960s.

¹⁵³ Faraday, 'Ludlow Poll Tax Return, 1667', p. 118; Watkins-Pitchford, *Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672*, p.166; SA, LB, 2/1/3, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-90, p. 43, lease of 'a messplace now a barn and stable', 10th Dec.,1685.

¹⁵⁴ Weyman, *Ludlow in Bye-Gone Days*, p. 65.

¹⁵⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 69d, Corporation lease, of 'a house in Upper Galdeford called The Foxe', 22nd Jan., 1689; Slater, *Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1849), p. 28.

¹⁵⁶ Private deeds, Woodville Cottages, mortgage, 25th Dec.,1782; *ibid*, mortgage, 1st April, 1786; HRO, AA/20, will of John Collie, 14th May, 1800.

¹⁵⁷ SA, 1141, 7/1, conveyance of 'three plus four messuages', 10th July, 1809.

¹⁵⁸ SA, Salwey and Rickards (2030), 2/271, conveyance, 'three several tenements, stables and garden' which have 'since been converted into seven messuages', plus another three tenements, 24th Jan.,1801; marriage settlement. 3rd April, 1838.

The block had a nailshop and a malthouse, but the largest industrial building was the tannery at 48 Lower Galdeford (Fig. 54, p. 178), probably built after 1823.¹⁵⁹ When the owner a few years later wished to construct an elite residence, Cox's Close provided the ideal site, and Springfield House was built there before 1843.¹⁶⁰

Blocks K, L and M (between Lower Galdeford, Tower Street, Old Street, Holdgate Fee, Temeside and Weeping Cross Lane)

This large area, about a sixth of the whole borough, can be seen on Fig. 30 (p. 132). Until after 1848, much of the area was not built up. In the north, Sutton's Close was a wedge between burgages abutting to Lower Galdeford and Old Street. In the south, there were meadows and an orchard, though the arrival of new Gas Works in the 1840s began a period of transition to a more commercial character.¹⁶¹ Friars' Walk, the pre-urban boundary between Stanton and Ludford, originally continued to Rock Lane, but was diverted into Lower Galdeford in 1284 to avoid the Austin Friary.¹⁶²

For much of the period Sutton's Close, part freehold, part leasehold, was owned or leased by glovers, and was probably used for drying pelts and industrial purposes.¹⁶³ The ditch between it and the Old Street burgages became a rope walk.¹⁶⁴ The fields further south were described as meadows or orchards.¹⁶⁵

Block K (south side, Lower Galdeford; Fig. 55, p. 180)

The south side of Lower Galdeford was burgaged along its whole length, but the eastern nine burgages were granted to the Austin Friars in the mid 13th century.¹⁶⁶ The other burgages are enigmatic in dimensions and shape, and may reflect pre-urban features. Those in the west are shorter than those in the centre of the street. They

¹⁵⁹ HRO, AA/20, admin., William Gardener, tanner, 26th June, 1823.

¹⁶⁰ SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entry 768.

¹⁶¹ Speight, M, 'The Provision of Local Government Services in Ludlow, 1830 to 1880', in Lloyd, D.J., Payne, R., Train, C. and Williams, D. (eds.), *Victorian Ludlow* (Bucknell, 2004), pp. 115-16.

¹⁶² *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281-92* (London, 1893), p. 116.

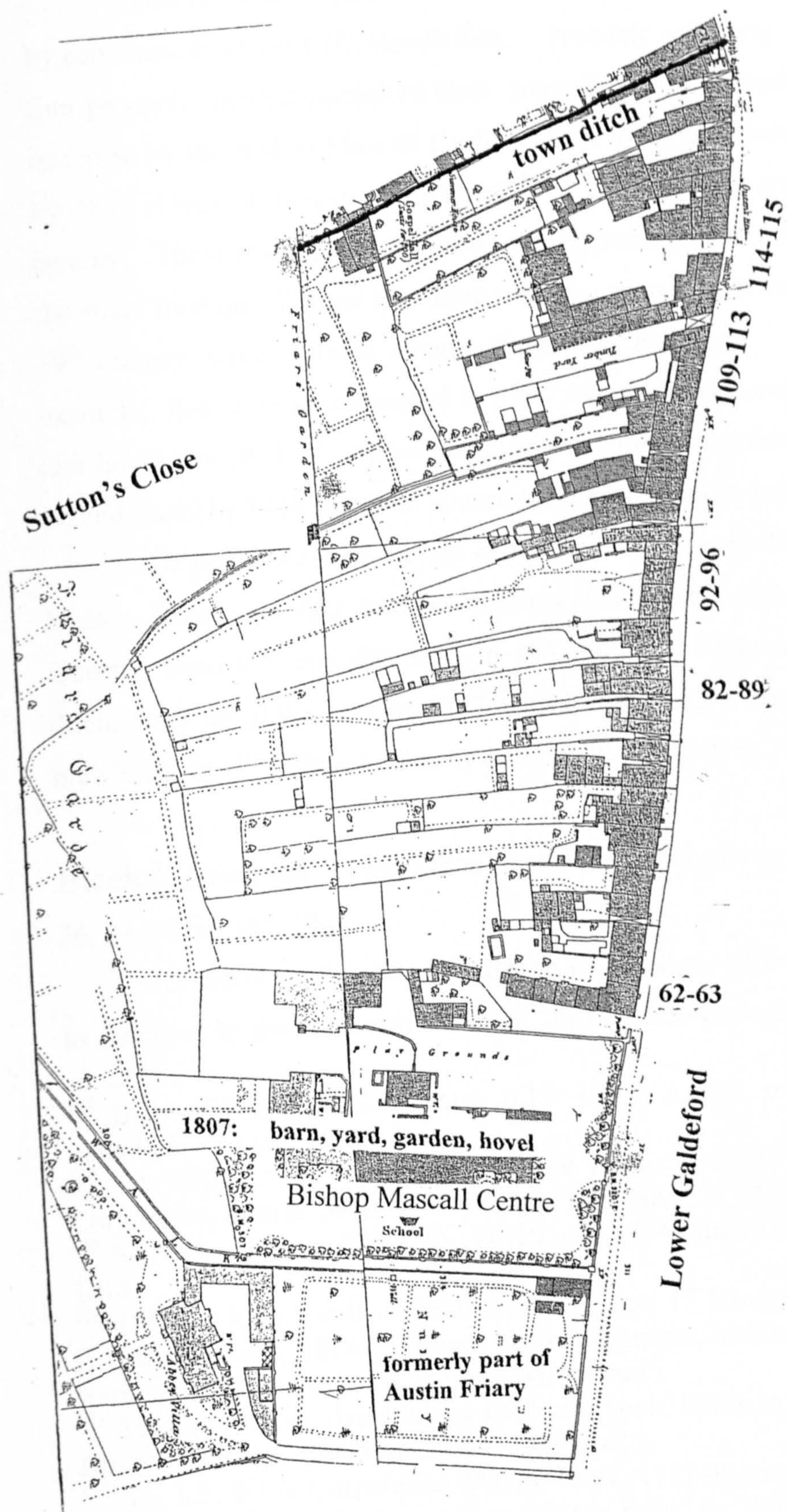
¹⁶³ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p.21; SA, LB 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 93, lease to Mrs Mary Waring, 4th April, 1764.

¹⁶⁴ Deeds of 43 Old Street, conveyance, 3rd Sept., 1832.

¹⁶⁵ PRO, Tithe Apportionments and Maps (IR), 29/29/207, Ludlow, 1847, plots 41-44.

¹⁶⁶ *VCH, Shropshire*, II, p. 95.

Fig. 55: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block K.



may have been terminated by the rear parts of the Old Street burgages before the latter were truncated by the town wall and ditch in the thirteenth century.

There is record of just nine houses in 1669, four of them with owners exempt by certificate from the 1672 Hearth Tax. Probably reflecting Civil War damage, the four properties nearest Galdeford Gate were all 'land' or gardens'.¹⁶⁷ The site now occupied by the Bishop Mascall Centre was a 'barn and close' until after 1813, but by 1830 it was 'a nursery and garden'.¹⁶⁸ More houses appeared during the 18th century. Those lower down the street were generally small, with two houses sharing the street frontage. Further up, there were groups of three storey houses in the early 19th century, some of them incorporating older buildings. The site of 92-96, for example, had 'a small messuage' in 1794, but there were two front houses and two rear houses by 1814.¹⁶⁹ Back building was limited, but there were 'three cottages' behind 82-89 by 1828 and three houses and a candle-house behind 62-63 in 1843.¹⁷⁰

The properties near the top of the street developed differently. As well as houses, there were four trade workshops, while the width of 114-115 suited the Queen's Head Inn, probably built in 1843-44, with its many stables.¹⁷¹ The town ditch, used as glove pits in 1743 and earlier, had a messuage with stable and brewhouse in 1771, three houses by 1782, four dwellings in 1813 and six in 1843.¹⁷²

Block L (south side Tower Street, east side Old Street as far as Friars Walk; Figs. 56, 57, 58, pp.182, 184)

As shown on Fig. 56, the burgage widths show little consistency, perhaps due to distortion by the town wall and ditch. In Tower Street and at the top of Old Street,

¹⁶⁷ DL, 1679 Corporation Rental, p.15; HRO, AA/20, will of Thomas Hitchcott, innholder, 7th May, 1695.

¹⁶⁸ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p.240d; SA, LB 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 267; SA, LB 2/1/7, p. 15.

¹⁶⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/7, p. 68; HRO, AA/20, will of William Crundall, joiner, 22nd Nov., 1814.

¹⁷⁰ HRO, AA/20, will of John Brown, tailor, 1st Nov., 1828; SA, LB, 11/4/246, Quarter Sessions, 1815, William Powell, labourer, attested that he 'worked for Mr Harding at his candle house in Lower Galdeford'.

¹⁷¹ The inn was not listed in the 1843 rate book, but is in Pigot & Co., *Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1844), p 25.

¹⁷² SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 328d, licence to alien, 28th Aug., 1743; LB 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, p. 160, lease 8th Oct., 1771; LB, 2/1/6, 1746-87, p. 289, lease 29th Oct., 1782; LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 268, lease 28th Oct., 1813.

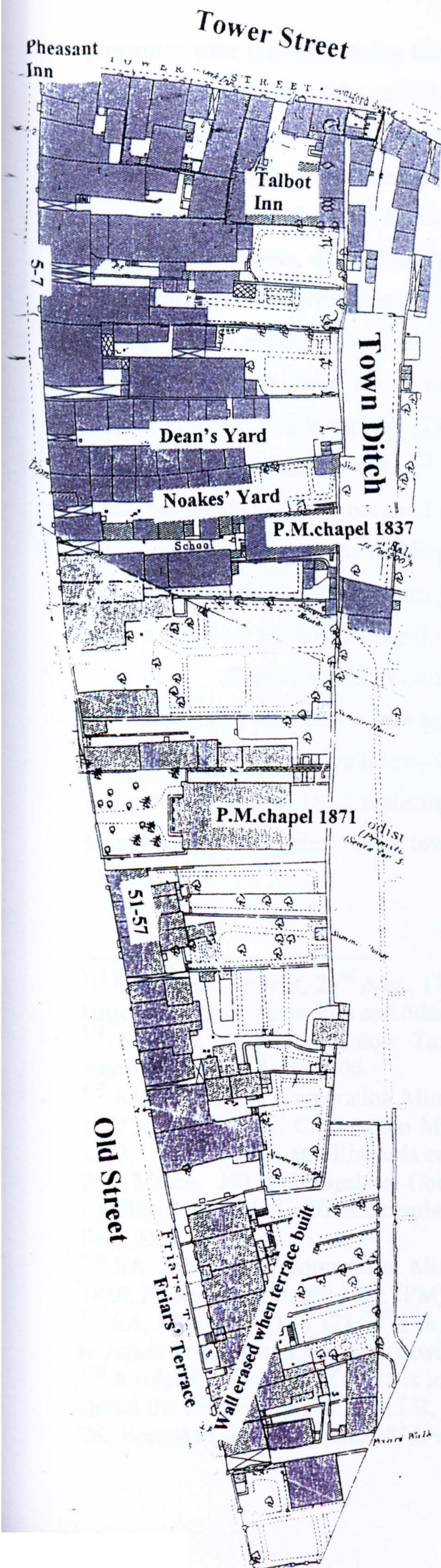


Fig. 56: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block L.

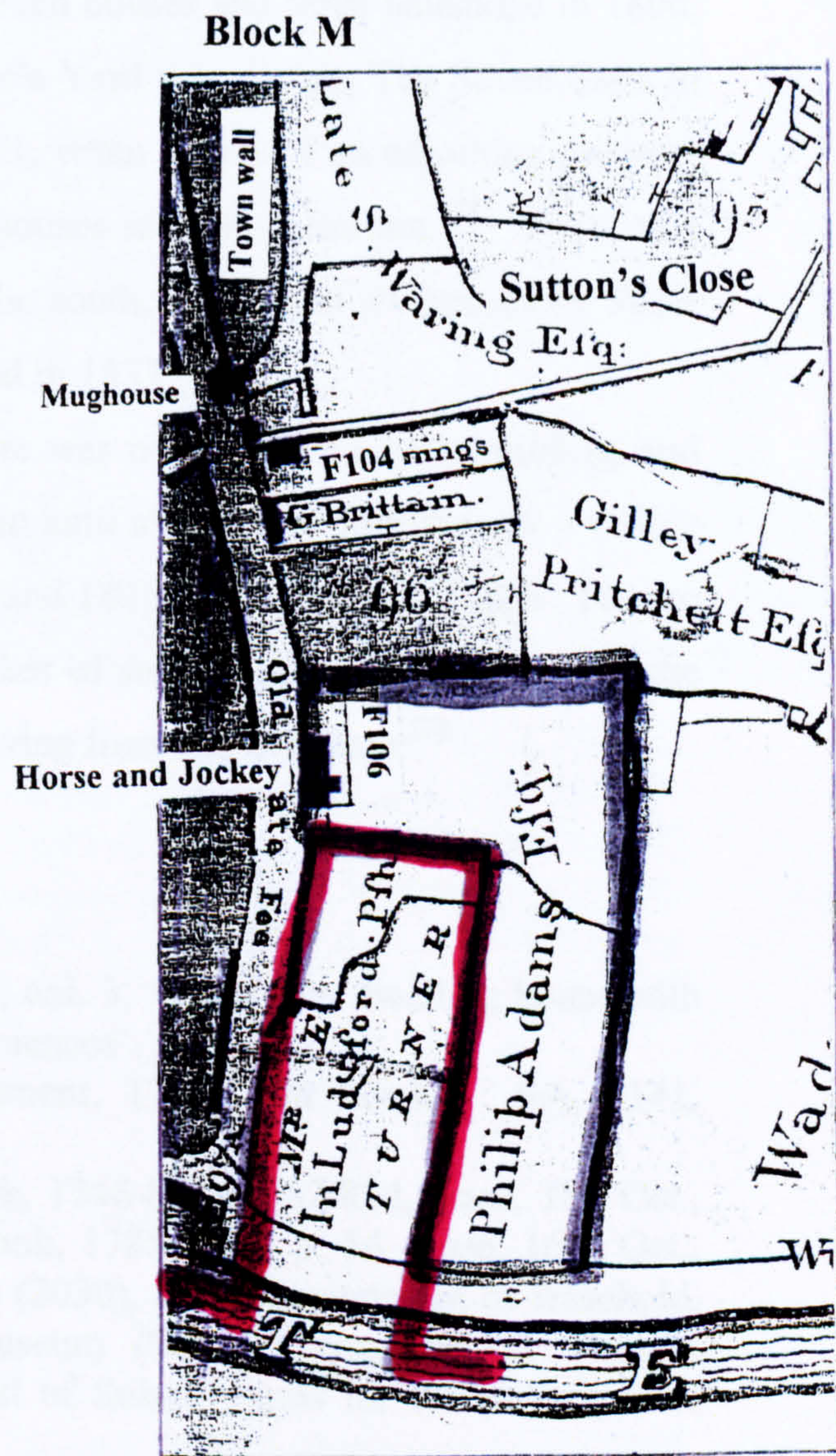


Fig. 57:
An extract from John Wood's 1835 map of Ludlow, showing property in Ludlow and Ludford parishes on the east side of Holdgate Fee. Portion of Ludford parish outlined in red.

properties were crowded during the whole 1660 to 1848 period, and to the present day. The Talbot Inn and its outbuildings formed a courtyard, and at the top of Old Street Corporation properties had amalgamated before 1660 to form the Pheasant Inn complex around a very small central space.

Southwards, distances between Old Street and rear boundaries of properties got progressively less, due to the alignment of the town wall. At the top of the street there was considerable commercial back building, 5 and 7, at first the Red Lion Inn, having 'a large malthouse and new kiln' in 1726.¹⁷³ Further down, occupying two perch wide burgages, were two of Ludlow's most notorious back yard developments. Dean's Yard had four houses by 1753 and seven houses and three nailshops in 1806, increasing to 18 houses by 1843.¹⁷⁴ Noakes's Yard was an inn, The Seven Stars in 1762, but rapid expansion occurred after 1811, when a strip of an adjoining property was acquired, leading to the building of 14 houses as well as the inn.¹⁷⁵ There was more back building on the depleted plot to the south, which had six houses by 1820, while a Primitive Methodist Chapel was added in 1837.¹⁷⁶

Further south, in contrast, there was no significant back building, and at 51 to 57 there were only a barn and a stable until a terrace of four houses - visible on Fig. 58 (p. 184) - was built between 1823 and 1825.¹⁷⁷ The longer Friars' Terrace was probably built in 1832, replacing a number of smaller houses, one of which, the Mug House Inn, occupied a drum tower surviving from the Old Gate.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ *Gloucester Journal*, 23rd Aug., 1726, p. 3, col. 3, 'Good new dwelling house with large malt-house, a new kiln and other conveniences'.

¹⁷⁴ SA, LB, 8/3/13, Window Tax assessment, 1753, four houses; SA, 1141, conveyance, 27th Aug., 1806.

¹⁷⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, pp. 82/82d, lease, 18th Oct., 1762; SA, LB 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 54, lease, 16th Oct., 1793; SA, Salwey and Rickards collection (2030), 2/300, assignment of leasehold, 25th March, 1811; Shropshire County Museum (SCM), Scrapbook of Thomas Griffiths, 1816-26 (Griffiths Scrapbook), List of Subscriptions for the Relief of the Poor, Dec. 1816.

¹⁷⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 335, lease, 28th Oct., 1820; *Primitive Methodist Mag.* (PM), 1842, p. 96.

¹⁷⁷ SA, Morgan (5411), 133, 9th Feb., 1823, will of James Smith, senior; conveyance to James Smith, junior, of 'four newly erected houses', 18th July, 1825.

¹⁷⁸ A ridge tile on the roof of 81 is inscribed 'Onions, 1832, Brosley'. The 1835 map shows the terrace in place. SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 26., licence to alien, 25th Jan., 1831, with map showing The Mug House Inn.



Fig. 58: This photograph of a civic procession round Ludlow to mark Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 shows burgage plots on the east side of Old Street. The terrace of four houses, 51-57, just right of centre, was built in 1823. By 1897 the next plot to the left was occupied by the new Primitive Methodist chapel, but in 1823 there was a large house on the site, built in 1770, with two smaller houses behind added later.¹⁷⁹

Block M (Friars Walk south, Holdgate Fee east; Fig. 57, p.182)

There was less crowding here, as can be seen on Fig.57. The large burgages south of Friars' Walk, the two most northerly of which retained their original proportions, are arguably the remnants of the original pattern of plots along the east

¹⁷⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, pp. 82/82d, lease, 18th Oct., 1762; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 54, lease, 16th Oct., 1793; SA, Salwey and Rickards collection (2030), 2/300, assignment of leasehold, 25th March, 1811; SCM, Griffiths Scrapbook, List of Subscriptions for the Relief of the Poor, Dec., 1816.

side of Old Street. They afforded ample space, with most of the houses adjoining the street. An exception was the early 19th century house in Friars' Walk, at the rear of F104, one of several properties south of the town wall 'wheare the Tayter hookes weare'.¹⁸⁰

Further south, where one burgage, F106 (Fig.57, p.182), is aligned parallel to the street, and where the rest of the street frontage is in Ludford parish and therefore unburgaged, the characteristic development during the 1660 to 1848 period was of rows of small houses facing the street. The small yard occupying most of F106, which in 1816 had a stable and barn – 'lately used as a pigstye but now a cowhouse' - was a small farm which later became the Horse and Jockey Inn.¹⁸¹

Block N (Temeside south; Fig. 30, p.132)

This elongated piece of land had three tenorial units in the 1660 to 1848 period: the 'Corne mill at ye lower End Howgates Fee called ye Old Mill' at the west end ; 'a house and garden neare ye old mill' in the centre ; and a small freehold in the east.¹⁸²

The mill, which was repaired in the early 19th century, following a report by Thomas Telford, was described in 1822 as 'a new erected oatmeal mill with a bake-house', with a house incorporated.¹⁸³ The adjoining house was 'used as several dwellings' by 1794. but by 1825 it had been replaced by the present row of cottages, then described as 'eight messuages'.¹⁸⁴ The long street frontage and short property depth encouraged – almost determined – this pattern of development. The freehold house had been built before 1792, when it was 'the Hand and Shears Inn', but by 1841 it had become a lodging house with 18 inmates.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ SA, LB, 4/2/34, 1669 Burgage Rental, p. 23.

¹⁸¹ SA, Charlton collection (11), 12/11, conveyance, 12th April, 1816.

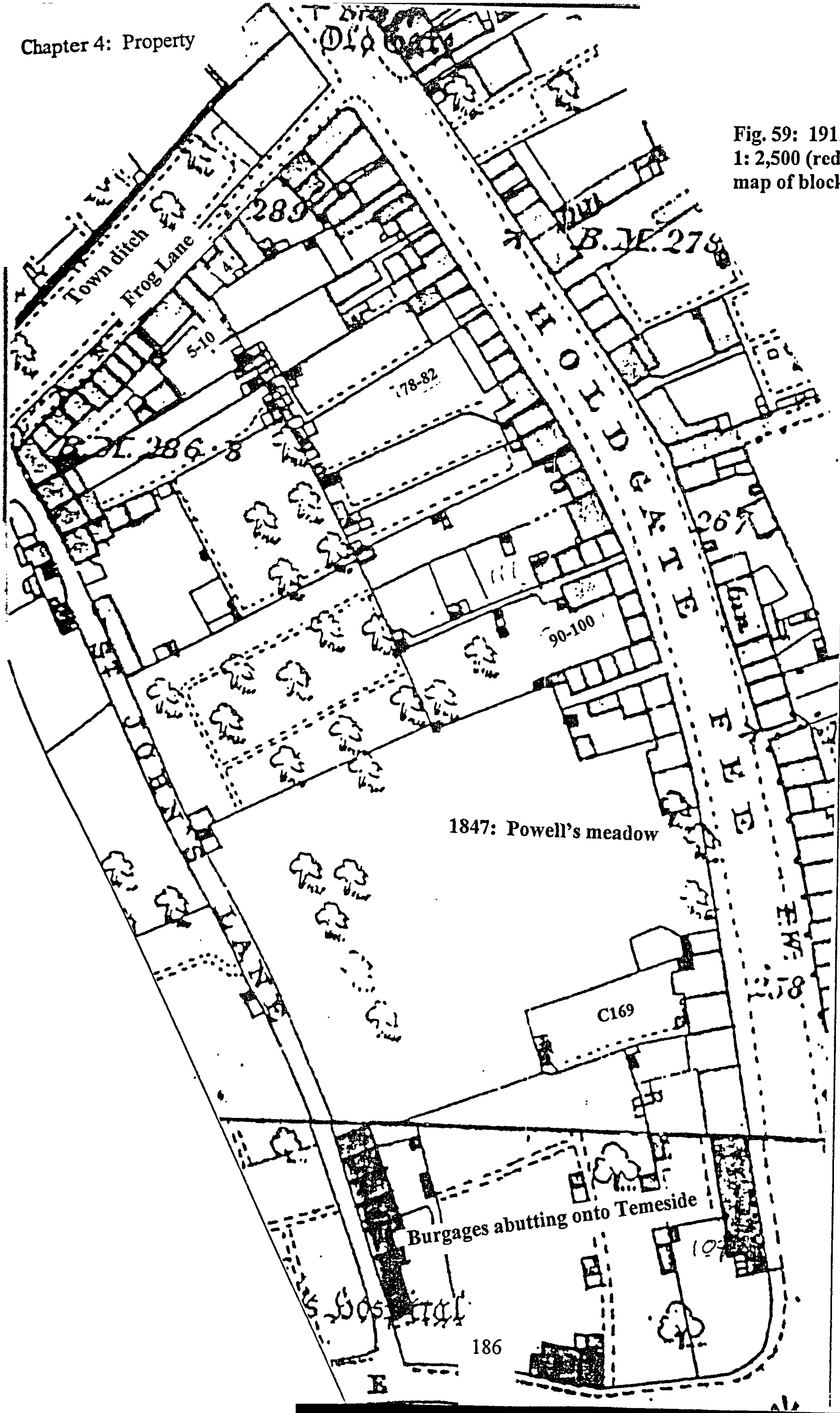
¹⁸² DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 8d.; SA, LB, 4/2/34, 1669 Burgage Rental, p. 23.

¹⁸³ PRO, MR, 2968, map by Thomas Telford with proposed alterations to mill, 1805; SCM, Griffiths Scrapbook, p. 260, letting notice.

¹⁸⁴ SA, LB, 4/1/1572, Corporation lease, 28th Oct., 1794; SA, LB, 4/1/1750, Corporation lease, 28th Oct., 1825.

¹⁸⁵ Jones, E., *Inns of Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1913), n. p.; Barfoot and Wilkes, *Universal British Directory* (London, 1794), p. 617.

Fig. 59: 1911 O.S,
1: 2,500 (reduced)
map of block O.



Block O (Temeside south, Holdgate Fee east, Frog Lane north, St John's Lane west; Fig. 59, p. 186)

Though this area was completely redeveloped in the 1970s, the 1885 O.S. 1:2,500 map reveals a well preserved burgage system in the northern half, with a series of east west plots, many of them two perches wide, meeting at a central boundary. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries most of these were occupied by single houses or agricultural buildings, such as the messuage built at 84-88 Holdgate Fee before 1709.¹⁸⁶ More development took place after 1770, with houses facing on Holdgate Fee in groups of two, three or four, as allowed by the property widths.¹⁸⁷ At 78 to 82, for example, there were three messuages by 1806. Only occasional back building was necessary, as at 90 to 100, where there were six messuages by 1790, four along the street front, two behind.¹⁸⁸

The most intense development took place on the south side of Frog Lane, where the burgages abutting to Holdgate Fee and St John's Lane had been divided into small units since 1592 or earlier, to maximise use of road frontage.¹⁸⁹ The three easternmost units were Corporation, but there was a small freehold in the west. By 1843 there were 18 houses on these four plots, seven of them around a small courtyard at 5 to 10 Frog Lane.¹⁹⁰ Previously there had also been a nailshop at 4.

The large central space, described as meadow in 1847, was once burgaged, the plot in the south east corner, C169, being a survivor, though in 1669 it was leased by the owner of the rest.¹⁹¹ To the south were the ends of long burgages running north from Temeside. One of the central pair was Corporation property and in 1679 had 'a brier house and woodyard' leased with the Old Mill; but there is no record of other housing until the 19th century. The eastern plot had eight houses facing Holdgate Fee by 1843 but these have not been dated. The western plot had a row of five houses (shown on Fig. 60, p.188) before 1817, when they were advertised for sale.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 151d, lease, 18th Jan., 1709.

¹⁸⁷ e.g. SA, LB 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 183, licence to alien Corporation lease, 28th Oct., 1806.

¹⁸⁸ SA, 1141, 5/1, conveyance, 24th June, 1790.

¹⁸⁹ DL, Corporation Rental, 1592, properties C162-164.

¹⁹⁰ SSDC deeds, packet 236, abstract of title to 5-10 St John's Road, 1965, citing conveyance of 28th April, 1888, with map.

¹⁹¹ PRO, IR, 29/29, 207, Ludlow Tithe Apportionment, 1847, plot 53; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Corporation leases, 1637-1728, p. 41.

¹⁹² SCM, Griffiths Scrapbook, p. 37.

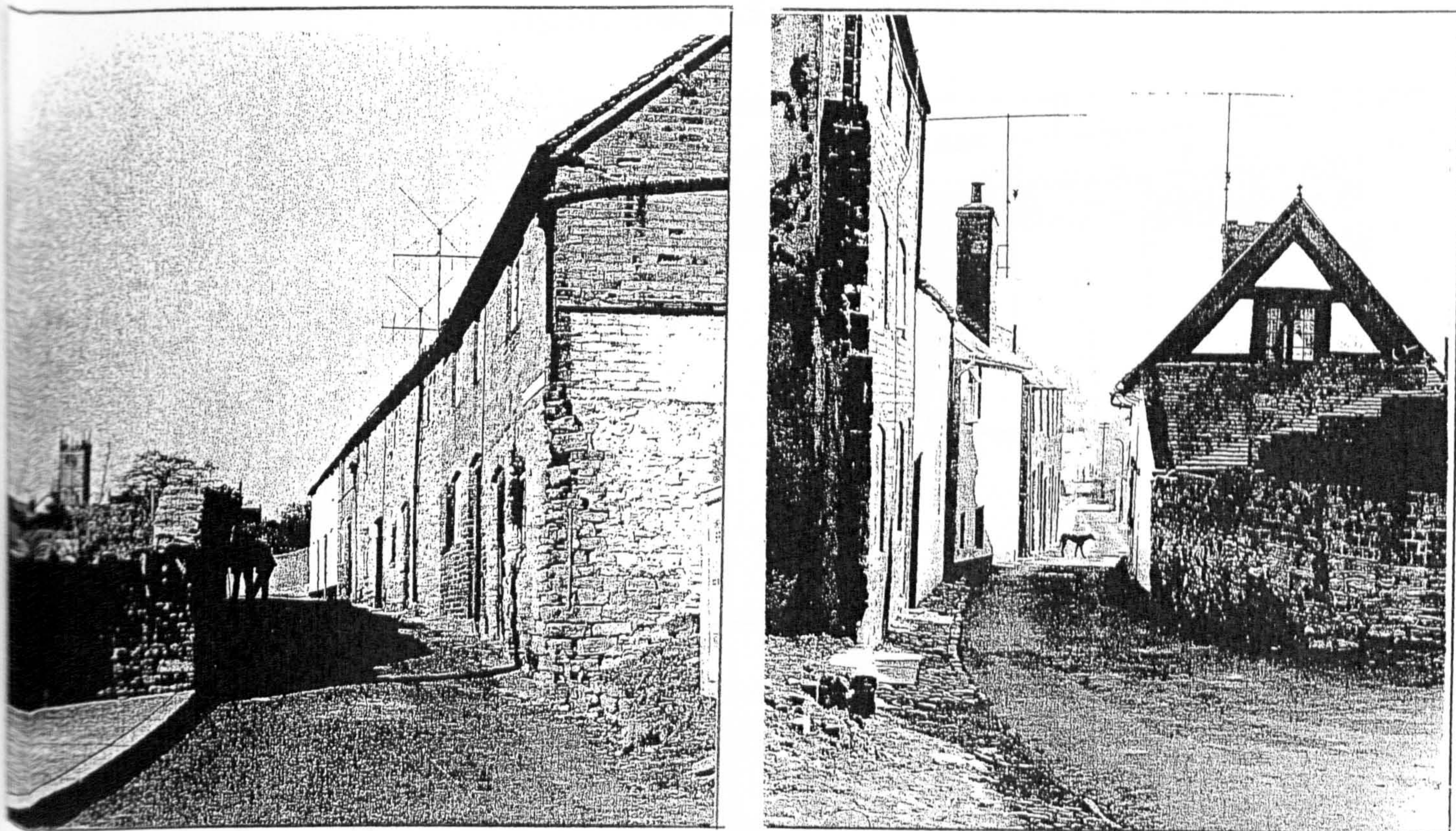


Fig.60: Early nineteenth century low status housing in St John's Lane, at an early stage of demolition in the late 1960s.

Block P (Lower Broad Street east, Temeside north, St John's Lane west, Frog Lane south; Fig. 61, p. 189)

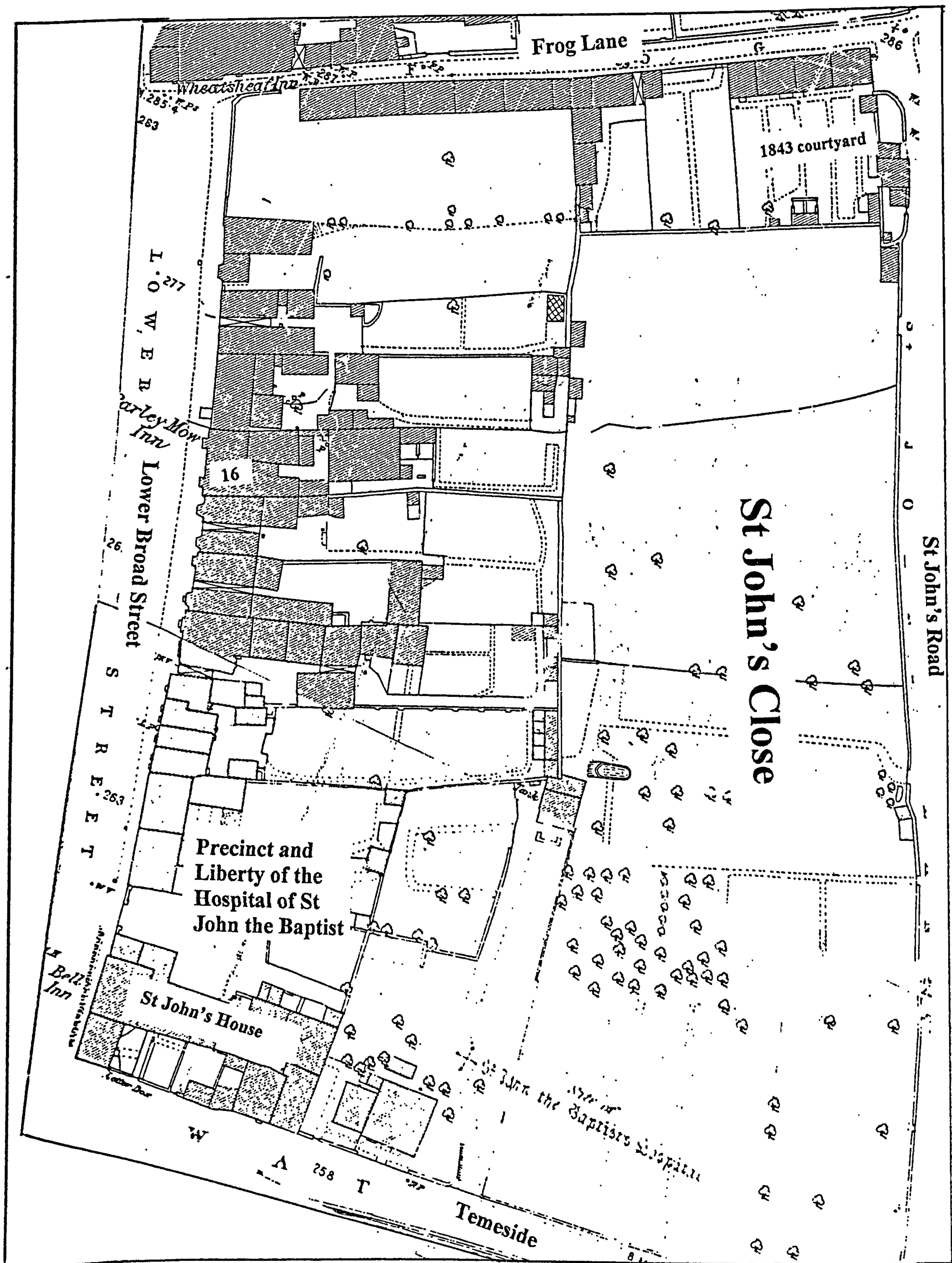
This was another block with east west burgages meeting at a central boundary, probably with original north south burgages abutting to Temeside. Historically, the area was dominated by the medieval Hospital of St John the Baptist, the buildings of which were in the south west corner.¹⁹³ The Precinct of the Hospital, and its Liberty extended north to include what are now 24 to 27.¹⁹⁴ By gifts of benefactors the Hospital came to own nearly all the burgages off St John's Lane, which were later amalgamated as a close and purchased by Thomas Lane, who used them in 1676 to endow his charity for the poor. By 1843 there were twelve small houses around a courtyard at the northern end, but most of these were demolished before 1884.¹⁹⁵ St John's Hospital also owned some of the Lower Broad Street burgages, but by 1660

¹⁹³ *VCH, Shropshire II*, pp. 100-104.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *SCM*, John Wood's 1835 map of Ludlow.

Fig. 61: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block P.



these were all freeholds except for a Corporation property at 16.¹⁹⁶ One of the buildings in St John's precinct, extending north along Lower Broad Street, had been occupied by 'labourers and journeymen artificers' in the mid 18th century, but had been rebuilt about 1770.¹⁹⁷ St John's House itself, once an elite residence, became the Bell Inn before 1835.¹⁹⁸

The higher part of the east side of Lower Broad Street was a well established built up area, the buildings of which reflected the artisan character of an extra-mural street. Buildings across the whole street frontage accommodated one or two households, while the wider burgage at the top, once a tenters' yard, had five small cottages (now replaced) at the front and three more houses along Frog Lane.¹⁹⁹ There was some back development, as behind 16.

Block Q (Old Street east, Brand Lane south, Broad Street east, Frog Lane north (Figs. 62 and 63, p. 191)

This block has a regular series of medium length burgages running back from Broad Street on the west and shorter, perhaps truncated burgages from Old Street in the east. As shown on Figs. 62 and 63, the wide centre consists of large properties of dissimilar size running south from Brand Lane, two of them, 2 and 3 Brand Lane, with gardens reaching to the town wall. The predecessors of these properties perhaps came into being in the thirteenth century, when the wall and ditch were superimposed on the earlier plan, truncating the north south lane which survives south of the wall as St John's Lane.²⁰⁰ In 1669 there were four such north south burgages. Various amalgamations, divisions and purchases have complicated the pattern, but the outcome was two large properties with gardens reaching to the town wall, and two shorter properties further west. The large properties, with fine scenic views from

¹⁹⁶ e.g. SA, LB, 4/1/1331, Corporation lease of 'messuage.....commonly known by the sign of The Barley Mow...on the east side of Broad Street below the Gate', 28th April, 1762.

¹⁹⁷ *VCH, Shropshire*, II, p. 104.

¹⁹⁸ Pigot & Co., *National Commercial Directory*, Shropshire (Manchester, 1835), p. 363.

¹⁹⁹ SSDC deeds, packet 203.

²⁰⁰ St John Hope, W. H., 'The Ancient Topography of the Town of Ludlow', p. 384.

Fig. 62: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block Q.

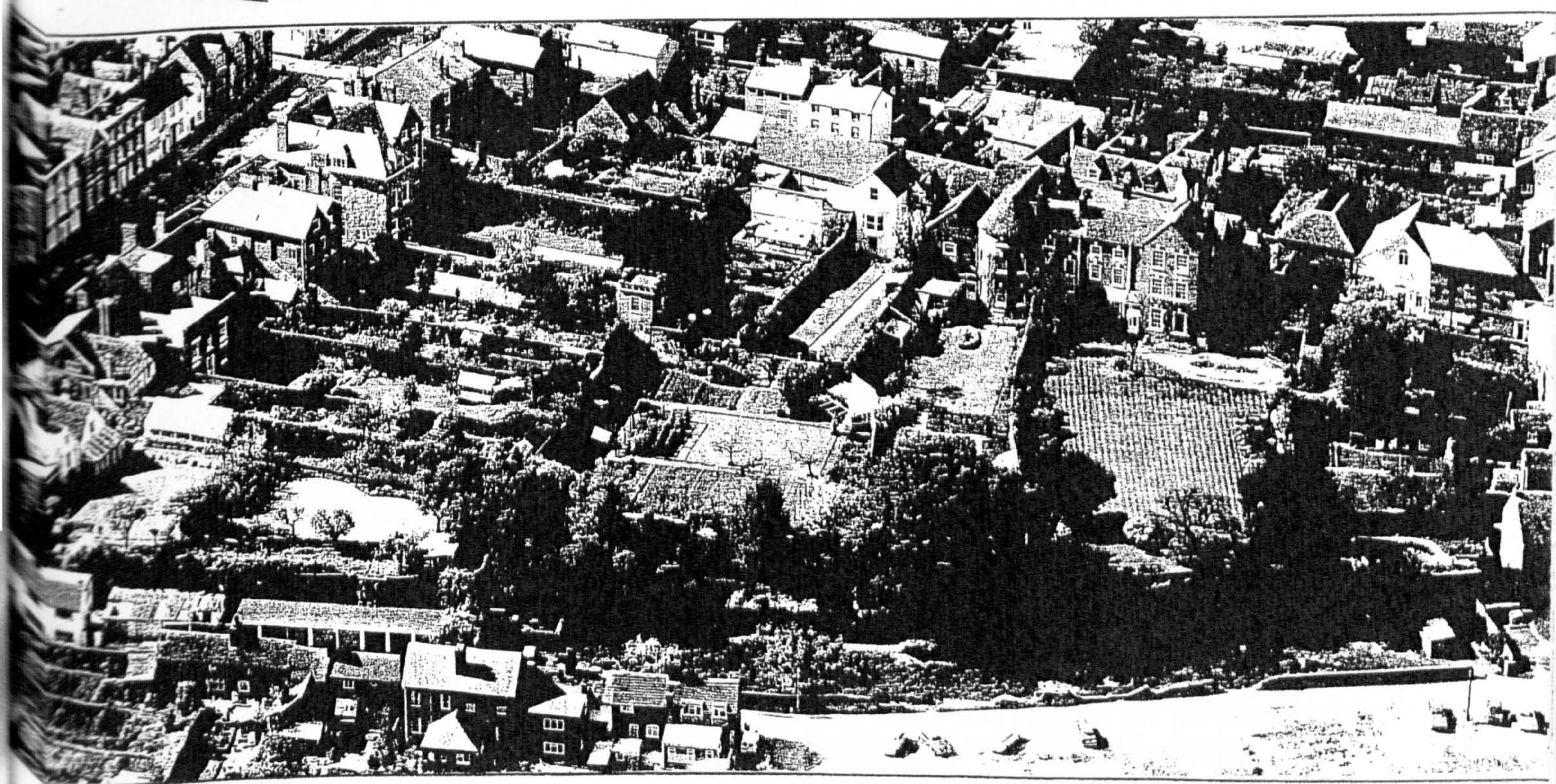
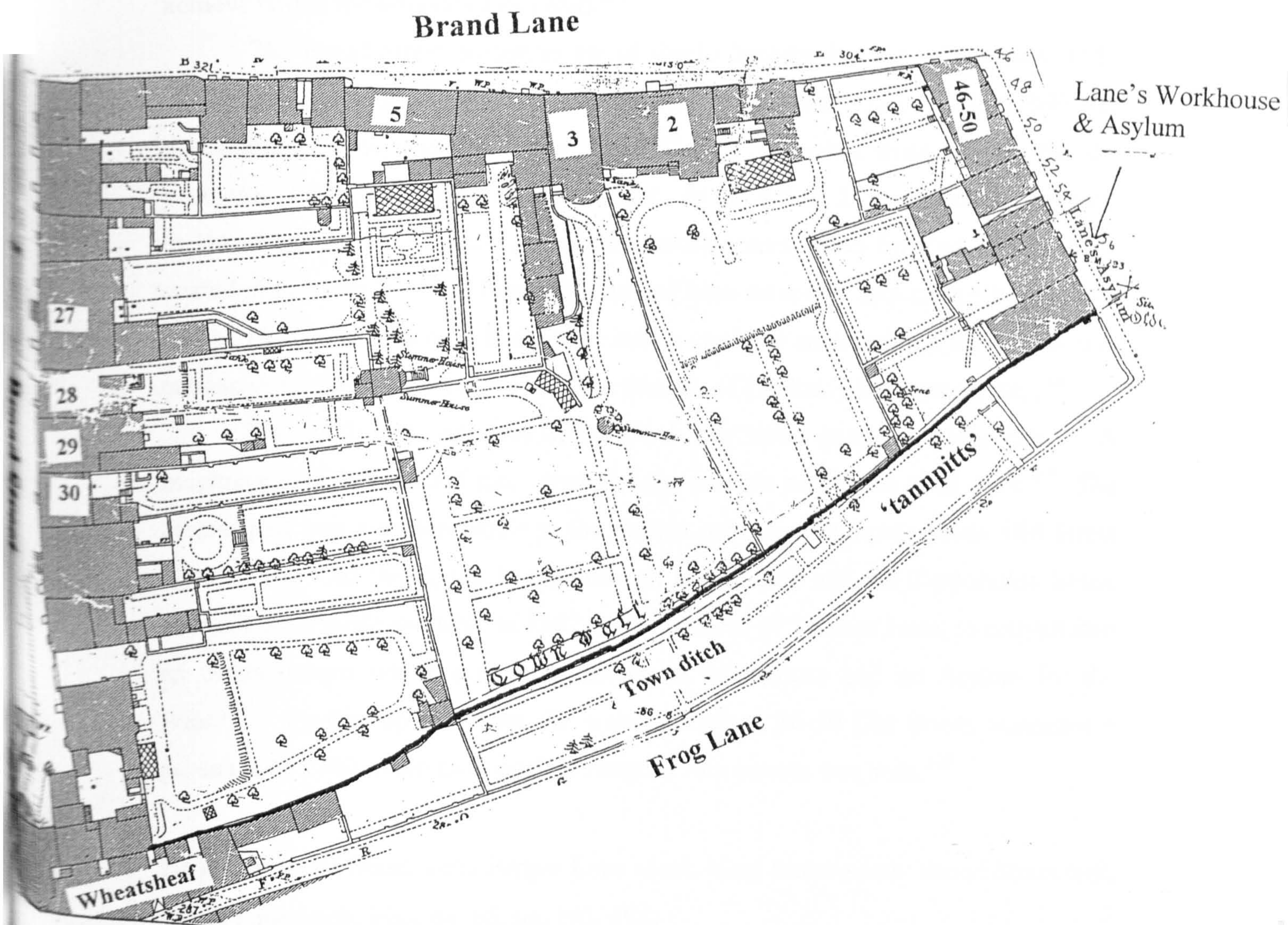


Fig. 63 An aerial view of nearly the whole of Block Q in the 1980s. Features that can be seen include the large gardens running south from Brand Lane, the Broad Street burgages and the town wall and ditch. 101

their gardens, became two of Ludlow's prime elite residences, of a nature difficult to achieve within the orthodox town plan.²⁰¹

The Broad Street properties are of similar lengths, but the widths show little consistency. Numbers 28, 29 (Demesne) and 30 were the 'Anker' Inn in 1669, but division into three occurred before 1677.²⁰² All the street front houses had the problems of stabling horses and rear access. At the Anker, 28 was 'a stable' opening to Broad Street, but normally, in an elite housing area, street frontage could not be spared in this way.²⁰³ For 27 the problem had been solved by acquiring 4 Brand Lane before 1621. Stables were built, back access could be achieved and the garden was enhanced, all factors that helped to make this one of Ludlow's finest properties.²⁰⁴

The south and east sides of the block saw lower status developments. A messuage, the Wheatsheaf Inn, occupied the western part of the town ditch.²⁰⁵ The central part was a garden, while at the eastern end were 'tannpitts below Old Street Gate'.²⁰⁶ In Old Street, the house attached to the Gate and the Corporation house above it were made available in 1682 to the Trustees of Thomas Lane, to convert into an establishment which eventually became a Workhouse and an Asylum for the Poor.²⁰⁷ Further up the street the corner property, 46-50 Old Street, remained a garden until 1840, when an imposing range of four houses was built.²⁰⁸

Block R (Old Street west, Pepper Lane south, King Street south, Broad Street east, Brand Lane north; Figs. 64, 65, pp. 193, 194)

²⁰¹ PRO, Prob. 11/392, fol. 105, will of Humphrey Cornewall, 3rd Aug., 1688; Beesly, P., *Ludlow Houses: 27 Broad Street, 3 Brand Lane, 4 Brand Lane* (Ludlow, 1960).

²⁰² SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 14; SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 313, Corporation lease to George Long, vintner, of 29 Broad Street, 'newly built by him', 28th July, 1677.

²⁰³ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 314, 'a stable and garden behind it'.

²⁰⁴ Lloyd, D. J., *27 Broad Street: a short history* (Ludlow, 2000), p. 7.

²⁰⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 60, Corporation lease of 'house and buildings adjoining Broad Gate', 21st May, 1718.

²⁰⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 102, Corporation licence to alien, 'town ditch now used as a garden', 12th Dec. 1721; SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 282d, licence to alien, 'messuage and tan-pits next above and below Old Street Gate', 6th Aug., 1673.

²⁰⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 19d; Weyman, *Ludlow in Bye-Gone Days*, pp. 66-67.

²⁰⁸ SA, DA, 3/100/2, p. 44, Thomas Botfield to 'carry out wall of his garden on the west side of Old Street with a level of houses below the same', 7th May, 1840.

Fig. 64: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block R.



This part of the street plan represents several of the phases of Ludlow's postulated development.²⁰⁸ Old Street itself is part of the pre-urban morphology and it may be that the burgages abutting to it are remnants of a pre-1086 unit suggested by Slater.²⁰⁹ The two perch burgages opening into Pepper Lane are part of what Conzen has called 'a street tract' along the 'top of the town ridge', with burgages fronting it' both sides.²¹⁰ At a later stage of planning some of these plots were overlain by the Broad Street burgages as part 'the southern plan unit', with a north-south street between them – now represented only by a stub, Fish Street. The east west Old Street burgages may have extended to reach this street, but the later plan and the tenurial histories hint that the land between Old Street and the redundant street had two series of plots, one abutting each way.²¹¹ These features can be seen on Fig. 64.

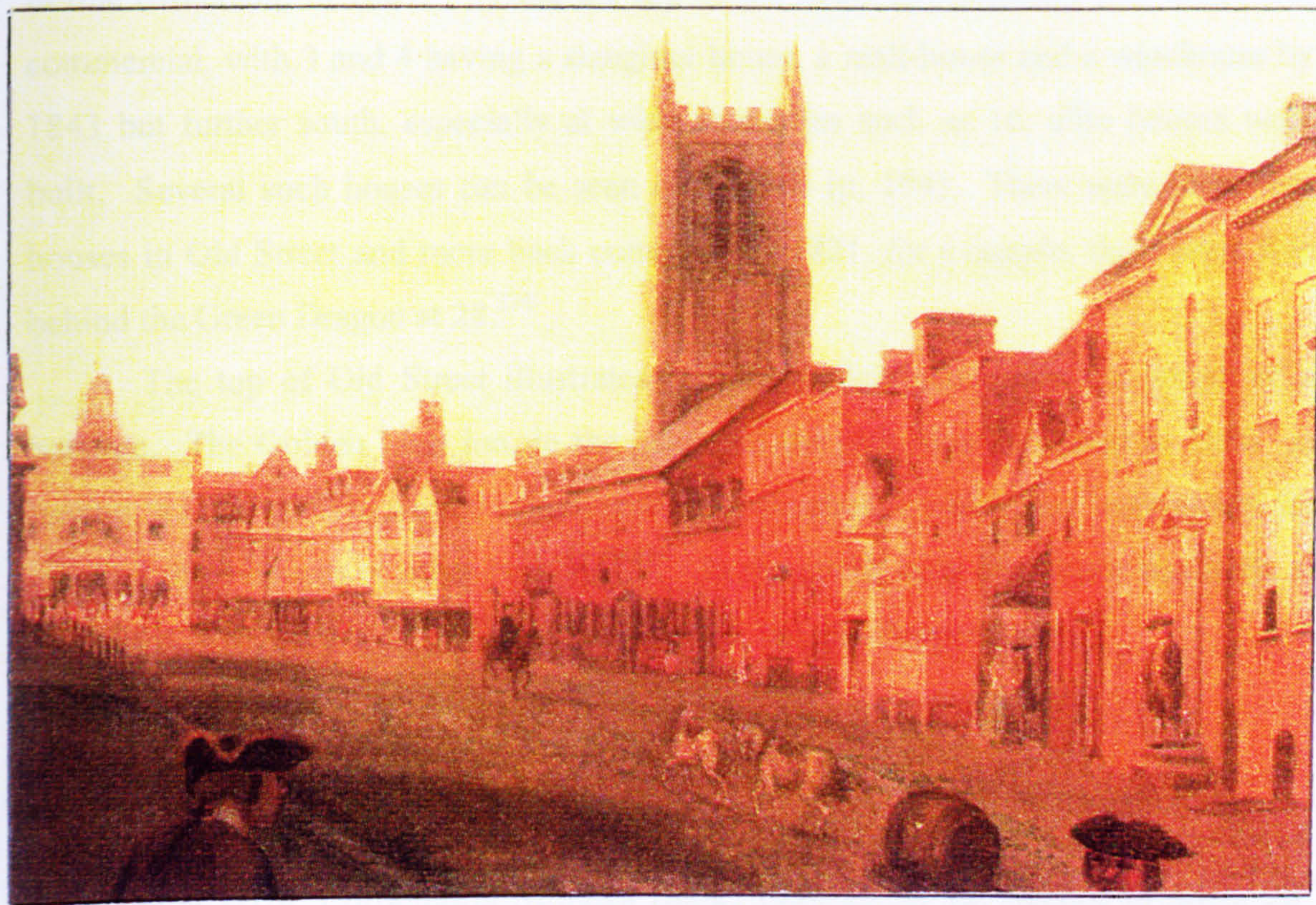


Fig. 65: This detail of the east side of Broad Street, taken from Samuel Scott's picture of the whole street painted in 1767, is the earliest view available. The contrast between the upper part of the street, with the top storeys of shops projecting over the pavement, and the largely residential area further down, was as apparent then as in later periods.

¹⁹⁶ Conzen, , 'The use of town plans in the study of urban history', pp. 124-126.

²⁰⁹ Slater, 'English medieval new towns with composite plans', pp.77-78.

²¹⁰ Conzen, 'The use of town plans in the study of urban history', p.124.

²¹¹ e.g. 28 Old Street has a Corporation property (C153) to Old Street, with a freehold (F122) behind.

The Broad Street burgages are a prominent feature, though the length of some has been increased by purchase of parts of the redundant street. In 1833, for example, the proprietor of the Angel, one of the town's coaching inns, purchased 'all that ground late a garden and timber yard, now used as part of the Angel'.²¹³ A large part of the redundant street was acquired before 1774 by the owners of 15, together with a property in Brand Lane.²¹⁴ When it was advertised for sale emphasis was given to 'the large garden' and a 'four stall stable with hay loft' above.²¹⁵ Rear access and stabling were also achieved by the owners of 17 and 18 by way of 13 Brand Lane, held in the same ownership from 1672.²¹⁶

The widths of many Broad Street burgages relate to a perch base. Numbers 2 to 8, for example, occupy a four burgage (eight perches) unit of 132 feet, which was in one ownership in 1669.²¹⁷ Near the top of the street development was dense and commercial, with 3 and 4 having a slaughter house, a malt-house and a warehouse by 1843 but further south, especially at wide properties such as 16, elite houses were built. Several such houses can be seen on Fig. 65 (p. 194). There were fewer big houses in Old Street and more back cottages. In 1821, for example, there were five behind the Green Dragon at 28.²¹⁸

The top of Old Street illustrates lateral development down the length of a burgage. The Golden Lion Inn, in the centre of the plot, was described in 1806 as having 'a large garden, walled round, adjoining the street', which was 'convenient for erecting three houses or other building'.²¹⁹ In the event, only one house was built, at 8, before 1815, taking all the space between the inn and Pepper Lane.²²⁰

²¹³ SA, LB 2/1/8, Corporation Minutes Book, 1830-35, p. 72, licence to alien, 28th Oct., 1833.

²¹⁴ Deeds of unnumbered property on north side of Brand Lane, found with those of 4 Brand Lane (private ownership), conveyances of 25th Feb., 1718; 2nd Aug., 1726; 6th Feb., 1749.

²¹⁵ *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 17th Dec., 1774, p. 3, col. 3.

²¹⁶ SA, Mead Collection (2705), 11/1-4 (4 a sketch map), conveyance, 18th May, 1672.

²¹⁷ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 12.

²¹⁸ SA 1141, 3, transfer of mortgage, 6th & 7th April, 1821.

²¹⁹ *Salopian Journal*, 12th March, 1806, p. 3, col. 4, sale notice.

²²⁰ *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 6th Jan., 1815, p. 2, col. 4, sale notice, 'Inn called The Golden Lion, also a small house'.

Block S (Church Street south, Harp Lane, High Street, Market Street north; Fig. 66, p.197).

Rows of stalls colonising medieval market places, later becoming permanent features with cellars below and solars above, are a feature of many towns. As Bond and Aston have shown at Thame, this was not a casual process but an initiative to increase demesne revenue.²²¹ The names by which the rows were known in the 18th century are shown on Fig.66 (p.197), though the titles, and their application to lanes and buildings, sometimes changed. In the Middle Ages, the two northern rows were the 'Butchers' Row' or the Shambles, though the latter had moved to Mill Street some years previously. The lane between these two rows became known as Harp Lane, after the inn at its east end.²²² From 1660 onwards there were some shoemakers in the row of that name, but no particular trade was associated with Lokyers' Row.

More infill occurred in the Bull Ring. The wide rectangular row between the street and Pepper Lane started in the 13th century as smiths' trevises and other temporary structures but had become important buildings by the 14th century.²²³ The plots were 22 feet wide (two thirds of two perches) and three and a half perches deep but as in the High Street, lack of ground space encouraged high building. In the post 1660 period there were inns here, including the Beare at 45.²²⁴ The diagonally placed row on the north side of the Bull Ring was 'the Shelde', derived from the Latin 'selda'.²²⁵ The remaining infill of the Bull Ring was the fifteenth century Tolsey, and next to it the White Conduit, a public water supply, both of which were still in use during the 1660 to 1848 period.

²²¹ Aston, M. and Bond, J. *The Landscape of Towns* (Gloucester 1987), p. 96.

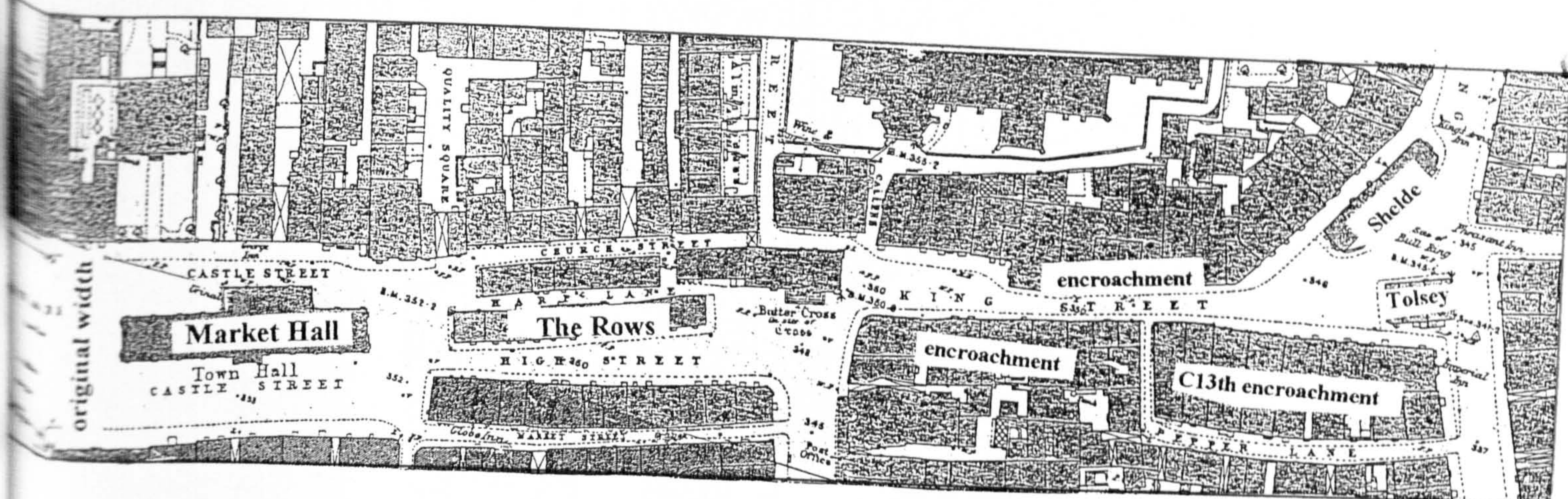
²²² SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 78, Corporation lease to Francis Winwood and Mary his wife of house and premises, annual rent 14s 2d, 27th May, 1761; the lease document, naming the house as 'The Harp', occurs with the deeds of the Church Inn.

²²³ SA, LB, 5/3/62, Palmers' Guild rental, 1284; SA, LB, 5/3/64, Palmers' Guild rental c.1330.

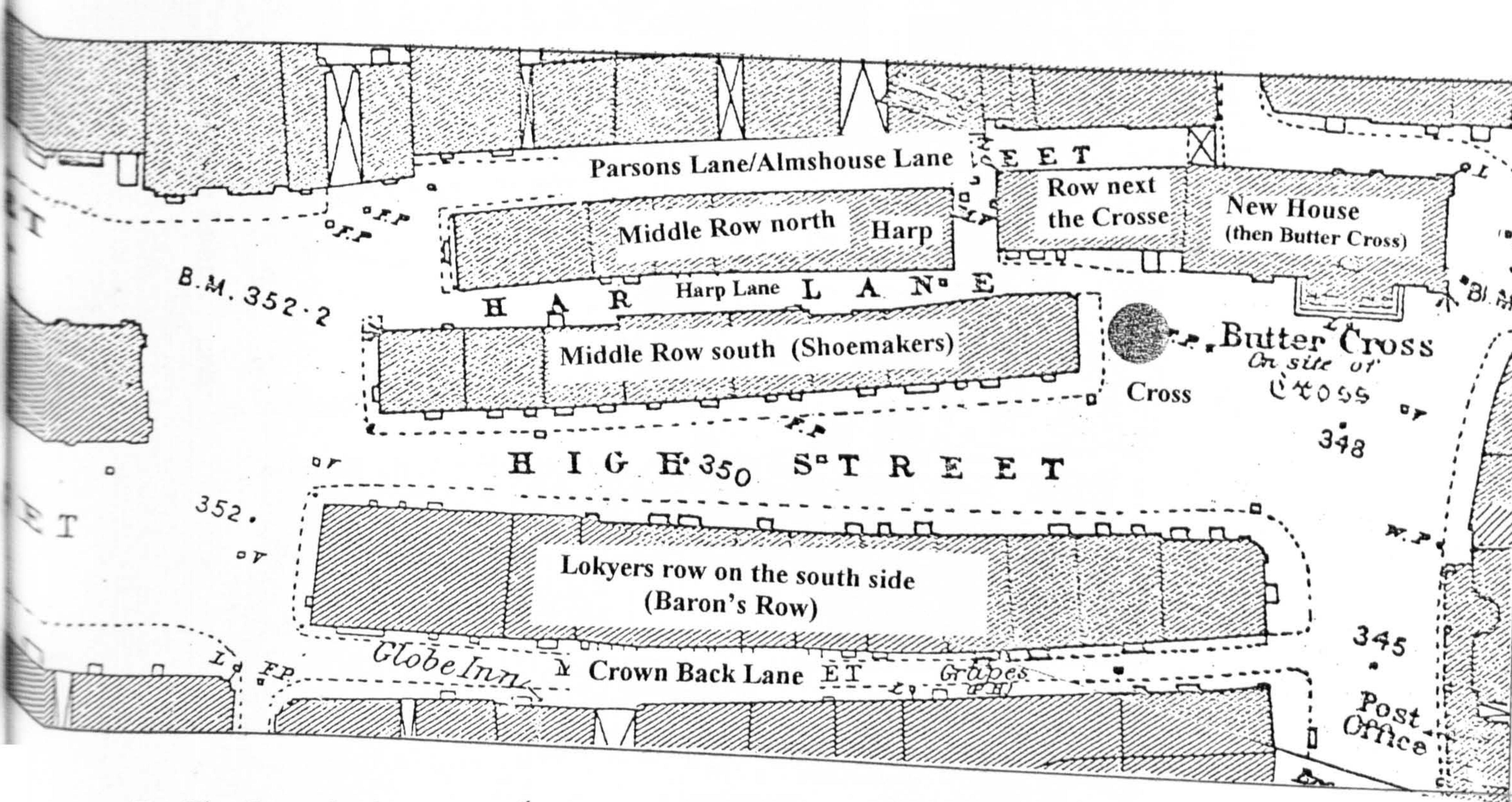
²²⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 280d, lease, 'The Beare Inn', 23rd Jan., 1672.

²²⁵ Weyman, *Ludlow in Bye-Gone Days*, p. 47.

Fig. 66: Maps of block S and other infilling of the medieval High Street



A: The medieval High Street as it was in the mid-18th century, with infill and encroachment.



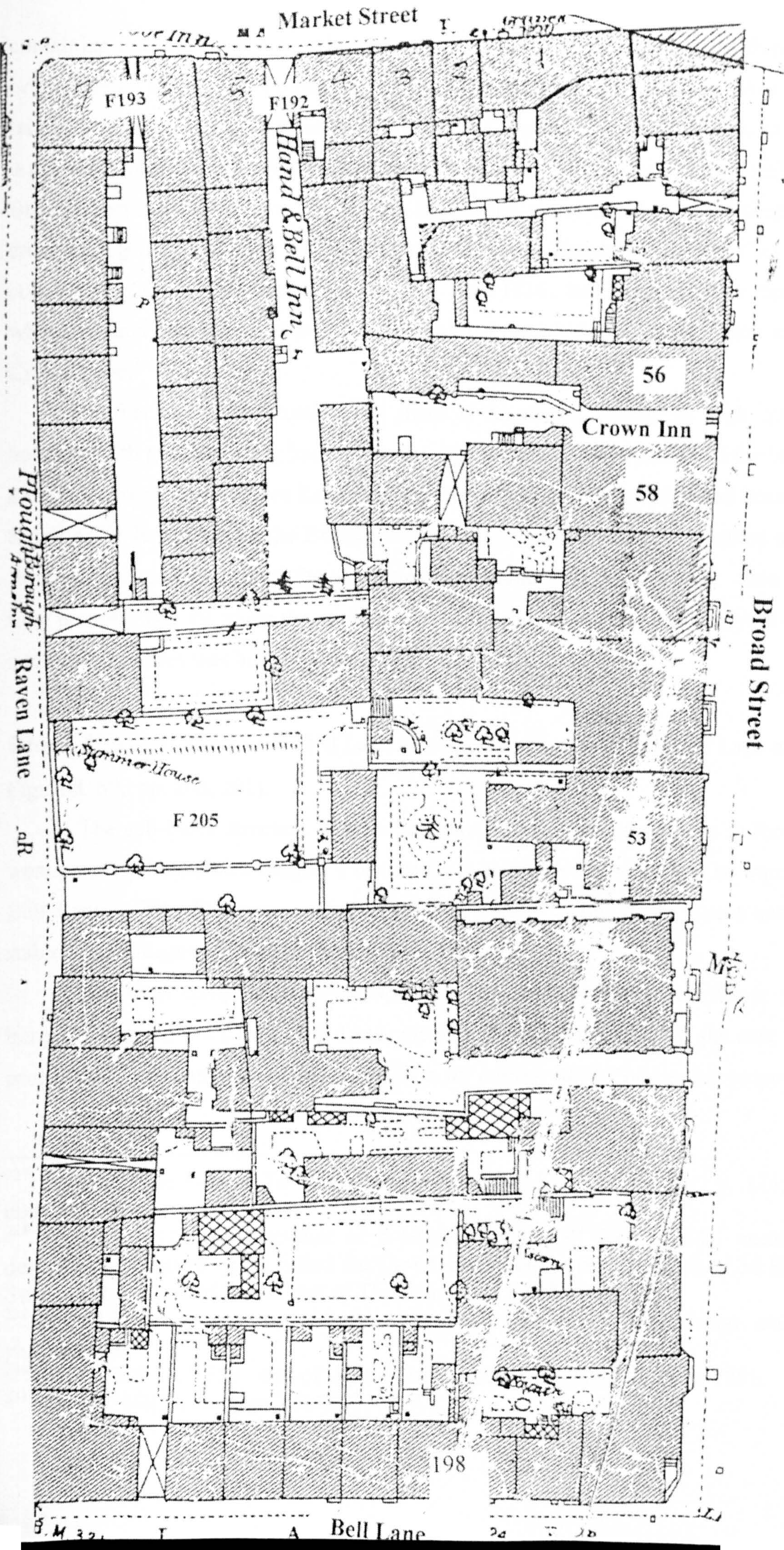
B: The Rows in the early 18th century.

Block T (Broad Street west, Market Street south, Raven Lane east, Bell Lane north, Fig. 67, p.198).

This is a part of the town where large sub-blocks can be detected, the pattern of which is discernible on Fig. 67.²²⁶ The north west is the most distinctive,

²²⁶ Slater, 'English Medieval New Towns with Composite Plans', pp. 74-75.

Fig. 67: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block T.



- Chapter 4: Property

containing two three perch wide burgage plots (F192, F193), reaching south from the original High Street. A comparable sub-block to the east, it is suggested, was overlaid by plots with an east west orientation, part of Conzen's 'central and southern plan unit', that 'very regular layout of functionally differentiated streets' which includes Broad Street and Raven Lane.²²⁷ In both sub-blocks, many commercial buildings are crowded together, including the Crown Inn at 56 and 58 Broad Street. The Crown, a coaching inn for at least three hundred years until 1816, had a rear entrance through what was later the Hand and Bell Yard, which led out of Market Street – then called Crown Lane.²²⁸

- Further south in Broad Street there is an abrupt change to high quality housing, with grounds going back, initially to the boundary in the middle of the block, though later one of the Raven Lane properties became a garden for 54 Broad Street.²²⁹ South of 53 Broad Street, the Broad Street gardens and outbuildings extended much further to Raven Lane, where the properties were stables and small houses. One such long property was 49, along the north side of Bell Lane, which was a timber yard until a terrace of houses was built on it in 1841.²³⁰

Block U (Broad Street west, Bell Lane south, Raven Lane east, Silk Mill Lane north, Figs. 68, 69, pp. 200, 201).

- The sub-block structure is again apparent, though the indentations in the east west property boundaries suggest a former north south divide which can be traced to Bell Lane. The difference between the large houses facing Broad Street and the stables and cottages of Lower Raven Lane is striking.

The most complicated townscape is in the north, where in 1669 four short burgages reached back from Bell Lane, meeting the most northerly of the east west properties.²³¹ A map attached to a 1791 lease for number 40, a Corporation property,

²²⁷ Conzen, 'The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History', p. 124; see above, p. 98.

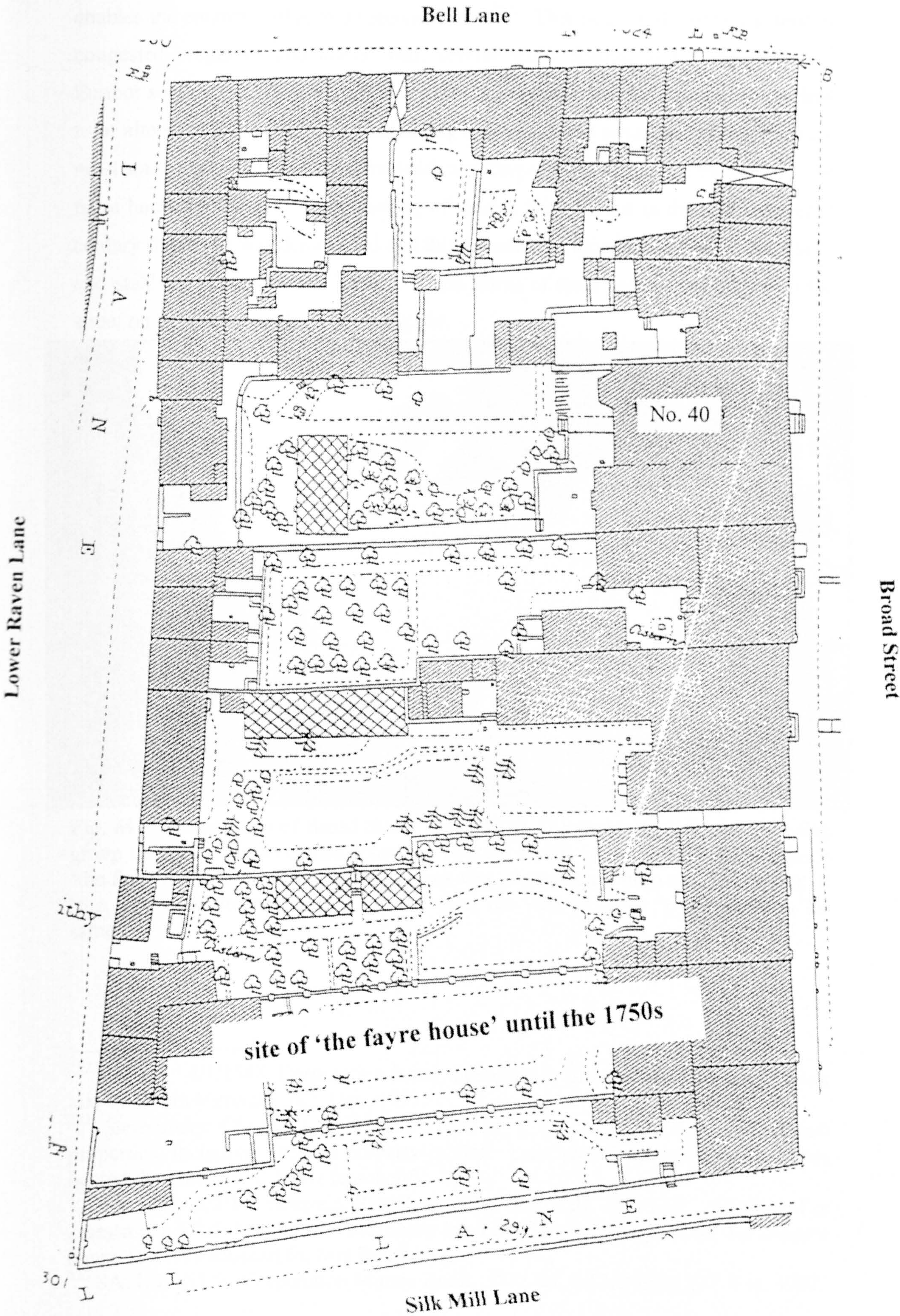
²²⁸ SA, 5411, 123/2, conveyance of 5 Market Street, 19th May, 1684, messuage described as 'next to a gate called the Crown Back Gate'; private deeds of 56 Broad Street, conveyance of 'lower part of The Crown Inn', 17th April, 1816.

²²⁹ SA, 1141/2, conveyance, 1833, 'messuage with out-offices, coach house, stables, yard, garden.'

²³⁰ PRO, Prob. 11/1359, will of John Lewis, timber merchant, 8th June, 1801.

²³¹ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p.4.

Fig. 68: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block U.



enables the contorted plan to be reconstructed.²³² This was – and still is – a zone of congested properties and alleys, with several small houses, and a malt-house.²³³ Further south most of the large Broad Street houses were able to extend their gardens to or almost to Raven Lane, thus achieving rear access and space for stables. The six most southerly properties – five freehold, one Corporation – had been the site of ‘the fayre house by the gate of the making of Justice Walter’, but in the mid eighteenth century the house was demolished and the site used for three houses, all with gardens and stables in Lower Raven Lane.²³⁴ The fronts of these and houses higher up the street on both sides can be seen on Fig. 69.



Fig. 69. This painting of Broad Street, dated 1810, shows, on the left, the imposing group of three houses commissioned by Thomas Dunne in the mid 1750s to replace ‘the fayre house’. In 1757 Thomas Dunne was given a lease from the Corporation of ‘the terrace before his house’ at 5s a year, the rent to cease ‘if he removes the same’.²³⁵

²³² SA, LB, 4/1/1548, Corporation lease, messuage in Broad Street and coach house and stables in Merivale, 28th Oct., 1791.

²³³ *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 15th Feb, 1777, p. 3, col. 4, sale notice of several properties, including freehold property in Bell Lane and ‘a convenient malt-house behind the same’ (which was leasehold).

²³⁴ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, p. 17; SA, LB, 8/3/137, Window Tax assessment, 1755: Mr Dunne, void, house late Lady Lloyd; *ibid*, 8/3/140, Mr Dunne’s house 10s, Mrs Muscott 6s, Mrs Baugh 6s.

²³⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p.53d, lease, 25th Feb. 1757.

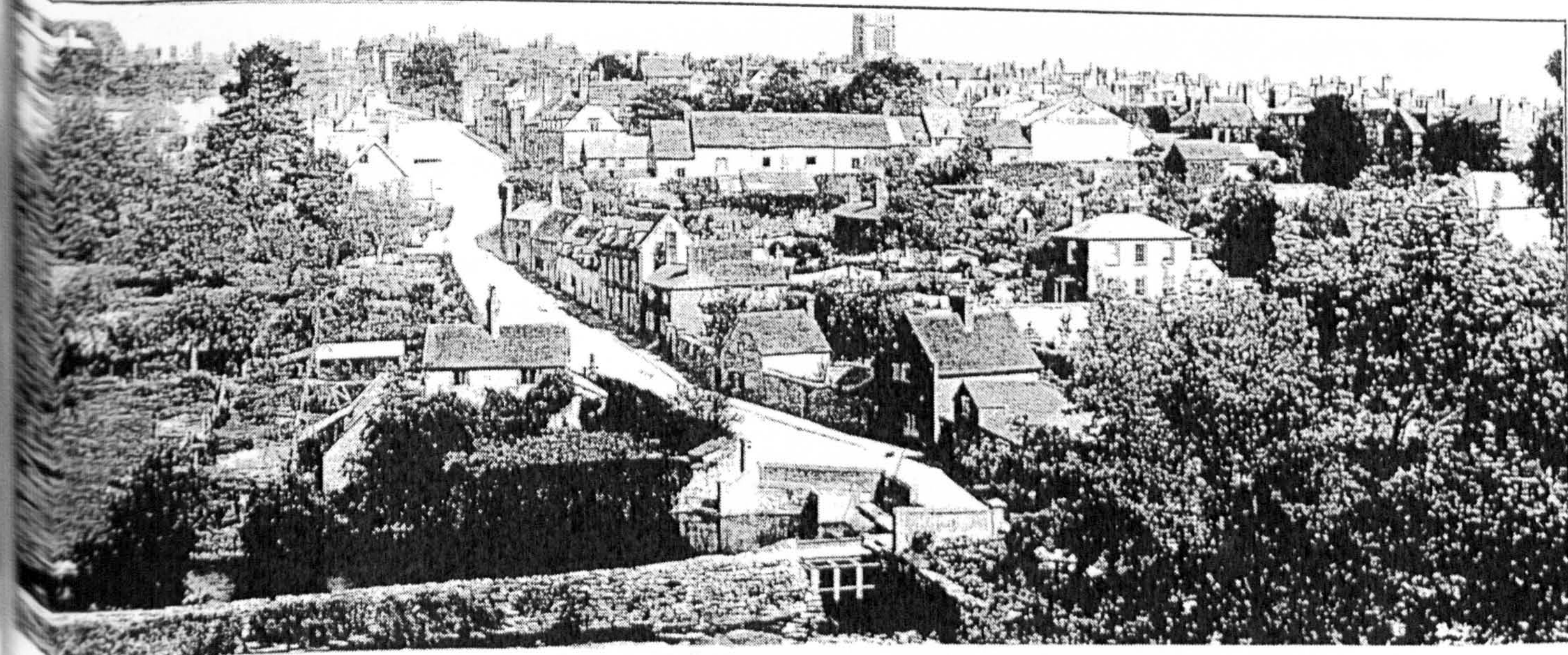
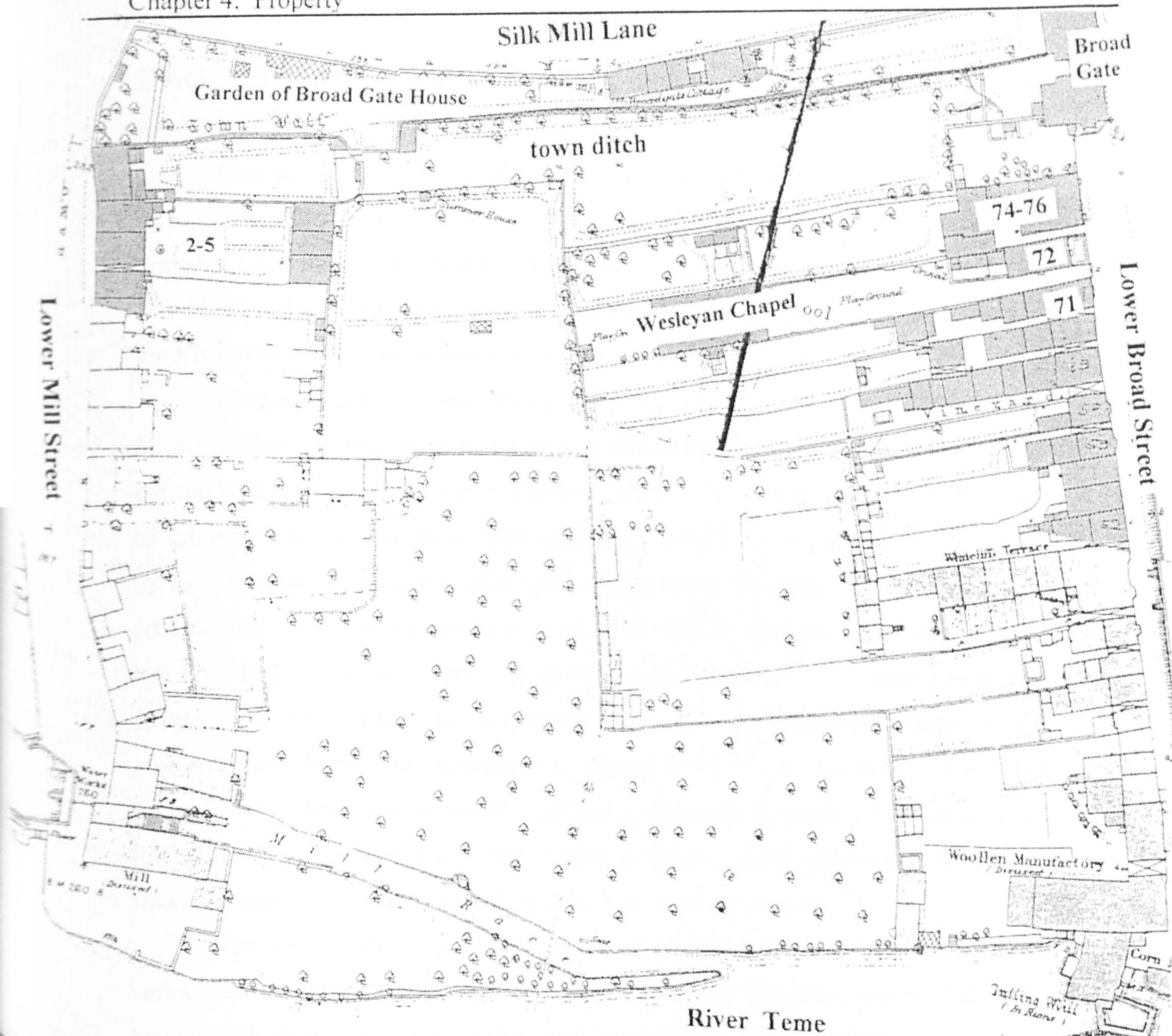


Fig. 71: A view of Lower Mill Street, photographed by Francis Bedford, c.1870. It shows the houses and cottages fronting Lower Mill Street while to the right can be seen back buildings at the rear of burgages abutting on Lower Broad Street. Beyond, in the centre of the picture, can be seen some of the buildings in Block W, including the long roof line of Barnaby House and the gable of the Grammar School. In the foreground is Mill Street weir.

Block V (Lower Broad Street east, Silk Mill Lane south, Lower Mill Street east, the River Teme; Figs. 70, 71, p. 202)

Four strips of sub-blocks of burgages show clearly on Fig. 70, though three of them, especially the two most westerly, have been eclipsed by later meadows, probably since the mid-fourteenth century, when population declined considerably.²³⁶ The likelihood of a redundant north south road, continuing the line of Raven Lane to the River Teme, was strengthened by archaeological findings in 1992.²³⁷

Detailed work in Lower Broad Street by Slater supports the view that the extreme length of some plots is 'a result of the absorption of plots which once faced the southern continuation of Lower Raven Lane'.²³⁸ He also shows that the plots can be grouped into 'four blocks of land ownership...which would have been subdivided by the first landowners into smaller units which could be sublet'.²³⁹ There has been considerable back building, some of it, as at 71 and 72, of small, crowded cottages, but elsewhere of larger houses, as at Whitcliffe Terrace.²⁴⁰ A small courtyard development occurred at 74 to 76, while in 1800 a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (later a school) was built at the bottom of a burgage at 72.²⁴¹ In Lower Mill Street the generally small houses were usually built along the street frontage, as can be seen on Fig. 71, but by 1831 there was a small complex at 2 to 5, with two cottages facing the street, the other three at the back of the plot, with gardens between.²⁴²

The town ditch was acquired by the owners of the Broad Gate, as were the various small Corporation and freehold properties along the south side of Silk Mill Lane, on which stables and a small house were built.²⁴³ In the south the River Teme, with the weirs providing water power, created an industrial area, with mills at the bottom of Lower Mill Street and Lower Broad Street. In 1696 there were three corn grist mills on the Mill Street site, one of which later became a silk mill; and in the

²³⁶ Faraday, *Ludlow 1085-1660*, p. 157.

²³⁷ Hughes, E. H., 'Ludlow College Sports Hall', *Archaeological Review*, Report 74 (1990).

²³⁸ Slater, 'English Medieval New Towns with Composite Plans', pp. 71-72.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Lloyd, D. J., *Broad Street*, (Ludlow Research Paper, 3, 1979), p. 23.

²⁴¹ SA, 2030, 2/165, conveyance of three messuages, backside and garden, 13th Oct., 1790; Wright, *History and Antiquities of the Town of Ludlow*, 2nd edn. (Ludlow, 1826), p. 180.

²⁴² SCM, Globe Insurance Book, policy to John Dyke, 8th April, 1831.

²⁴³ Deeds of the Broad Gate and attached properties, including Corporation lease with map, 28th Oct., 1835.

same year liberty was given to the Corporation to erect works 'to raise water from the river to the Market House'.²⁴⁴ At the south end of Lower Broad Street there were three fulling mills, one of which was a flax mill in 1756; while nearby, in 1828, were the works of William Evans, Ludlow's last manufacturer of woollen cloth.²⁴⁵

Block W (Mill Street east, Bell Lane south, Lower Raven Lane west, Silk Mill Lane north; Fig. 72, p. 205).

Large sub-blocks can again be detected. The two most southerly blocks accommodated grand medieval residences. That adjoining Silk Mill Lane, Barnaby House, was a gentry town house until the mid eighteenth century, but by 1831 had been turned into small, low status residences, with a newly built wool warehouse that later became a carriage works.²⁴⁶ Further north, initially also of four burgages, was 'the great house' built in the late 14th century for Sir Hugh Cheney, Chamberlain of Ludlow Castle.²⁴⁷ Cheney bequeathed the property to the Palmers' Guild, who moved their Grammar School here in 1527, though creating a separate small property facing Raven Lane.²⁴⁸ This remained the Grammar School site until 1976, when it became part of Ludlow College.

Further north sub-blocks facing to Mill Street and Lower Raven Lane were divided into narrow properties, with small houses facing the streets. North of that, however, a large sub-block reaching to Bell Lane contained three major properties. The house at 14 Mill Street had rear premises to Lower Raven Lane, where there were stables and rear access.²⁴⁹ The corner property, 11 Mill Street to 19 Bell Lane, had a pre-1660 house as its hub, but houses were built progressively along Bell Lane until c.1820, an illustration of lateral infill.²⁵⁰ The almost square site in the north east

²⁴⁴ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, p. 36; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 2nd Aug., 1777; Wright, *History and Antiquities of the Town of Ludlow*, p. 186..

²⁴⁵ HRO, AA/20, will of John Harley, dyer, 13th Dec., 1756; Pigot & Co., *National Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1828), p. 682.

²⁴⁶ Deeds of Ludlow College, mortgage of '6 houses and large built brick edifice erected thereon formerly used as a wool warehouse', 1st June, 1831.

²⁴⁷ Weyman, H. T., 'Chantry Chapels in Ludlow Church', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, ser. 3, xii (1904), 337-70 (p. 349-51)

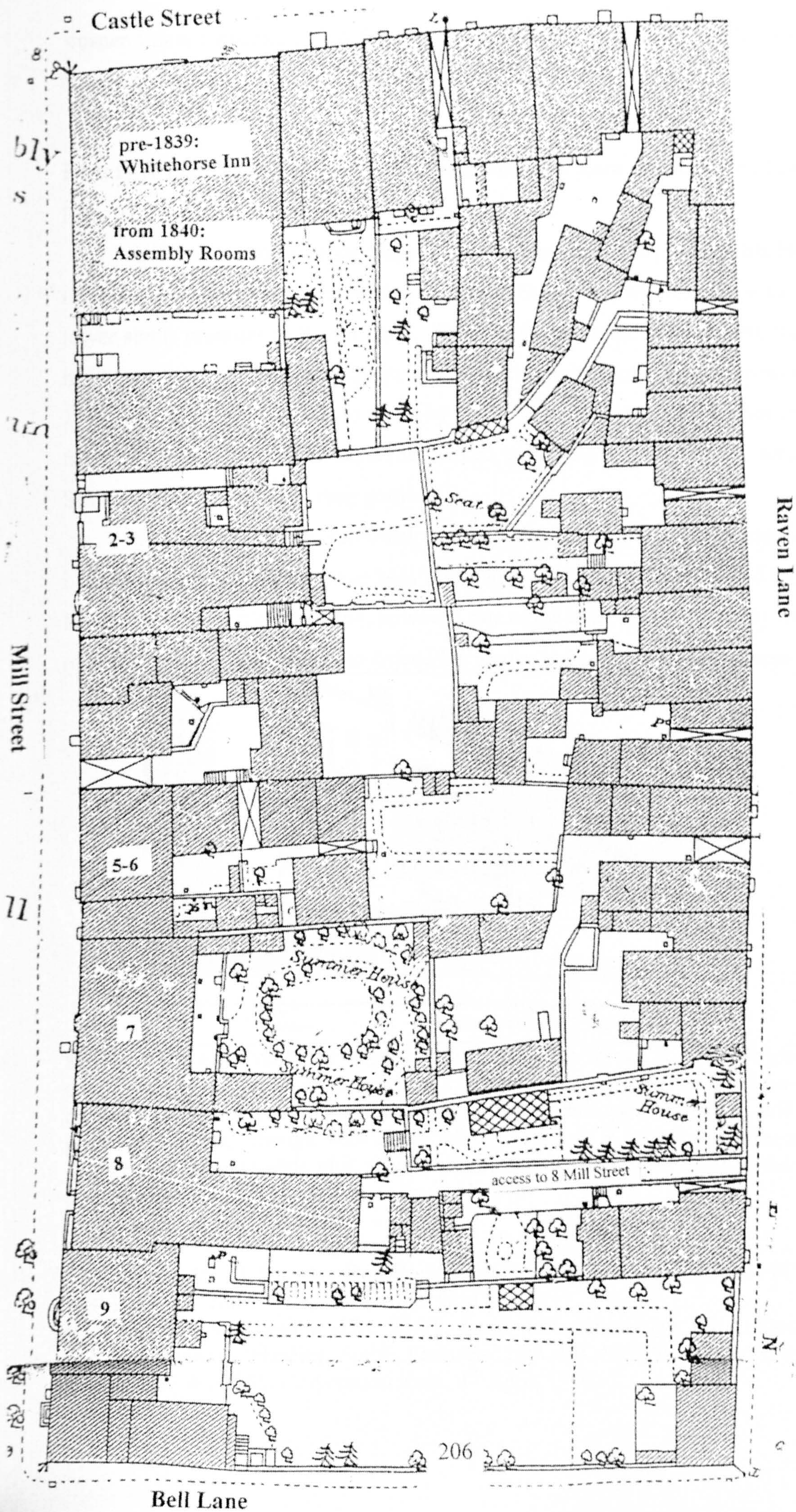
²⁴⁸ Lloyd, D. J., *Country Grammar School* (Ludlow, 1977), p. 31.

²⁴⁹ SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, entries 207 and 260. In 1843 Viscount Gustavus Boyne owned properties that can be identified as 14 Mill Street and 12 to 14 Lower Raven Lane; these adjoined back to back.

²⁵⁰ SA, 5411, 105/1-19, conveyances and leases, 1687-1805.



Fig. 73: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500, reduced) of block X.



corner was a carpenter's yard for the whole 1660 to 1848 period, with a number of houses and workshops built along both streets.²⁵⁰

Block X (Castle Street south, Mill Street east, Bell Lane north, Raven Lane west; Figs. 73, 74, p. 206, 207)

Used above to illustrate Slater's geometrical analysis (p.150), this block had large houses and business premises on Castle Street and Mill Street, with smaller, lower status premises in Raven Lane. There was some back development, that in the north east having distinctive diagonal boundaries, with three separate messuages by 1798, this number increasing to seven by 1843.²⁵¹ Further south, properties extending from Mill Street and Raven Lane interlocked, reflecting transactions by which Mill Street owners expanded their gardens.

The most southerly sub-block has a garden running the whole length of Bell Lane, but north of this the large Mill Street house, number 8, was backed by smaller Raven Lane properties. In 1764, however, one of the latter was acquired by the owner of 8 Mill Street, enabling him to extend his garden and create a narrow access way.²⁵²

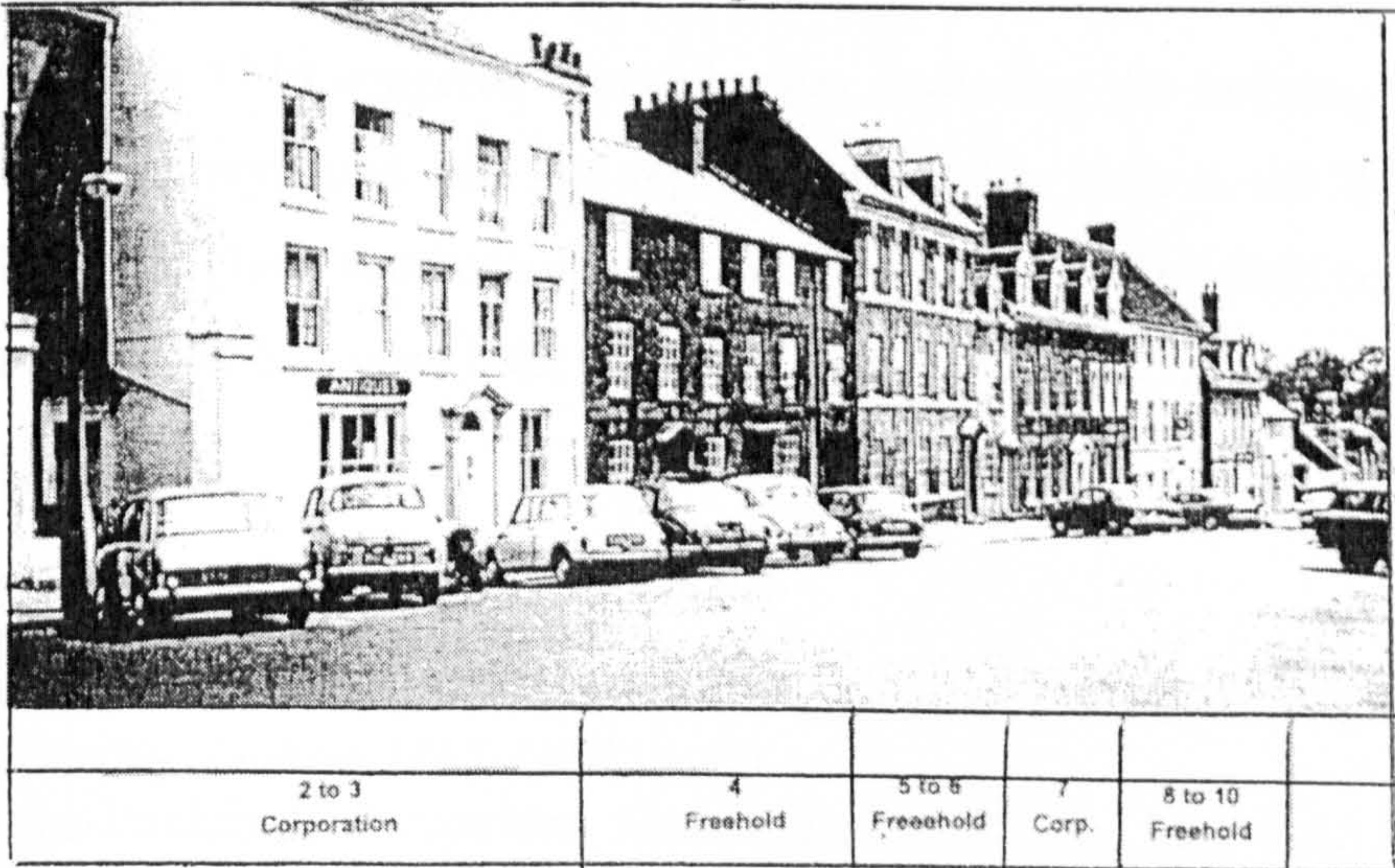


Fig.74: The east side of the upper part of Mill Street (block X) has a series of three perch wide burgages. Two properties, 2 to 3 and 5 to 6, as well as the main building on the site, have a small house occupying a former side passage; while at 4 the side passage survives, though with rooms above. Nos. 7, 9 and 10 together occupy a former two burgage wide plot, which was in one ownership for most of the 1660 to 1848 period.

²⁵⁰ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p.5; SA, 1141/19, conveyance of 12 to 16 Bell Lane, 21st June, 1805, cites timber yard to east.
²⁵¹ PRO, Inland Revenue (IR), 23/71, Land Tax Assessment for Ludlow, 1798, occupiers listed as 'Harding, Smith, Lane, etc'.; SA, LB, 15/2/245, entries 236-241..
²⁵² SA, LB, 4/1/1355, Corporation lease, 4th April, 1764.

Block Y (Castle Street south, Mill Street west, Camp Lane north, Christ Croft, Dinham east; Figs . 75, 76, pp. 209, 210)

In the north part of the block there are two series of short burgage plots, abutting to Mill Street and Dinham. This reflects the protrusion of the outer bailey of the castle into the town plan. The boundary between Dinham Hall garden and the properties to the east, clearly shown on Fig. 76 (p. 210), suggests a continuation southwards of those series, and it is likely that a twin series of burgages originally continued to Camp Lane, the eastern series abutting to Mill Street and the western to what became a redundant street, later called Christ Croft.²⁵⁴ The western boundaries of 40 and 23/23A suggest that some of the Christ Croft burgages were short.

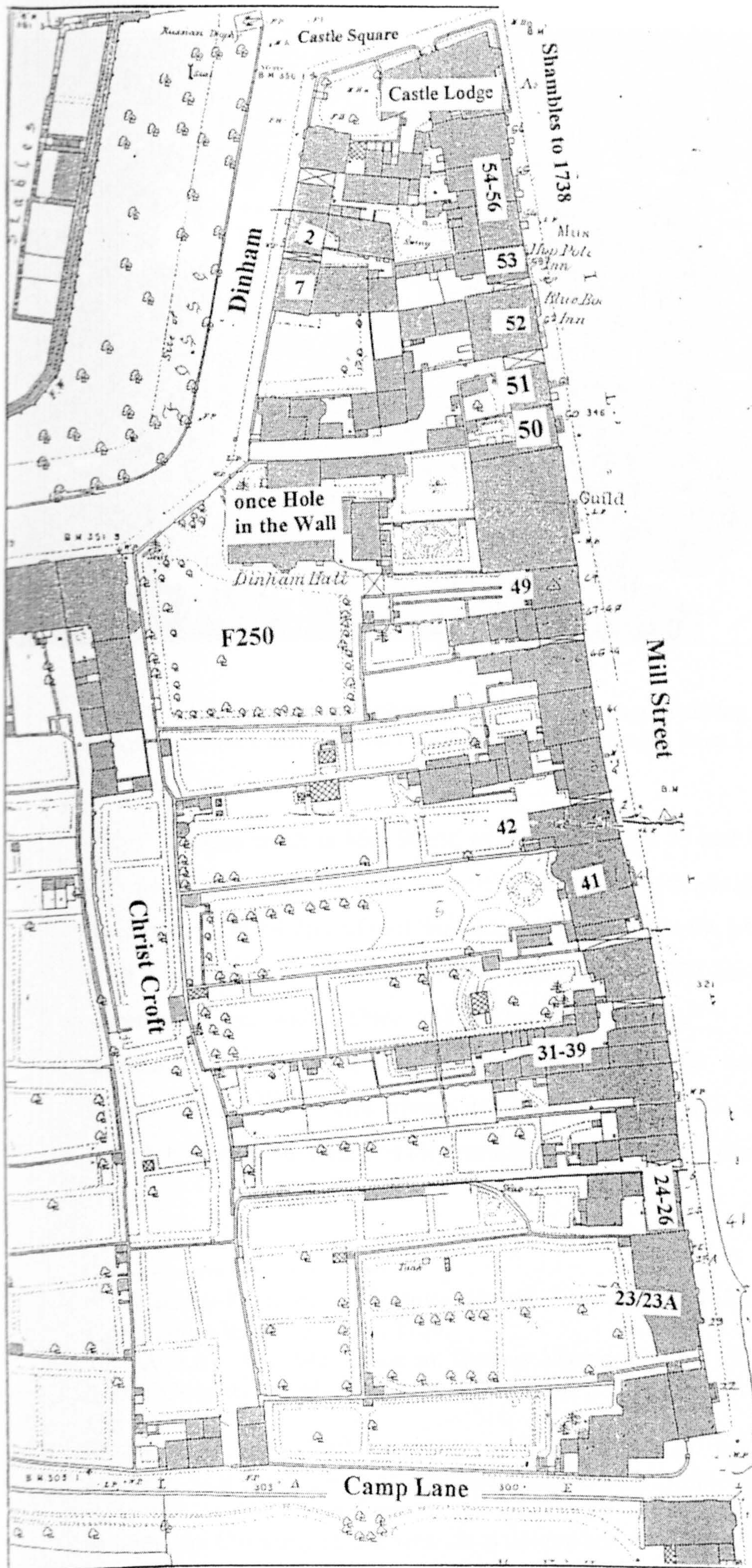
The north end of the block saw changes in the 1660 to 1848 period. There were already high status residences at Castle Lodge, 2 and 7 Dinham, though with small gardens. Further south in Mill Street, either initially or later, there were inns: The Greyhound at 54-56, The Swan (later The Hop Pole) at 53, and The Portcullis (later The Blue Boar) at 52; while in Dinham was The Hole in the Wall.²⁵⁵ The presence of the Shambles at the top of Mill Street made this an uncongenial area, but their removal in 1739 triggered other changes, including the building of high status houses on The Greyhound site and replacement of The Hole in the Wall by Dinham Hall in 1790.²⁵⁶ There had been changes too in the former Guildhall courtyard, where two houses, 51 and 52, were built in 1713.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ BL, Cotton MSS, Nero A4, 1 Liber Landavensis (The Book of Llandaff), f.45d. cited by Faraday, *Ludlow 1085-1660*, p. 60.

²⁵⁵ Watkins-Pitchford, *Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672*, p. 162; SA, LB, 11/4/86, Quarter Sessions, presentments for keeping a common Tipling house without licence, 20th April, 1660; HRO, AA/20, will of Mr Benjamin Karver, 24th Jan., 1737; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 219, lease of 54-56 Mill Street, 9th Oct., 1776: 'The Swan to the south'; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 310d, Corporation lease of The Blue Boar and other properties, 31st Jan. 1739; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 326, lease of messuage called 'The Hole in the Wall' in Dinham, 28th Oct., 1786.

²⁵⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 306d, agreement 'about Mr Karver purchasing the Materials of the building belonging to the Shambles'; *Aris's Gazette*, 18th Oct., 1742, 'Three well built houses to be let at Ludlow'; SA, 1141, box 21, 24th March, 1789, assignment to Mr Richard Nash.

²⁵⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 12., Corporation lease, 28th Oct., 1713.



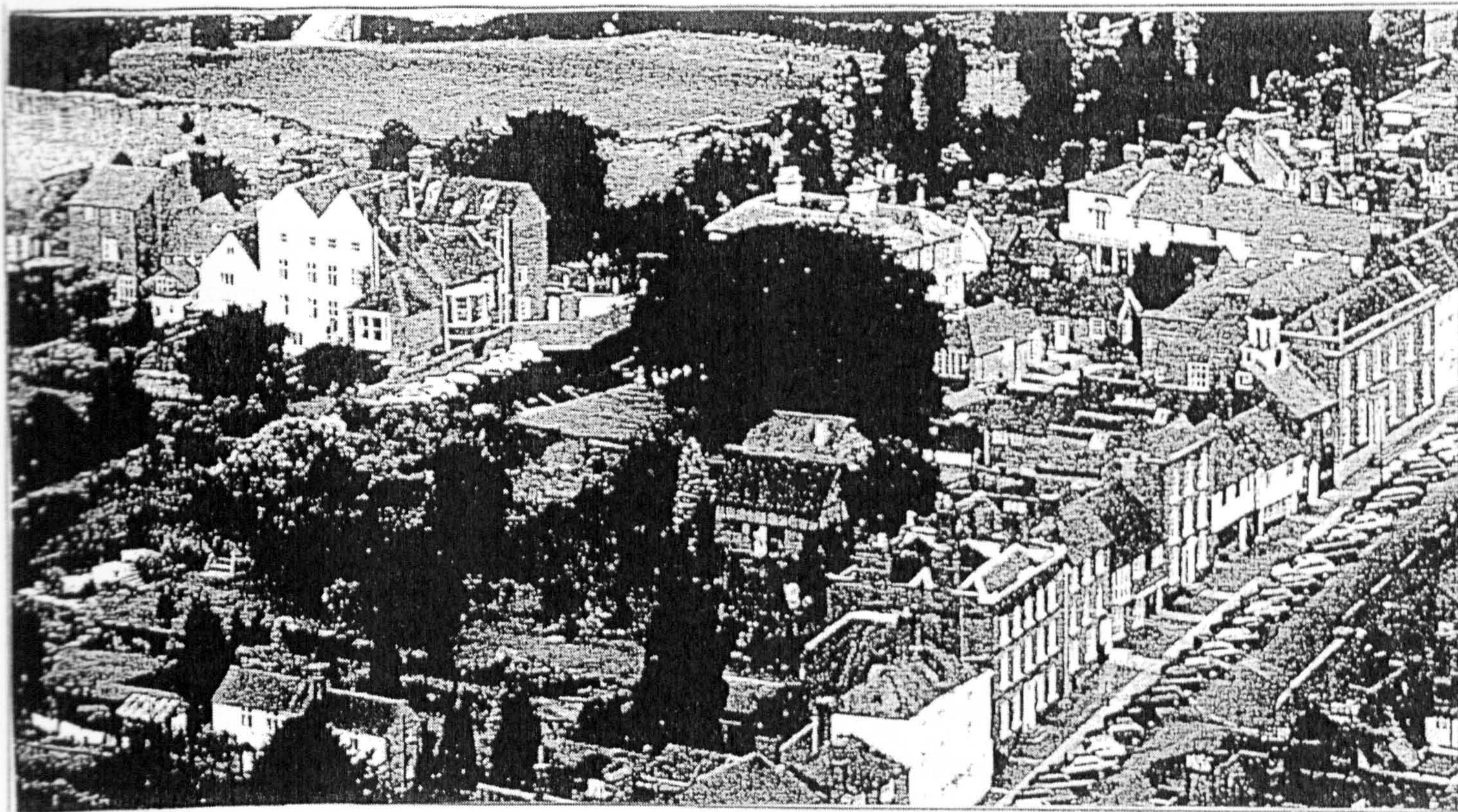


Fig.76: This oblique aerial photograph shows burgages running back from Mill Street towards Christ Croft, beyond which are shorter burgages from Little Dinham.

Further south in Mill Street, as shown on Figs. 75 and 76, there were houses of various sizes, ranging from 41, an elite residence with a large garden, to courtyard development at 24-26 and back building at 31 to 39. At the latter, a single messuage with 2 hearths in 1672 had become two messuages in 1759, probably a division of the street frontage, with stables and outbuildings behind.²⁵⁸ There were still two messuages in 1790, but by 1814 there were five messuages with no stable, and eight houses in 1843.²⁵⁹ Several artisans and craftsmen lived in the area, but the only long lasting industrial building was the recently restored currier's workshop behind 42.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Watkins-Pitchford, *Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672*, p.163; SA, LB, 4/1/1302. Corporation lease, 13th Oct., 1759.

²⁵⁹ SA, LB, 4/1/1541, lease to Thomas Maund, mason, 13th Oct., 1790; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p.278, lease to Thomas Maund, 13th Oct., 1814.

²⁶⁰ *Salopian Journal*, 4th June, 1806, p. 3, col. 5, sale of 'handsome brick dwelling house in Mill Street', with 'a convenient currier's shop'; the currier's workshop was described in 1995 in a letter to the owner, Mr J. Bell, from the Clerk to The Worshipful Company of Curriers, as 'a unique link with the past'.

Block Z (Dinham west of Christ Croft; Figs. 77, 78, pp. 212, 213)

In the 1660s there were two small houses at the bottom of Christ Croft, facing Camp Lane, and two more at the top facing Dinham, but the long sunken strip of land itself was occupied by two elongated gardens. These were leased to Ludlow artisans, for example in 1696 to a weaver and a tiler.²⁶¹ In the 1770s the houses at the top were replaced by two that were described in 1779 as ‘commodious and new built’, with the special advantage of ‘fronting the walk in Dinham’.²⁶²

Dinham to the west of Christ Croft begins with a series of east to west plots reaching to the straight, narrow lane sometimes known as ‘little Dinham’. Further west other burgages form a semi-circle that takes its line from the town wall and ditch – which themselves are parallel to the River Teme. Between these two sets of burgages, one straight, the other curved, is a triangular piece of ground, which had on it St Thomas’s Chapel, a former graveyard, and a number of irregularly shaped Demesne properties, most of which were later amalgamated to form the grounds of the Dinham Cottage.²⁶³

For at least a century after 1660, the small island plots and the burgages to the east of Little Dinham were occupied by gardens, small houses and craft workshops, including those of two pipe-makers, John Bellamy at 29-30 and John Arthurs on one of the island sites.²⁶⁴ The burgages in the west, shown on Fig. 77 (p. 212), were a complete contrast. Before 1669 the four burgages between the road to Dinham Gate and the castle ditch had been merged to form two larger properties, the more northerly taking in the ditch as well.²⁶⁵ At its full extent the northern plot, Dinham House, was ten perches wide, and encroached into Dinham while the southern plot, Dinham Lodge, was five perches. With extensive views toward Whitcliff, these were high status residences, William Baugh, Gent. of Stokesay, and Benjamin Bulkley, Esq. of Felton in the parish of Bromfield, living there in 1669.

²⁶¹ SA, LB, 4/1/762, Corporation lease to Thomas Shorte, weaver, 12th July, 1695; *ibid*, 4/1/771, Corporation lease to Francis Hassall, tyler, 6th June, 1696.

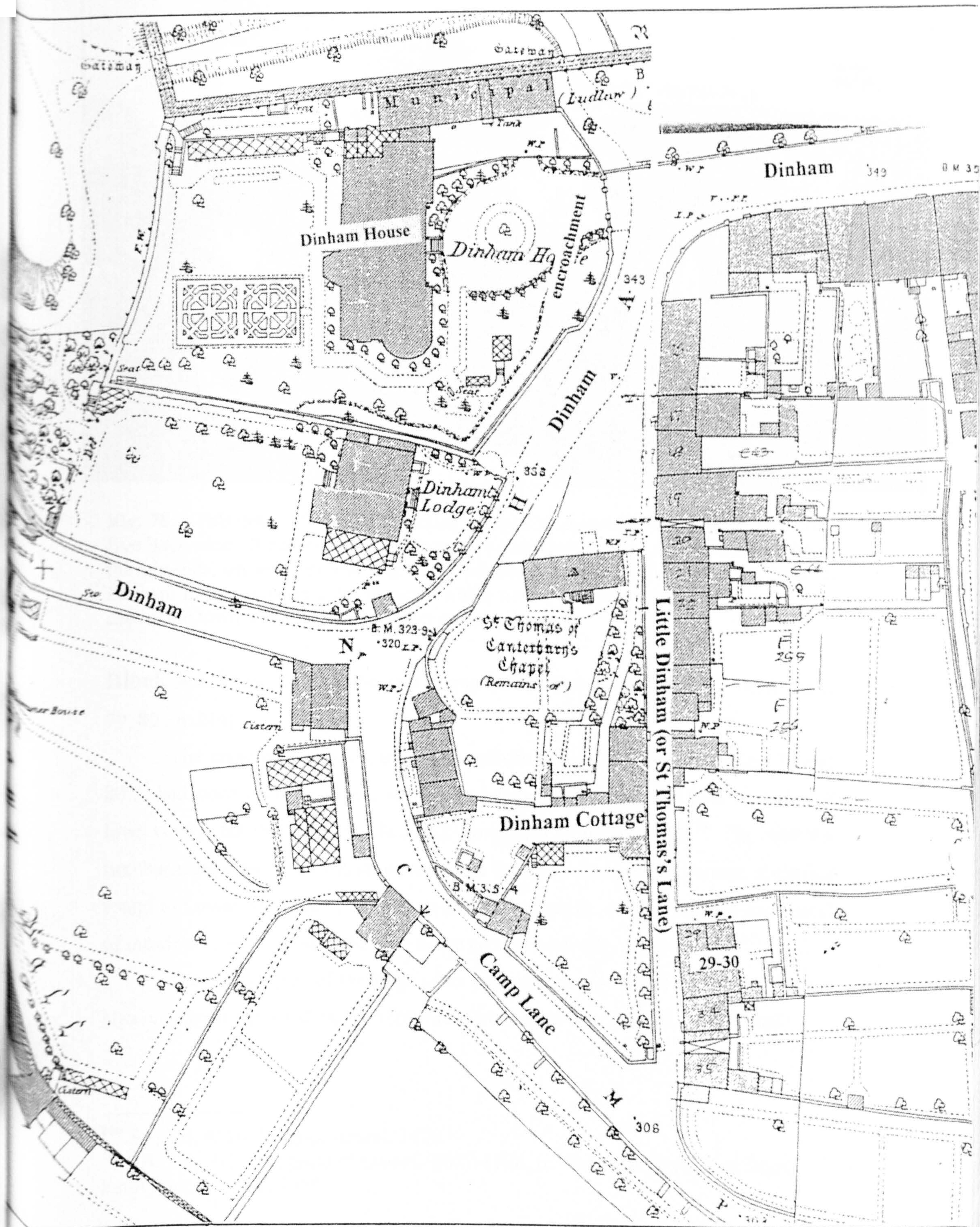
²⁶² *Hereford Journal*, 29th July, 1779.

²⁶³ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of leases, pp. 85, 113, 152.

²⁶⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p.73, lease to John Bellamy, pipe-maker, 12th March, 1696; *ibid*, p.114d, lease to John Arthurs, pipe-maker, 20th July, 1703.

²⁶⁵ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 10.

Fig. 77: 1885 O.S. map (1: 500) of block Z.



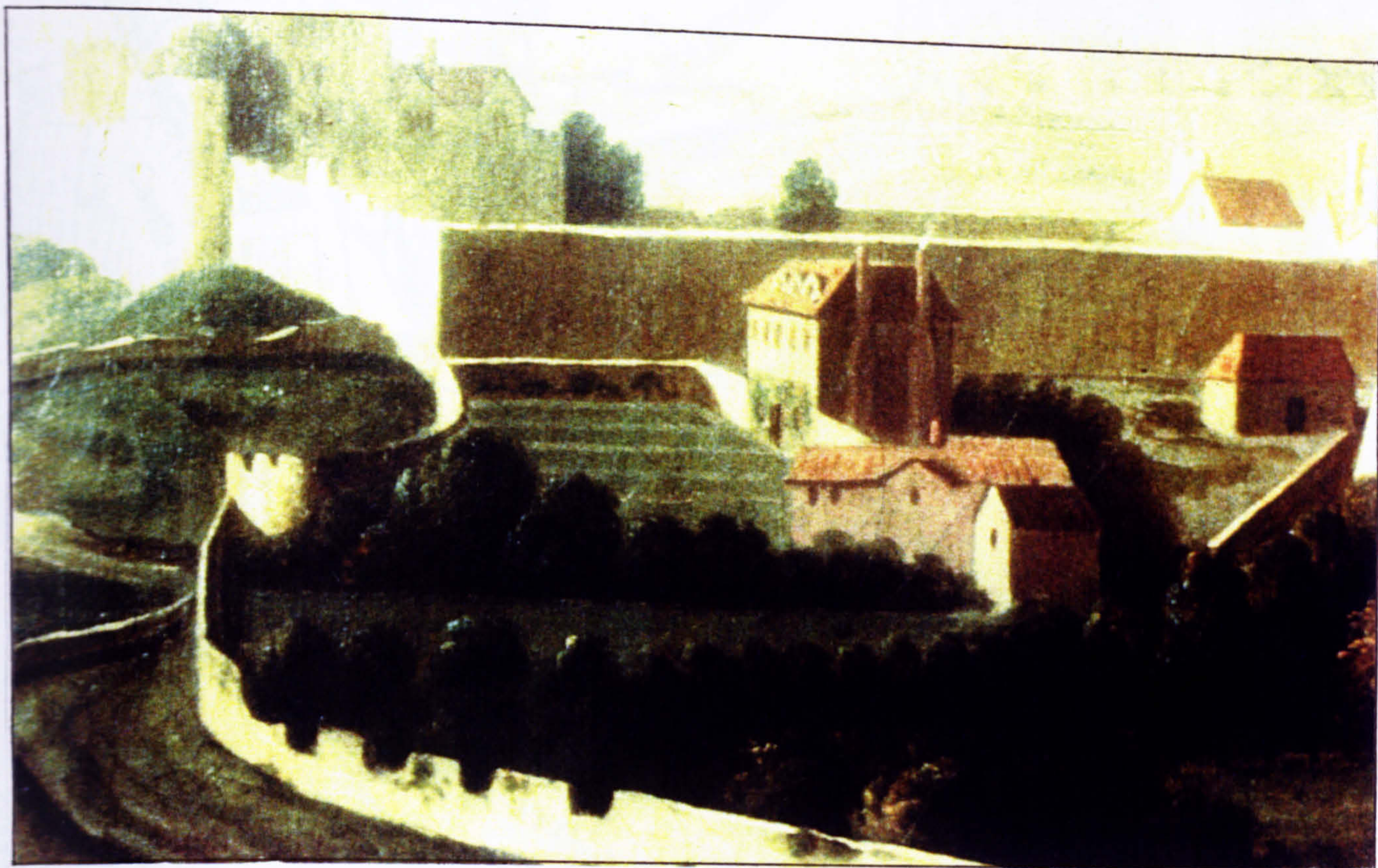


Fig. 78: This detail of the 1722 painting of Ludlow shows Dinham House, then only five bays wide. It had been rebuilt about five years previously. A barn can be seen in the grounds, on land encroaching into Dinham. A little further down the bank is Dinham Lodge, a much older property which was to be rebuilt many years later. The castle, the town wall and Dinham Gate can also be seen.

Block AA (Lower Mill Street east, Camp Lane, Dinham south, River Teme; Figs. 79, 80, p. 214)

The crescent between Camp Lane and the town wall, shown on Figs. 79 and 80), had once been burgaged, with short burgages pointing, fan like, towards the town centre, but most of these had been amalgamated before 1470.²⁶⁶ In 1669 the two burgages closest to Dinham were owned by local residents but the rest, sweeping round to Lower Mill Street, were described as ‘messuage, garden, orchard and parcel of meadow’, with a house, the core of the present Merivale, at the far end.²⁶⁷

The eastern part of the large area between the town wall and the river had also once been burgaged, but in 1669 was described as three blocks, each of four

²⁶⁶ SA, LB, 4/2/6, Burgage Rental, 1470.

²⁶⁷ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p.240d, lease to Richard Scott, inn-holder, 5th Oct., 1666.

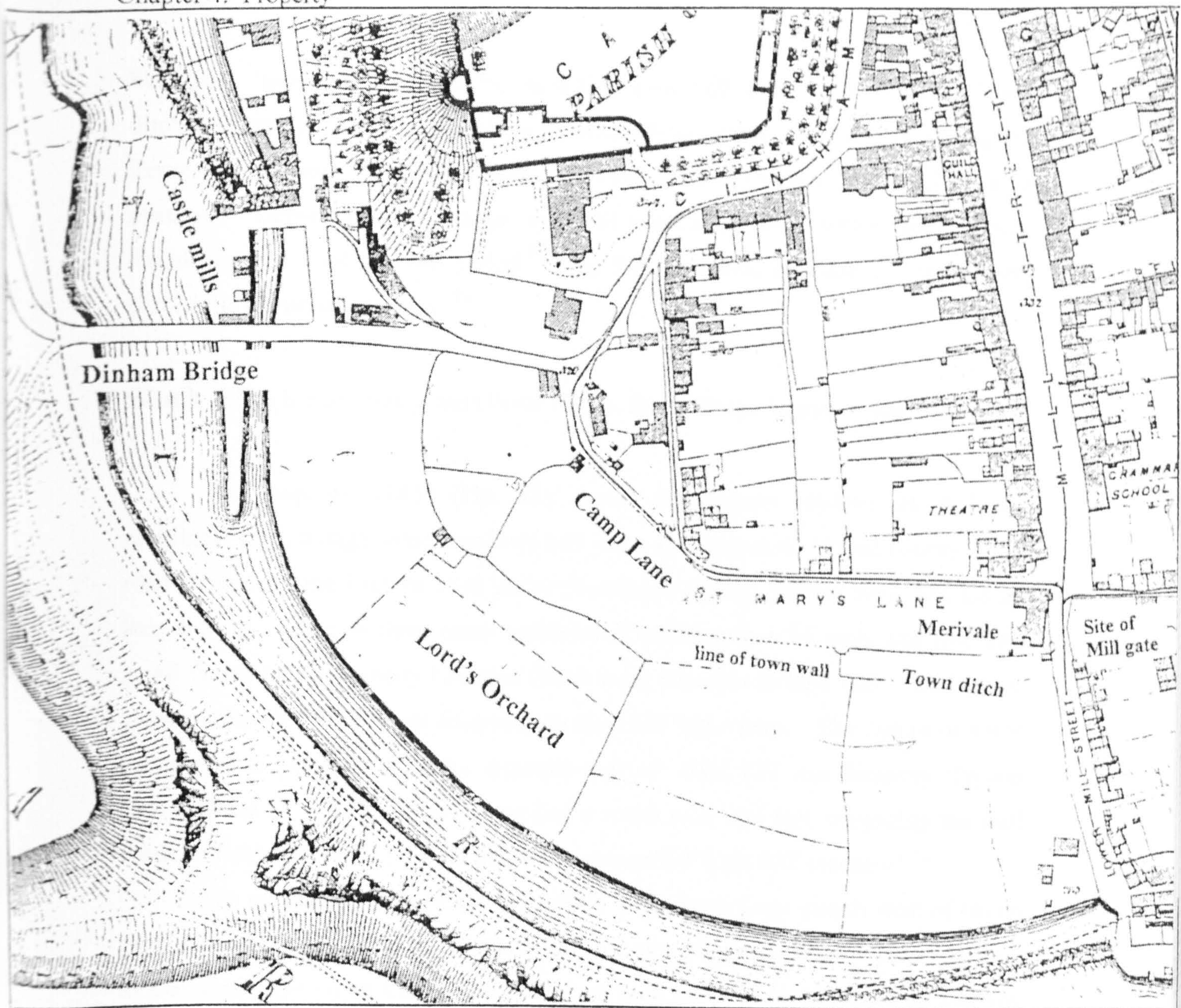


Fig. 79: Map of block AA, taken from a map of Ludlow, 1862, by Thomas Curley, Borough Engineer.

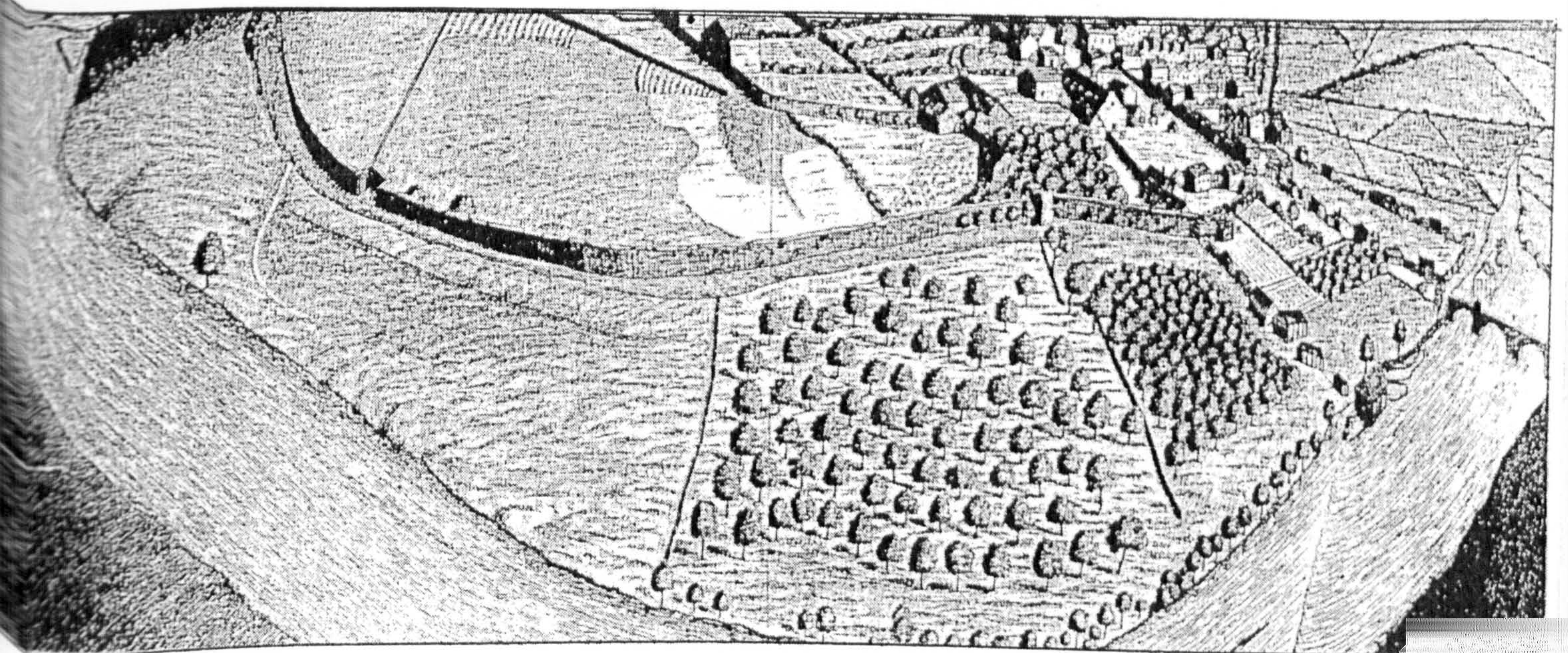


Fig. 80: Although John Smith's panoramic view of Ludlow, published in London in 1719, is inaccurate in many ways, it does give centre stage to the meadows and orchards on the west side of the town, between the town wall and the River Teme. That section is reproduced here.

burgages, 'neare the River on the westside below millgate'.²⁶⁸ In 1847 the town ditch was used as 'gardens', the fields to the south as 'arable' and those bordering the Teme as 'orchards'.²⁶⁹ Further west the former 'Lord's Orchard, perversely, was a meadow. Beyond Dinham Bridge were the two Castle Mills, which ground corn for most of the 1660 to 1848 period.²⁷⁰ By 1843 a sawing mill and a foundry were part of the industrial complex.²⁷¹

Block AB (Broad Linney west, River Corve, River Teme, Linney south; Fig. 81, p. 216)

The map, of c.1828 (Fig. 82), shows that Linney retained its medieval rectilinear plan, though some meadows had been amalgamated. Broad Linney was a road throughout the 1660 to 1848 period, but Green Linney, further west, had lapsed into a track. Two or three small agricultural buildings can be seen, and also two small farms: one at property 129 near Corve weir, the other in field 125. The latter is shown more clearly, with its foldyard, on the 1847 Tithe map. The names of some fields reveals previous uses, for example part of field 127 was formerly 'Pigeon House Close'.²⁷² The River Corve had a small weir and leet, supplying the mill between fields 131 and 132, both of which were called 'Weir Mill meadow'.²⁷³

The north part of the detached portion of Stanton Lacy parish west of Green Linney had been burgaged, as shown by 14th century title deeds, but the large meadow to the south, known as Castle Meadow, had been retained by the Lord of Ludlow Castle.²⁷⁴ By the 18th century, it had passed into the possession of the owner of what is now called High Hall, who in 1828 was Edward Rogers of Stanage Park, near Knighton.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁸ SA, LB, Burgage Rental, 1669, pp. 7-8.

²⁶⁹ PRO, IR, 29/29/209, Ludlow Tithe Apportionment and Map, 1847.

²⁷⁰ e.g. SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 4.

²⁷¹ SA, LB, 15/2/245, Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries. 84, 85.

²⁷² SA, LB, MT 652, reversion of five burgages with dovecote and meadow in Linney, Eve of Katherine, 43 Edward III (1369-70).

²⁷³ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 37, lease of Weir Close, 27 Jan., 1692; SA 1141, 18, Corporation lease, 25th Feb., 1820, with map.

²⁷⁴ SA, LB, MT 572, conveyance of meadow in 'Grene Lyneie', Saturday after St German, 16 Edward III, 1342-3; SA, LB, 4/2/6, Burgage Rental, 1470.

²⁷⁵ SA, LB, 4/2/59, Rental of Corporation properties, 1756, leased to Abel Kettleby Esq., Prickett's Meadow, £2 rent.

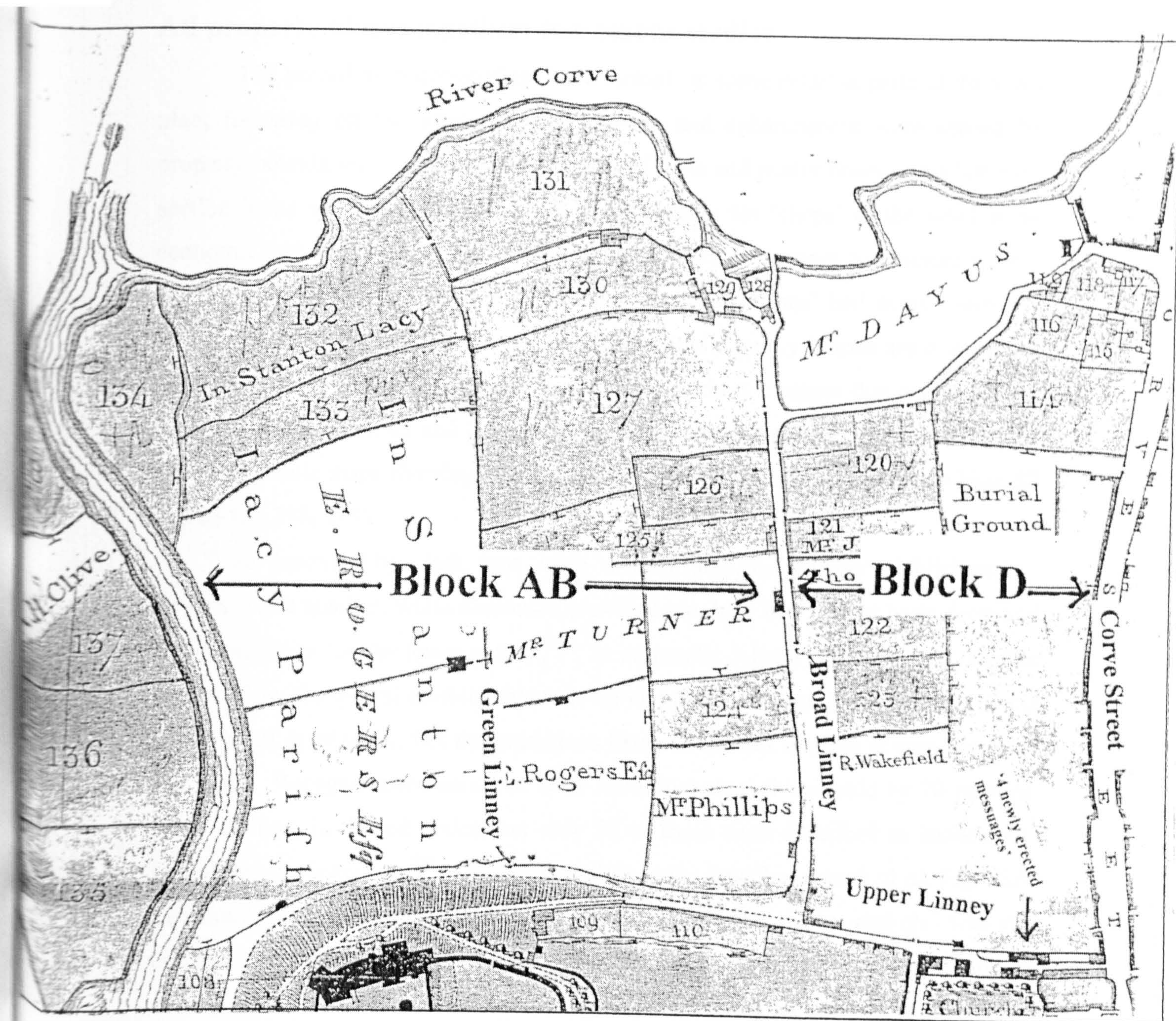


Fig. 81: Map of block AB, taken from Corporation map of Ludlow, 1828.

All property blocks together: two macro-studies

The preceding micro-studies have looked in some detail at parts of the town plan, focussing on the ways that development and enhancement were shaped by property boundaries. Using macro-studies of inns and gentry houses, this last subsection looks at the Borough as a whole, illustrating the 'shape' of the town as an economic and social entity, and high-lighting differences between component blocks. As shown by Everitt and others, 'inns, taverns and alehouses' had many functions, and are a useful indicator of economic activity, while gentry houses are one way of identifying socially desirable areas.²⁷⁶ In order to show changes that occurred over time, licensed premises and gentry houses are listed in Appendix 3 for 1669, 1763 and 1841, while maps showing their distribution for those years are shown on Figs. 82 and 83 (pp.218, 219).

As described by Clark, inns were 'usually large, fashionable establishments', taverns were smaller, while alehouses provided ale, beer and 'rather basic food and accommodation for the lower orders'.²⁷⁷ In Appendix 3 lewn payments and rateable values allow the largest establishments to be identified, such as The Crown in Broad Street in all three years, but the gradations between taverns and ale houses are often less clear. Recognizances issued in 1668 show that alcohol was sold by 70 persons, many of them in named trades, but only 28 of these were described as innkeepers, innholders or victuallers.²⁷⁸ Only this smaller group have been marked on Fig. 83A. The number of 'victuallers, innkeepers and other retailers of beer and ale' was still large in 1698, when 52 persons were listed 'for not making returns', but figures are more precise from 1742, when victuallers' licences are recorded year by year, with the Sign of each establishment given.²⁷⁹ There were 45 licensed premises in 1763, nearly all of which can be exactly located, while their standing can be assessed by the church lewn payments made by the licencees.²⁸⁰ By 1841, when Ludlow's

²⁷⁶ Everitt, A, 'The English Urban Inn, 1560-1760', in Everitt, A. (ed.), *Perspectives in English Urban History* (London, 1973), 91-137 (pp. 93, 104-20).

²⁷⁷ Clark, P., *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830* (London, 1983), p. 5.

²⁷⁸ SA, LB, 11/4/94, Quarter Sessions, 1668, Recognizances, 26th March, 1668.

²⁷⁹ SA, LB, 11/3/6, Quarter Sessions, 1742-98, Licences, 1742.

²⁸⁰ DL, Easter Book (EB), 1763-71 (1763 entry); SA, LB, 11/38, Victuallers' Recognizances, 1742-87 (1763).

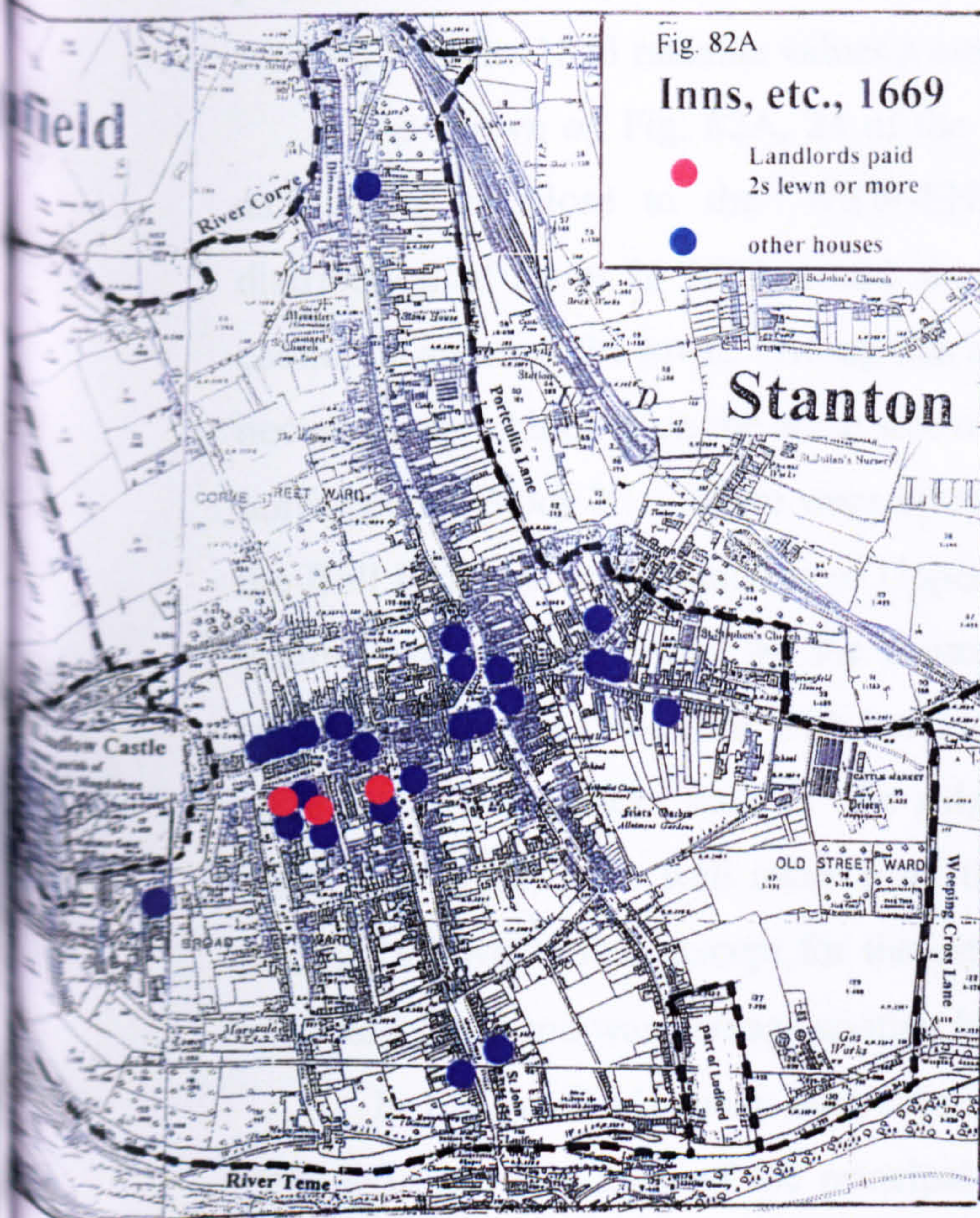
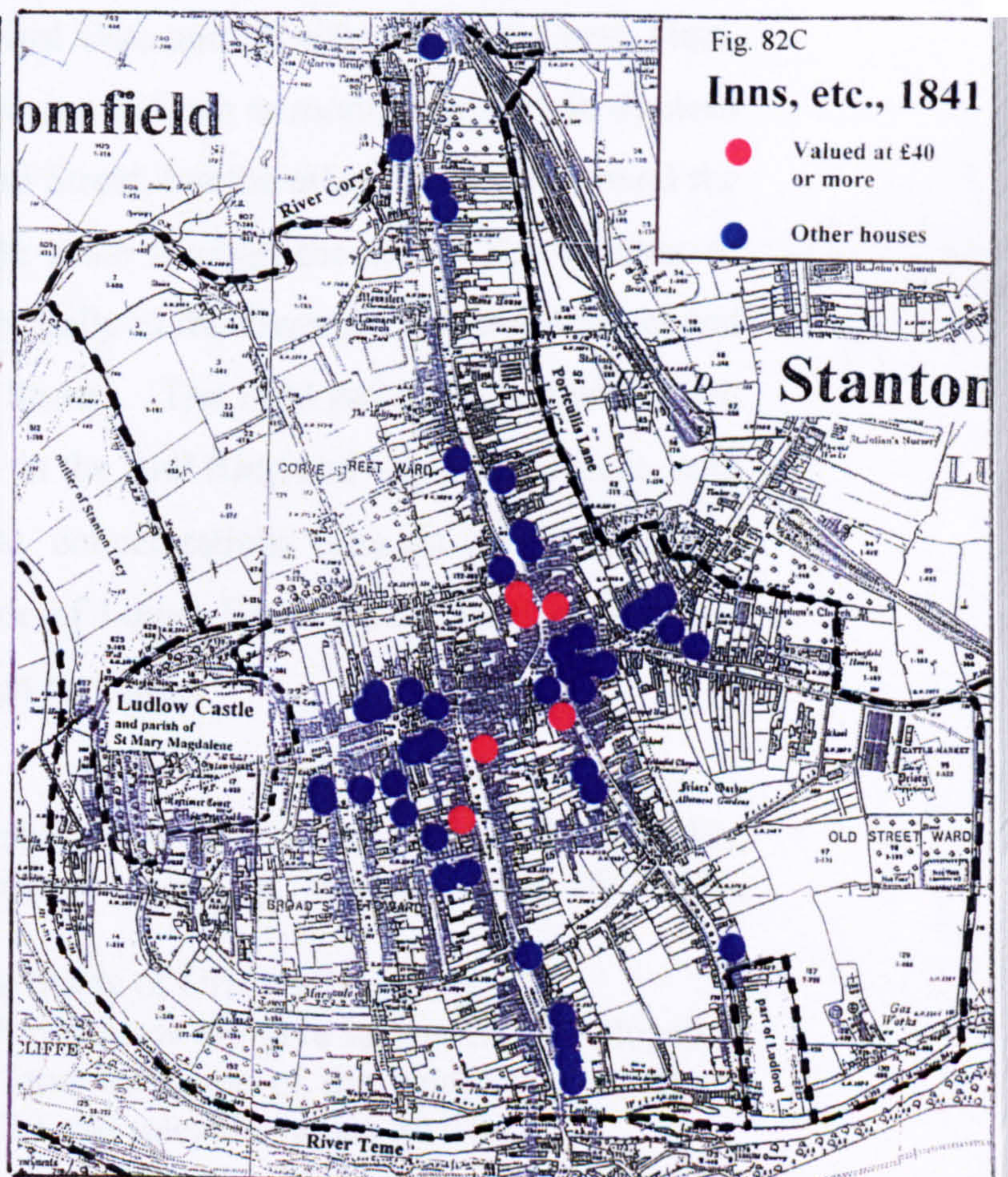
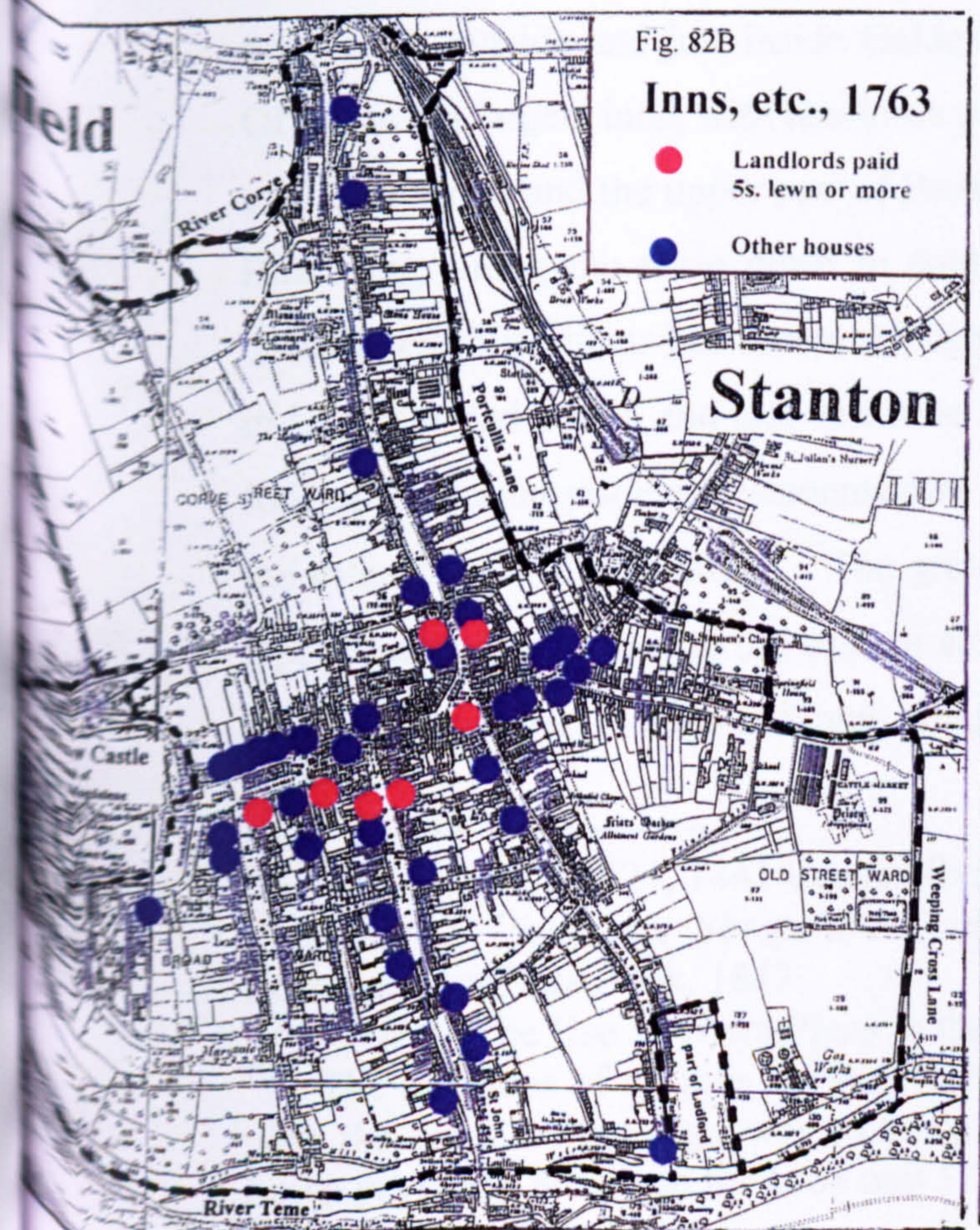


Fig. 82: Distribution of inns, taverns and alehouses in Ludlow in 1669, 1763 and 1841.

Based on O.S. 1: 2500 (reduced to 20%).
1902



population was nearly twice the estimated 1763 total, the number of licensed premises was 50, with the 1843 rateable values a measure of size and importance.²⁸¹

As shown on Fig. 82A, 24 of the 28 inns, taverns and alehouses formed an axis along or close to the 'WSW-ENE ridge' identified by Conzen.²⁸² The distribution of shops in 1669 would show a similar pattern, identifying this as the economic spine of the town. Along this axis, clusters of inns, taverns and alehouses occurred, as in block B on the north side of Castle Street and Church Street, and in the north part of Block X. There were other clusters at the top of Broad Street, around the Bull Ring and at the junction of Upper and Lower Galdeford. With much of their custom probably generated by the Council of the Marches at the castle, it is not surprising that the three inns with landlords paying 2 shillings church lewn or more were all in the western half of the ridge top axis. Four inns, serving peripheral residential areas, were well away from this central axis.²⁸³ They all had landlords paying 1s lewn or less, except for the establishment of Widow Griffiths in Dinham, who paid 1s 9d and was perhaps another beneficiary of the castle trade.

In 1743 and 1841 many inns, taverns and alehouses were still along the WSW-ENE axis, as were most of the principal shops, but the overall patterns show more dispersal. The greatest concentrations in 1763 were in Castle Street, especially on the north side, outside and just inside Galdeford Gate and on either side of Corve Gate. Of the seven largest inns, with landlords paying 5s lewn or more, four were in or close to Castle Street and the upper part of Broad Street, but the other three were round the Bull Ring, along the main north to south route through the town. The number of outlying establishments had increased, especially in the lower part of Broad Street and in Lower Broad Street, and also in Corve Street. The 1843 pattern was similar, with four of the six largest establishments now in the Bull Ring and upper Old Street, with the other two in Broad Street. The great concentrations were on the north side of Upper Galdeford, , and on the eastern side of Lower Broad Street, each having four establishments, and in Market Street, which had three.

²⁸¹ PRO, HO, 107/0924, 1841 Census Enumerators' Books for Ludlow; Robson, W., *Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (London, 1840), p. 68; SA, LB, 15/2/2435, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843.

²⁸² Conzen, 'The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History', p. 124.

²⁸³ The locations of all inns, taverns and alehouses are given in Appendix 3, together with the name of the Sign when known and the name of the landlord or landlady. Lewn payments are given for 1669 and 1763 and rateable values for 1843.

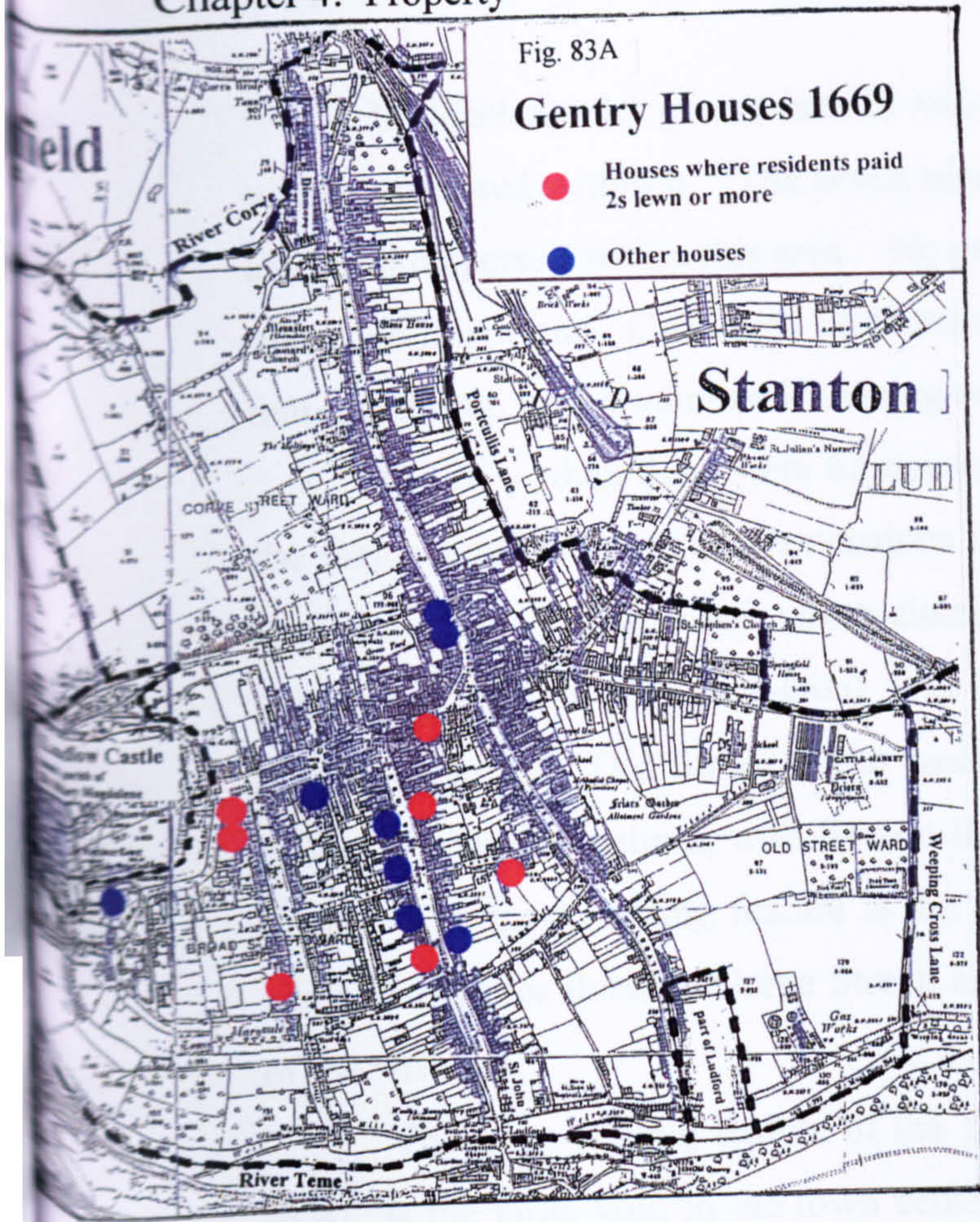
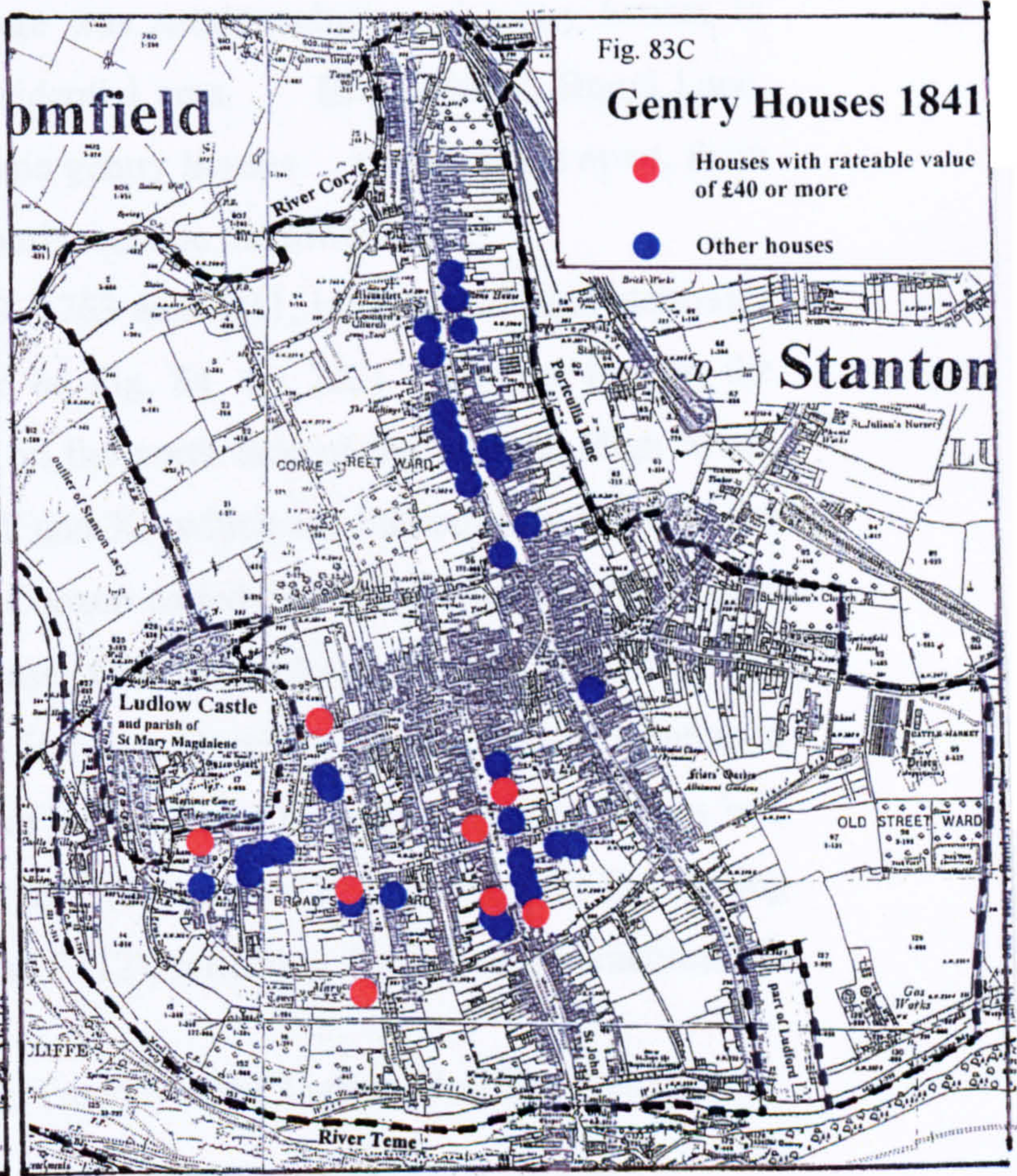
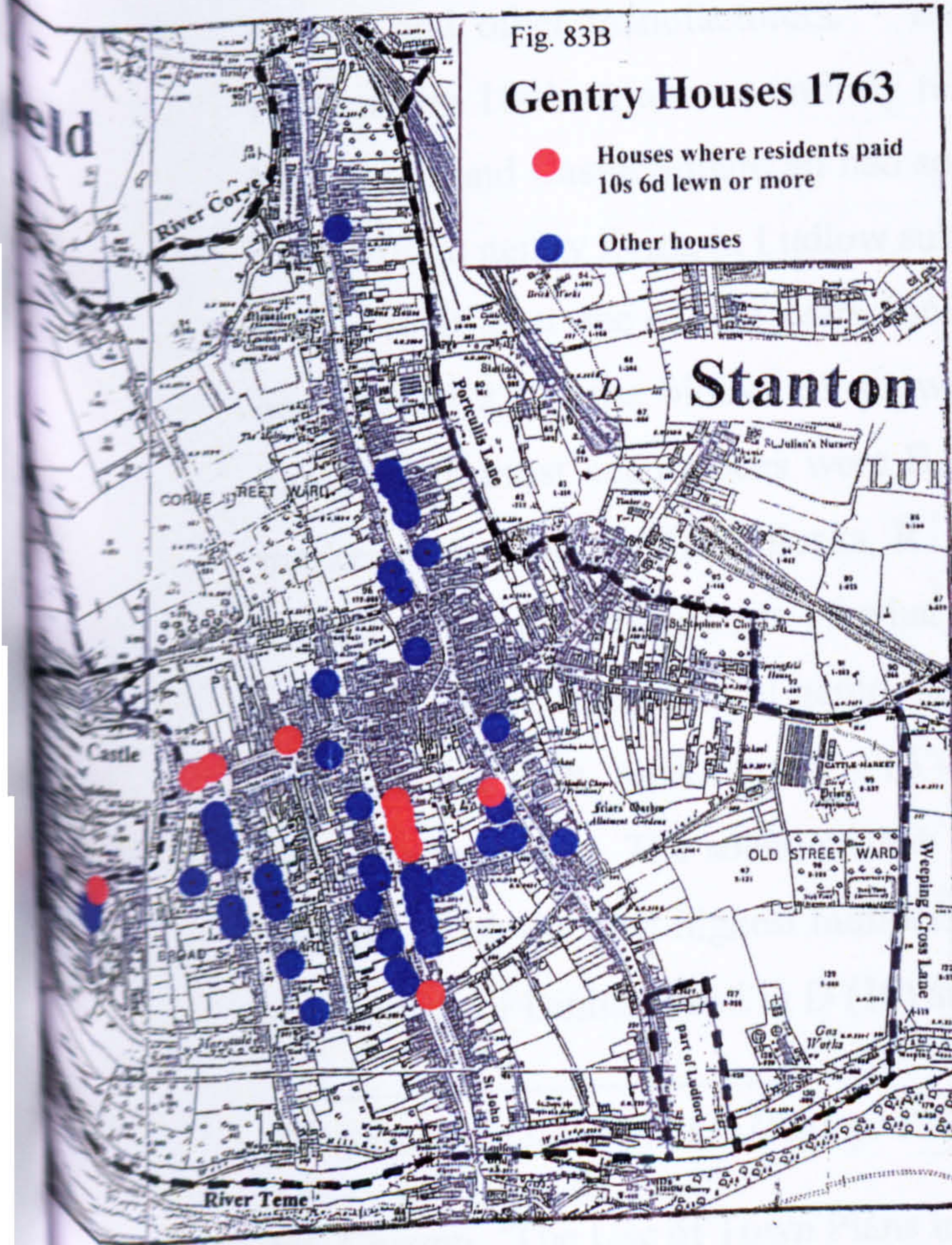


Fig. 83: Distribution of houses where gentry families lived

Based on O.S. 1: 2500 (reduced to 20%).
1902



In 1669 the 15 gentry houses were all in the historic walled town, though widely dispersed within it. The seven householders paying 2s 6d lewn or more were also well dispersed within this area. No gentry lived in Corve Street, reflecting at the upper, southern end Civil War destruction, and at the lower end the prevalence of manufacturing, with a number of tanning works, which discouraged elite housing.²⁸⁴

In 1763, when there were 63 houses, Broad Street and Mill Street had become the major gentry streets, with extensions into Dinham, Castle Square, College Street and Brand Lane. There was also a clusters of gentry houses in the southern part of Corve Street, following post-Civil War rebuilding on spacious sites; and in the northern part of Old Street. The wealthiest gentry, paying 10s 6d lewn or more, followed a similar pattern, with five on the eastern side of Broad Street above Brand Lane. The most striking feature is the total lack of gentry living outside the town walls, except for those in Corve Street, all but one of whom were bunched at the top of the street.

The most striking feature of the 1841 distribution of the gentry, now reduced to 41, is the large void in the town centre. The gentry presence in Corve Street has increased and moved north, in many cases into houses previously occupied by glovers and other manufacturers. There was another cluster of gentry houses in Dinham, by 1841 an almost entirely residential area. Broad Street, Brand Lane, Mill Street and Castle Square all had some gentry houses. Corve Street apart, there were still no gentry living in Ludlow suburbs outside the town walls.

In at least one of the years 1669, 1763 and 1841, inns, taverns and alehouses occurred in 22 of the blocks, as shown on Fig. 84 (p. 222). For the former, the blocks with most occurrences were B, on the north side of the original High Street market place, and the three blocks, R, T and X, which lay immediately south of the market place, absorbing parts of what Conzen called 'the central and southern plan unit'.²⁸⁵ The distribution of gentry houses was less widespread, being concentrated in 16 blocks, with most houses – 16 - in block Q, where the long plots encouraged spacious premises. The social cachet of Broad Street brought 15 gentry houses into block R, with the next highest numbers in Y (13) and Z (10), showing the developing desirability of Dinham; and in D (10) and F (12), reflecting the growing attractions of

²⁸⁴ Faraday, *Ludlow 1085-1660*, p. 179; Faraday, 'The Ludlow Poll Tax Return, 1667', pp. 109-110.

²⁸⁵ Conzen, 'The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History', p. 124.

Fig. 84: Distribution of inns and gentry houses in property blocks at given dates.

	Inns	Inns	Inn	Total		Gentry	Gentry	Gentry	Total
	1669	1763	1741			1669	1763	1841	
A									
B	5	5	3	13			4	1	5
C	2	3	3	8		2	2		4
D		2	2	4			2	8	10
E		1	2	3				6	6
F	1	3	5	9			6	6	12
G	1	2	3	6					
H	1	3	4	8					
J	2	2	2	6					
K	1	1		2					
L	1	2	3	6			2	2	4
M			1	1					
N		1		1					
O									
P	1	1	4	6					
Q		1	1	2		2	8	6	16
R	3	5	5	13		2	10	3	15
S	1	1		2			1		1
T	2	3	7	12		2	3	1	6
U		2	1	3		2	4	3	9
V	1	1		2					
W							3	1	4
X	5	3	3	11		1	3		4
Y		2	2	4		3	6	4	13
Z	1	1		2		1	3	6	10
AA								1	1
AB									
not located							6		6
	28	45	51	124		15	63	48	126

gentry houses in the nine blocks totally outside the town walls is another major feature of the distributioanl pattern.

Section III: themes and trends

Running through the multifarious properties and property changes given above are a number of significant themes and trends. These were economic, demographic and social. Some developers sought to earn a living and increase their income. Others saw opportunities for profit by providing low status housing, perceiving increasing demand after 1760 as the population rose. Others again, the ‘polite’ sector of society, were concerned to enhance their life style, seeking space for fashionable houses and gardens, stabling for their horses and easy access to their premises.

Whatever the motivation, developers and innovators were influenced by property, either that which they already owned or that which they leased from others. This section examines some of the ways in which the town plan was changed or adapted to accommodate their aspirations. The section is also about general trends in Ludlow properties from 1660 to 1848, including consolidation, the balance between continuity and change of use, and the main forces promoting change.

1: The changing economy - farming, manufacturing and dealing.

Generally, those with economic motives were able to operate within the existing plan, though often at some inconvenience. Agriculture is a case in point. Farms continued to be a feature of the peripheral parts of the town, and a number of sites and buildings have been identified. An example is that of the Leas, a family from Little Hereford with lesser gentry connections, three of whom were members of the Corporation from 1650 to 1746.²⁸⁶ Their farmhouse was 110 Corve Street, an 18th century building with earlier box framing at the rear, and the fold-yard was next door at 106-109.²⁸⁷ (see p. 170), However, their lands were scattered at the north end of Ludlow. The 1669 Burgage Rental shows them with a field covering two and a half burgages at the far end of St Mary's Lane; while the 1679 Corporation Rental records leases of two closes in Linney, one close in Fishpool Lane, 'a hemp but' and a barn in Corve Street and six acres of land in the Town Fields.²⁸⁸ Such dispersal discouraged efficient farming, but steps were taken to counter this in the eighteenth century. In 1761, for example, 'lands of Mr Edward Lea' in Little Field were consolidated by exchanges.²⁸⁹

In some peripheral parts of Ludlow, pastoral farming gave way to more intensive agricultural land use, such as market gardening. This occurred on the two acre site now occupied by the Bishop Mascall Centre (p. 180). It was described as 'a barn and close' from 1660 to 1809, but in the latter year it was leased to John Cooke,

²⁸⁶ SA, Fletcher MS, Vol. I, p. 265; for Corporation membership by the Leas, see Appendix I, entries 25,62 and 105. .

²⁸⁷ PRO, IR, 23/71, Land Tax assessment, 1798, Corve Street ward.

²⁸⁸ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 27; DL, 1679, Corporation Rental, p. 11.

²⁸⁹ SA, LB 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 77, 5th Feb., 1761, exchange of lands in Little Field between Mr Lea and Mr Edwards.

gardener, and in 1830 was described as 'nursery, garden and hovel'.²⁹⁰ Court records give glimpses of the gardening and tree cultivation for foodstuffs which went on throughout the 1660 to 1848 period on smaller plots in many parts of the town. In 1727, for example, two gardens behind 28 Old Street (p. 193) were 'separated by a gooseberry hedge', in one of which 'plants for winter savoys had been set'.²⁹¹

The different components of glove manufacture, the town's chief industry, made use of various kinds of sites. At any one time, there were about fifteen master glovers living in Ludlow, who had journeymen to cut the leather and domestic outworkers for stitching.²⁹² In 1815 twelve masters employed 735 persons, 90% of whom were women and children.²⁹³ Workshops for cutting leather were sometimes on the premises of master glovers, as at Stable House (p.166), originally such a building in the garden of 8 Corve Street, which from 1788 to 1817 or later was the home of James Davies, glover.²⁹⁴ Others were purpose built, as were 'glovers' cottages' just off Corve Street in Linney, the building on the site of St Leonard's Chapel that occasioned the chancery case against Ludlow Corporation.²⁹⁵ Many glove workers lived in poorer parts of the town, such as John Davies of Frog Lane in 1690.²⁹⁶ Unstitched gloves were sent to such persons, as in 1813, when John Robinson, glover, 'caused to be delivered to Elizabeth Preece, singlewoman, two dozen of mens' gloves for the purpose of working up and finishing the same'.²⁹⁷ The master glovers made use of the long gardens behind their houses for industrial purposes. In 1784 John Jones at 22 Corve Street had '23 wash leather skins' stolen from his garden'.²⁹⁸ In 1741, Ralph Harris, glover, lost from his yard below the Old

²⁹⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 240d, lease, 5th Oct., 1666; SA, LB, 4/1/1695, lease, 5th April, 1809; SA, LB, 2/1/8, Corporation Minute Book, 1830-35, p. 15, lease, 28th Oct., 1830.

²⁹¹ SA, LB, 11/4/155, Quarter Sessions, 11th March, 1727, deposition of John Ward, Gent. .

²⁹² e.g. DL, EB, 1717-24, 1724 entries: 15 glovers, 21 journeymen, four male employees, 24 gloveresses.

²⁹³ Midgely transcriptions, 'Summaries of Answers of the Master Glovers who Gave Evidence to the Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the Glove Trade in Ludlow, 17th Nov., 1816'.

²⁹⁴ SA, LB, 15/2/225. Poor Rate assessment, 1788; DL, EB, 1804-11, 1812.

²⁹⁵ Felton, *Proceedings in the Court of Chancery*, pp. 43-45.

²⁹⁶ SA, LB, 11/4/117, QS, 3rd March, 1690, deposition.

²⁹⁷ SA, LB, 11/4/244, QS, 7th June, 1813, deposition.

²⁹⁸ SA, LB, 11/4/213, QS, 5th May, 1784, deposition.

Gate 'five Cattle Skins and Castlings Skins out of the Drench Tubb there'.²⁹⁹ Glovers who were retailers needed outlets, such as that of John Griffiths, glover, in Shoemakers' Row in 1727, 'to which his customers resort'.³⁰⁰

Trades such as shoemaking and tailoring tended to be mobile, as the equipment needed was light and easily transportable. In 1826, for example, Samuel Hodnet, tailor, announced that he 'is removed from his residence in the Bull Ring to a house in Corve Street next door to Mr Evans, land surveyor'.³⁰¹ Trades with heavier plant, however, and with bulky raw materials and products, were more selective of location. *The Book of Trades*, published in 1821, remarked that 'the trade of a tanner cannot be carried on without considerable capital', citing 'a roomy yard, sheds and pits with plenty of water' as 'indispensable requisites'.³⁰² Tanners like Roger Powis, whose inventory in 1698 listed 36 dicker (360 hides) of 'shrunk leather tanned and in vatte', valued at £180, and Richard Greenhouse, who in 1817 had 'about 20 tons of bark' and several pit pumps, beams, scales and weights, were men of this kind. Powis, at 99 on the east side of Corve Street (p.170), had spring water and a long, narrow burgage, but Greenhouse had only a compact courtyard next to the Unicorn on the west side of the street, though there was a ready water supply from the Corve.³⁰³

Long lasting installations often occurred in the food making trades. Malt-houses and kilns were prominent buildings, their size usually requiring a plot two or more perches wide. One malt-house advertised in 1815 was 57 feet by 18 feet.³⁰⁴ Twenty malt-houses were marked on Wood's 1835 map, some of the largest on the east side of Corve Street south of Conduit Close, where the back lane afforded access for wheeled vehicles. Two of these, at 137 and 139 Corve Street, are still standing, though adapted to other uses, but others, such as that at 143 and 144 Corve Street, described in 1832 as 'capable of making 5,000 bushels of malt in a season', have been

²⁹⁹ SA, LB, 11/4/168, QS, 29th Oct., 1741, deposition.

³⁰⁰ SA, LB, 11/4/155, QS, 1st March, 1727, deposition.

³⁰¹ SCM, Griffiths Scrapbook, p. 381.

³⁰² Cited by Trinder, B., and Cox, J., *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford* (Chichester, 1980), p. 44.

³⁰³ HRO, AA/20, will of Roger Powis, 11th April 1698; *ibid*, will of Richard Greenhouse, 25th Oct., 1817; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, p. 151; SCM, Griffiths Scrapbook, p. 235; PRO, IR, 23/71, Land Tax Assessment, 1798, Corve Ward.

³⁰⁴ *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 6th Jan., 1815, p. 2, col. 4.

demolished.³⁰⁵ The most immovable of industrial buildings were the mills, often at the heart of small industrial complexes, as described above (p. 215). With their leets, bylets, weirs and attached meadows, the mills were major features of the townscape. The adaptation of some of what had traditionally been corn or fulling mills to other uses was a significant factor in sustaining Ludlow's economy, that of the mill at Steventon, described in 1719 as 'a paper Mill consisting of 26 hammers' being an example.³⁰⁶

Because of restrictions of space on their premises, some Ludlow manufacturers and traders sought facilities elsewhere. Butchers owned or leased small fields on the edge of Ludlow for fattening livestock; and they needed slaughterhouses, such as the Corporation property (C42) in Pepper Lane which had long been annexed to 11 and 12 King Street. Formerly 'a messuage', this had become 'a beasthouse' in 1779, 'a stable with hayloft over' in 1779 and a slaughterhouse by 1843, operated by John Nash, butcher, the leaseholder of 11 and 12.³⁰⁷ Ironmongers also tended to have subsidiary premises to their shops, for storage and manufacturing. John Smith, brazier and ironmonger for example, who traded at 3 King Street from 1809, eventually with his partner Humphrey Smith, also had a warehouse in Quality Square, and a small nail workshop in Frog Lane. For butchers, ironmongers and others, such divisions of premises were inconvenient, but to operate their businesses they had no choice but to adapt to the property restraints around them.

2: Speculative building, principally for 'the lower orders'.

As observed by Summerson in his classic study *Georgian London*, 'speculative building is a very old way of making money'.³⁰⁸ From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, as the population of Ludlow increased, there was a demand for what can be called 'low status housing'. This section looks at the way in

³⁰⁵ *Salopian Journal*, 17th Oct., 1832, p. 3, col. 4.

³⁰⁶ *Worcester Postman*, 507, 6th-13th March, 1719, p. 6.

³⁰⁷ SA, LB, 4/1/1498, lease, 28th Oct., 1779; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 183, lease, 28th Oct., 1806; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Poor Rate Book, 1843, entry 1108.

³⁰⁸ Summerson, J., *Georgian London*, 2nd edn. (Penguin, 1962), p. 38.

Fig. 85: Low status housing.



A: A short row of houses at the front of the anomalous piece of triangular land in Upper Galdeford (57-75). The house on the left, with timber framing re-fronted with brick, is probably a survivor from one of the two small houses on the site in 1672. The others, exemplifying frontal infilling, were built after 1774 by William Tipton, staymaker.¹

B: Back buildings behind the Nag's Head Inn in Corve Street, photographed c.1900 by Jane Green, a Ludlow amateur photographer with an interest in social conditions. They were built before 1843 by Robert Atkins, builder.²

C: Another photograph by Jane Green, showing 'the Vineyard' behind 63 Lower Broad Street, where five messuages were built before 1797, probably by William Corne, breeches maker.³

¹ Watkins Pitchford, *Hearth Tax, 1672*, p.166: Richard Brecknock, 2 hearths, Richard Gwynitt, 1 hearth; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-1787, p. 333, lease of messuage 'now used as two small messuages, 13th Oct.,1787; SA, LB, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 313, lease of 'five messuages', 28th Oct., 1818.

² SA, LB, 15/2/245, Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 1309-1314..

³ SA, 5411/46, assignment of messuage now converted and used as five messuages', 26th Aug., 1797.

which such housing was provided, nearly always within the framework of existing property boundaries.

The Hearth Tax exemptions and other evidence show that there was considerable low status housing in the immediate post-Restoration period. The Corve Street draft for the 1667 Poll Tax (see Chapter 3, p. 60) names 51 chargeable households. These are listed in a traceable street sequence which, in conjunction with other evidence, enables early all the houses to be identified. The households who were exempt from some or all of the tax are then listed separately, but the order seems to be haphazard, and most of them cannot be allocated to particular properties. The fact that stretches of the middle part of Corve Street were not yet rebuilt after Civil War damage is a further complication. It is not known therefore where most of the poor of Corve Street lived, though their houses certainly existed. The same is the case for the rest of the town, where there is no Poll Tax draft to supply even the names. The problem recurs in the 18th century, when about a quarter of heads of households in the 1724 Easter Book cannot be matched with the window tax.

From the mid-eighteenth century records reveal an increasing number of low status housing developments. Some of these were small closely packed houses round or on three sides of small open spaces, located within existing plots. They occurred in many towns, Carter and Lewis highlighting their 'smallness and sometimes higgledy-piggeldy shapes', and naming them 'courts', though that term has other connotations.³⁰⁹ The earliest on record, at 75 to 79 Lower Galdeford, had a building divided into two houses by an entrance passage on the street front, and two small houses behind, the later probably built by John Bedford, tiler, who died in 1725.³¹⁰ The inventories of Bedford and his wife Emma, who lived in one of the front houses, record just two rooms: a kitchen below, a chamber above, with goods valued at £4 10s. More clearly defined courtyards occurred later at 4 to 8 Lower Galdeford, built by Francis Nicholson, mason before 1796; at 118 to 119 Lower Galdeford, in the town ditch, developed over a period, but completed by Edward Passey, shoemaker,

³⁰⁹ Carter, H. and C. R. Lewis, *An Urban Geography of England and Wales in the nineteenth century* (London, 1990), pp. 167-8.

³¹⁰ HRO, AA/20, will of John Walburg, 8th Feb., 1680; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minutes, 1712-46, p. 99, lease to John Bedford, 26th Sept., 1721; HRO, AA/20, 16th Dec., 1725, will and inventory of John Bedford; HRO, AA/20, 3rd Sept., 1728, will of Emma Bedford.

before 1834; and at 5 to 10 Frog Lane, probably built by George Brittain, mason, in the 1830s.³¹¹

A more common kind of development was back building along narrow plots, the process Conzen called 'repletion', again creating courts or yards between tightly packed houses and other buildings.³¹² Back building in Ludlow was considerable but not intense. The pattern is a mixed one, with dense development on a few plots, but much smaller developments in most cases. The earliest example is probably at 98 Corve Street, where the Green Dragon alehouse, with three dwellings behind, was bequeathed by Samuel Heath in his will made in 1766.³¹³

Examples of back buildings are shown on Figs. 85B and 85C. Small scale back development took place at 31 to 39 Mill Street, where there were three messuages by 1814 but six by 1843; at 28 Old Street, where there were five cottages behind the White Hart Inn by 1821; and behind 2 Dinham, where, in a very confined space, there were three messuages in 1838.³¹⁴ The greatest concentration of back building was on the north west side of Upper Galdeford, where there were over 70 low status houses by 1843, but the fullest developments on particular plots were at Warrington Gardens in Lower Galdeford, and at Dean's Yard and Noakes' Yard on the east side of Old Street. These all developed in phases. Warrington Yard (renamed Warrington Gardens after rebuilding in the 1890s) occupied two burgages, which each had three houses by 1798.³¹⁵ The number perhaps increased after 1825, when the owner, George Brittain, took out a mortgage, and reached 17 after 1835, when the mortgage was transferred to John Warrington of Edgeware Road, Middlesex, joiner.³¹⁶ At Dean's Yard at 11 to 21 Old Street, a single three perch wide burgage, four houses were built in 1751, two with nine windows each – perhaps

³¹¹ SA, 1141/7/1, conveyance, 10th July, 1809; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 268, lease to Edward Passey, 28th Oct., 1813; HRO. AA/20, 24th Feb., 1834, admin, Edward Passey; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 845-851; SSDC deeds, packet 236, conveyance, 28th April, 1888, with map.

³¹² Conzen, *Alnwick*, p. 68.

³¹³ HRO, AA/20, will of Samuel Heath, 11th Dec., 1770.

³¹⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 278, lease, 13th Oct., 1814; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, entries 158-165; SA, 1141/3, transfer of mortgages, 6th/7th April, 1821; *Salopian Journal*, 12th Nov. 1838, sale notice.

³¹⁵ HRO. AA/20, will of Robert Plummer, 17th May, 1786; SA, 2030/2/271, conveyance, 24th Jan., 1801..

³¹⁶ SA, 2030/2/71, mortgages, 25th Sept., 1825, and 28th March, 1835.

Fig. 86: Seelcted back building in Ludlow, in approximate chronological order.

block	nos.	street	D	E	owner	occupation	residence if out of Ludlow
			D	number of back houses			
			E	date when building could have started			
L	11 to 21	Dean's Yard	4	1754	Stephen Vale	mason	
V	68	Lower Broad	7	1760	William Corne	glover	
R	34	Old	3	1768	William Foster	innkeeper	
L	11 to 21	Dean's Yard	3	1771	William Foster	innkeeper	
F	94-98	Corve	3	1772	Samuel Heath	innkeeper	
J	57-75	Upper Galdeford	6	1774	William Tipton	staymaker	
T	67	Broad	2	1776	Jonathan Massey	cabinet maker	
H	35-53	Upper Galdeford	5	1776	Thomas Tomkins	farmer	Onibury
K	118-119	Lower Galdeford	3	1780	Richard Morris	gardener	
H	11 to 17	Upper Galdeford	6	1780	William Beech	brickmaker	
J		Shenton's Yard	4	1782	William Jennings	wheelwright	
R	28	Old	6	1789	John Davies	innkeeper	
J	War.Gdns	Lower Galdeford	10	1791	John Harley	baker	
J		Shenton's Yard	4	1794	John Collier	Gent	
J	41-42	Lower Galdeford	4	1798	Edward Eggington	ironmonger	
K	99-104	Lower Galdeford	6	1798	John Harley	baker	
E	54-57	Corve	6	1798	Trustees	Independnt Church	
E	50-53	Corve	5	1799	Richard Roberts	skinner	
L	23 to 35	Noakes Yard	14	1802	John Noakes	grocer	
Y	31 to 39	Mill	6	1803	Francis Maund	joiner	
V	71	Lower Broad	3	1805	Richard Adams	farmer	Silvington
L	11 to 21	Dean's Yard	11	1806	John Dean	shopkeeper	
V	63	Lower Broad	2	1806	William Adams	Gent;	Ludford
J		Shenton's Yard	3	1807	Thomas Shenton	farmer	Ashford Carbonell
J	corner	Upper.Lower Gdfd	2	1810	Edward George	maltster	
H	19 to 21	Upper Galdeford	2	1810	James Meredith	wheelwright	
F	101	Corve	1	1810	Joseph Price	glover	
L	37 to 35	Old	3	1810	Richard Holland	paper manufacturer	
K	82-89	Lower Galdeford	2	1819	John Brown	tailor	
R	13	Broad	2	1820	Thomas Bowen	innkeeper	Bromfield
V	63	Lower Broad	3	1824	Mrs Adams	widow	Ludford
H	57-75	Upper Galdeford	5	1826	Samuel Davies	mason	
K	105-108	Lower Galdeford	2	1826	Thomas Hotchkiss	saddler	
Y	8	Dinham	2	1827	Thomas Harding	innkeeper	
F	153	Corve	2	1827	Thomas Wood	maltster	
H	9	Upper Galdeford	1	1829	James Waring	Gent	
V	44 to 50	Lower Broad	5	1831	Alexander Watkins	joiner	
K	62-66	Lower Galdeford	3	1831	William Harding	grocer	
K	118-119	Lower Galdeford	3	1834	Benjamin Pitt	butcher	
H	57-75	Upper Galdeford	4	1835	George Brittain	builder	
J	War.Gdns	Lower Galdeford	7	1835	John Warrington	joiner	London
G	27	Bull Ring	4	1835	Samuel Deyos	butcher	
H	77-103	Upper Galdeford	5	1840	Norrege Thomson	grocer	
F	130	Corve	3	1843	Robert Atkins	builder	

sharing the front elevation, with two smaller cottages behind.³¹⁷ By 1806, following a long period of ownership by William Foster, innkeeper, and his heirs, the property had eight dwellings, which were conveyed to an innkeeper, John Dean.³¹⁸ The date of the next building phase is unknown, but in 1843 the property had 18 houses.³¹⁹ Numbers 23 to 35, however, occupying the adjacent burgage, had only one messuage in 1802, when the property was conveyed to John Noakes, grocer.³²⁰ Part of the property to the south was acquired in 1808 and the back building of 13 more houses probably occurred after that date, perhaps before Noakes migrated to Ashford Carbonell to become a farmer by 1820.³²¹ Often, the dwellings were alongside other buildings, there being three nail shops in Dean's Yard in 1806.³²²

Analysis of all known back building projects shows that they were evenly spaced in time, with never more than seven, or less than four, during each decade between 1770 and 1840. As shown on Fig. 86 (p. 230), they came from a wide social spectrum, with builders the largest group, followed by innkeepers. The professions, however, were not represented, and there was little gentry interest. With the exception of William Foster, innkeeper, no developer became involved in more than one of the projects listed, though the builders, especially, were involved in other enterprises. No less than seven developers lived outside Ludlow, five of them within Ludlow's inner region (Zone 1), with John Warrington, exceptionally, coming from London.

3: Rows, terraces and 'double houses'

Towards the peripheries of the town, where the pressure on space was less, rows of small houses facing the street sometimes developed. The houses at 137-145 Old Street- four by 1797, six by 1846 – are of this type, as were the cottages at 2 to 6 Lower Mill Street, now demolished.³²³ Such rows also occurred where plots were

³¹⁷ SA, LB, 8/3/123, 1751 Window Tax assessments, Old Street ward, 'building' ; *ibid*, 8/3/1251753.

³¹⁸ SA, 1141, conveyance, 27th Aug., 1806.

³¹⁹ SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 868-886.

³²⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p.155, lease, 13th Oct., 1802.

³²¹ SA, LB, 2/1/7, lease to John Noakes of Ashford Carbonell, 28th Oct., 1820.

³²² SA, 1141, conveyance of various properties including 'three nailshops', 27th Aug., 1806.

³²³ SA, 1141/5, conveyance of four messuages, 25th March, 1797; PRO, IR, 29/14/143, Tithe Apportionment and Map, Ludford, 1846; SCM, Globe Insurance, 8th

shallow due to physical restraints. The garden of the Old Street mill, between Temeside and the River Teme, had four houses along it in 1794, increasing to eight by 1825.³²⁴ In the town ditch between Upper Linney and the town wall, adjoining groups of houses, stables and a nailshop, built at different periods but creating an almost continuous street frontage, formed another kind of row.

In places in Ludlow terraces, 'rows of dwellings all of the same design', were created.³²⁵ Described by Borsay as 'islands of ordered elegance amidst a sea of vernacular architecture', terraces were the epitome of 18th century politeness.³²⁶ In central Ludlow the fragmented nature of property ownership made it difficult to create the kind of features that adorned Bath and Cheltenham, but occasionally there were opportunities for very short terraces. One was at 54 to 56 Mill Street, shown on Fig. 87A (p.233). In 1739, the Greyhound Inn, a development along the side of a property abutting to Castle Square, was demolished, as part of a project to 'improve' this part of the town by removing the Shambles.³²⁷ The owner took the opportunity of erecting a short but impressive terrace of three tall houses, advertising them 'to be let' in 1742 as 'three well built houses'.³²⁸ Another was the eight bay 'tenement' at 37-45 Old Street, built from 1740 and 'divided into three tenements' by 1742.³²⁹

Two adjoining houses of the same style under one roof, though technically not a terrace, do reflect the Georgian passion for symmetry, and have been usefully termed 'double houses'.³³⁰ The earliest such 'double house' in Ludlow was built at 9

April 1831, to John Dyke of Caynham, '3 small dwellings of brick', '2 small dwellings of stone'.

³²⁴ SA, LB, 4/1/1572, lease of 'tenement now used as several dwellings' (4 tenants named), 28th Oct., 1794; *ibid*, 4/1/1570, lease of 'eight messuages', 28th Oct., 1825.

³²⁵ Girouard, M., *The English Town* (Yale, 1990), p. 155.

³²⁶ Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance*, p. 62.

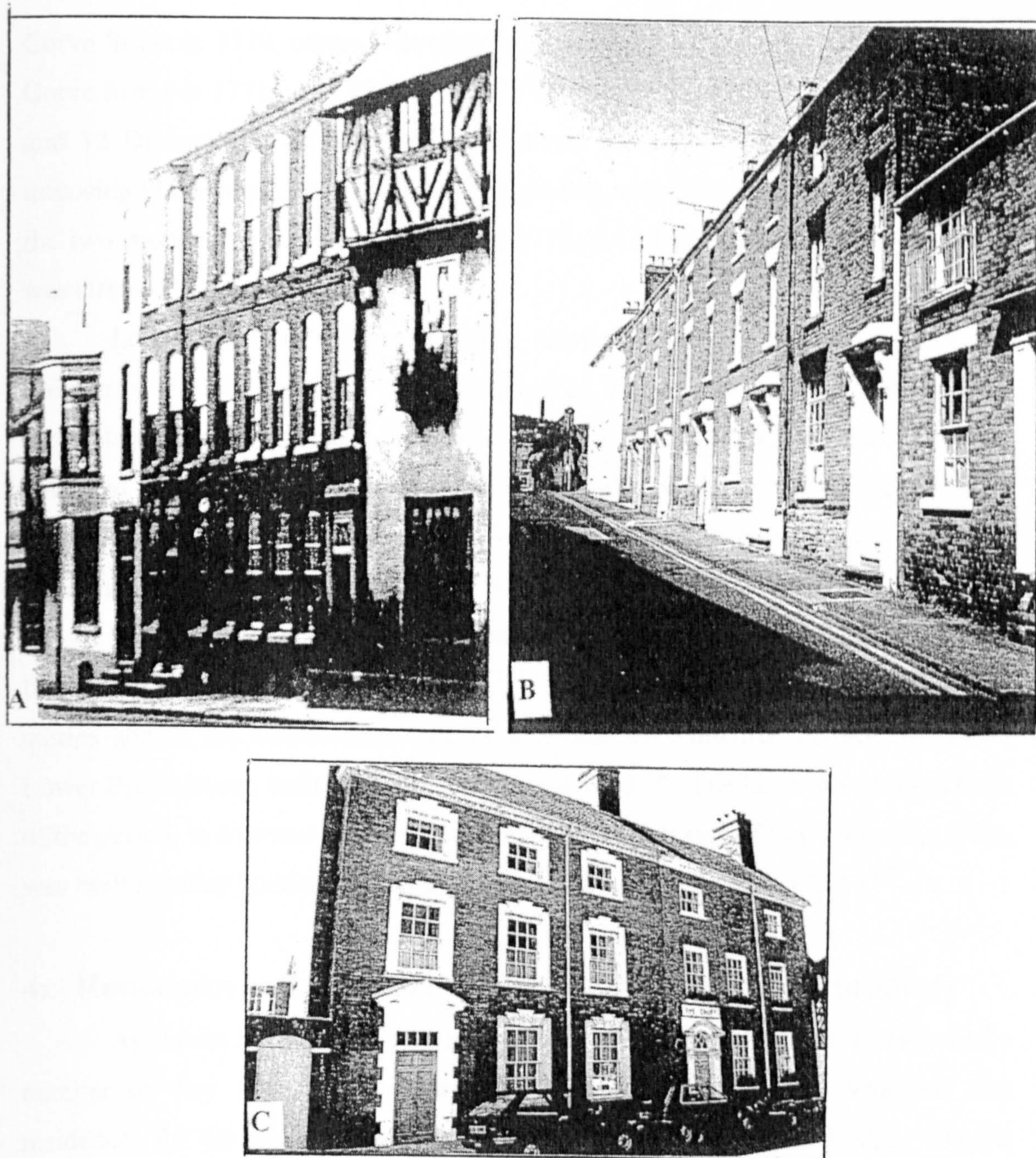
³²⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p.306d, 14th April, 1739.

³²⁸ *Aris's Gazette*, 18th Oct., 1742, p. 4, col. 3.

³²⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 321d, licence to alien, 'one messuage'; *ibid*, p. 323d, 25th May, 1742, 'messuage now divided into three tenements'.

³³⁰ Beckett, J.V., seminar, 'Urban Renaissance in Nottingham', Wolverhampton University, 14th Oct., 1996.

³³⁰ Drain-head date; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 53d; SA, LB, 2/1/6, p.148, lease, 25th Feb., 1757; SA, LB, 4/1/1415, lease, 27th July, 1770, to Thomas Cadwallader, innkeeper, 'in consideration he lay out £400 at least if he builds two houses'; SA, LB, 8/3/152-55, Window Tax assessments, 1772: 6, 1773: void, 1775: 18.



A: This photograph, enlarged from an original taken about 1920, shows 54 to 56 Mill Street, a terrace of three houses built between 1739 and 1741 by Henry Karver, attorney.¹ The front elevation of 54 (left) has been altered and a bow window inserted, but 55 and 56 are close to their original appearance.

B: An imposing five unit terrace built on the north side of Bell Lane in the early 1840s, on land owned by Thomas Alcock, a Parliamentary candidate. This is lateral infill, along the side of a long burgage abutting onto Broad Street.²

C: Nos. 11 and 12 Dinham, a 'double house' built by a speculative architect and builder, Duncan Campbell of Bishop's Castle in the early 1770s.³

¹ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-1746, p. 293d, lease to Mr Benjamin Karver of 'messuage in Shambles', 9th Dec., 1736; HRO AA/20, will of Benjamin Karver, 24 Jan. 1737, 'messuage called the Sign of the Greyhound to nephew Henry Karver'; inscription on drain-head: HK, 1741.

² SA, LB, 15/2/245, Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 351-356.

³ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-1787, p. 162, licence to alien to Duncan Campbell, Esq., 'messuage and orchard called Upper Christ Croft', 8th Oct., 1771; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 22nd March, 1777, 'new built houses to be sold'.

Corve Street in 1739, others following at 35 to 36 Broad Street in 1757; 14 and 15 Corve Street in 1771; and 20 to 22 Castle Street in 1773.³³¹ Another example is 11 and 12 Dinham (Fig. 85C), built speculatively in the early 1770s.³³² This is an imposing three storey, six bay range, though door and window details differ between the two properties. When advertised in 1777, the advantage of 'fronting the mall' was stressed.³³³

Longer terraces followed in the nineteenth century, some on sites not previously used for housing. Two, described as 'newly built' in the 1820s, were a three storey terrace of four houses built at 51 to 57 Old Street on land previously occupied by a 'barn and stable'; and a very similar block at 1 to 4 Upper Linney along the edge of former gardens, with fine views to the hills north of Ludlow.³³⁴ A third rather longer development was Friars' Terrace, probably started in 1831 on the site of a number of small properties just above Friars Walk, the entrance to which became an arch through the new terrace.³³⁵ Technically a back building, but of three stories and in the architectural style of a terrace, is Whitcliffe Terrace behind 49 Lower Broad Street, built after 1831 but before 1843.³³⁶ The last town centre terrace of the period, in a former builder's yard along the north side of Bell Lane (Fig. 87B), was built in rather special circumstances from 1840 (see chapter 5, p.289).³³⁷

4: Residences and gardens for the elite, their impact on property

As shown in chapter 3, Ludlow in 1669, for a town of its size, already had a number of very large houses. Some of these, slightly adapted, remained elite residences for the whole 1660 to 1848 period, for example Castle Lodge. Others, such as Barnaby House and the College, were used as elite residences at first, but were later sub-divided into smaller dwellings. Several were refashioned or entirely

³³² SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 162, licence to alien to Duncan Campbell of Bishop's Castle, 8th Oct., 1771; SA, LB, 8/3/155, Window Tax assessments, 1775.

³³³ *Shropshire Chronicle*, 22nd March, 1777, p. 3, col. 4.

³³⁴ SA, 5411/133, conveyance, 18th July, 1825; PRO, I.R., 23/71, Land Tax Assessments, 1798; deeds of 2, Upper Linney, Corporation lease, 28th Oct., 1828, 'four newly erected messuages'.

³³⁵ Inscribed date on roof of 81; SCM, John Wood 1835 map of Ludlow.

³³⁶ SA, 1141/15, conveyance, 2nd, Feb., 1831, 'messuage'; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 403-7.

³³⁷ PRO, Prob.11/1359, will of John Lewis, timber merchant, 8th June, 1801.

rebuilt on their existing sites, as at 41 Mill Street or Dinham House. These will be considered in chapter 6. Here, the focus is on those properties where neighbouring land was annexed in order to create a residence suitable for elite or polite society, thereby making an impact on the town plan.

Amalgamation of adjacent properties sometimes occurred. Before 1660 three of the four properties on the site of High Hall (p. 162) were owned by John Aston, Member of Parliament for Ludlow during the Commonwealth, and a fourth was added by Judge Timothy Littleton before 1669.³³⁸ The large house built on the site had 50 windows in 1722, but was rebuilt after 1773.³³⁹ South of Brand Lane various amalgamations and later divisions occurred, to create the large properties with gardens reaching the town wall (p.191). Before the Civil War the site of 7 Corve Street (p. 166) contained three Corporation properties, but by 1685 these had been consolidated into a single lease, with a new house built by 1706.³⁴⁰ The site of 113 Corve Street (p. 170) contained a four perch burgage and a two perch half burgage in 1660, but there was only a house of modest size – 21 windows – here in 1724.³⁴¹ After 1817, however, and probably before 1828, the huge Stone House was built here, with space for stable and coach house.³⁴²

In Conzen's 'middle and southern plan unit', with properties in the main streets backing to those in the parallel lanes (Raven Lane and Lower Raven Lane), there was an incentive for property owners in the main streets to acquire one at the rear also. By 1833 and probably much earlier, a burgage in Raven Lane (F205), which had long been owned by carpenters, became annexed to 54 Broad Street (p.198), though the alignment was partial, not complete.³⁴³ In 1837 the property was advertised as 'a capital mansion', with 'a large and convenient garden, an good coach

³³⁸ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 1.

³³⁹ SA, LB, 8/3/96, Windox Tax assessment, 1722; *ibid*, 8/3/147-155, Window Tax assessments, 1766-75; *Hereford Journal*, 5th July, 1787, p. 3, col. 1, '...mansion which has been lately erected'.

³⁴⁰ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 223; *ibid*, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 52d., lease to Mr Hammond 'to continue the posts in Corve Street before his house', 9th June, 1694.

³⁴¹ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Burgage Rental, 1669, p.28; *ibid*, 8/3/98, Window Tax assessment, 1724.

³⁴² SSDC Deeds, Stone House, abstract of chancery case, *Johnstone v. Baker*, 1817; *ibid*, will of Rev. Thomas Hodges, proved 6th Sept., 1827.

³⁴³ SA, 1141/2, sale of messuage, out-offices, coach house, stables, yard and garden, implying extension to Raven Lane, 1833.

house, and stables', having indeed 'every other requisite for a large and genteel family'.³⁴⁴ East of Broad Street (p. 193), the redundant north south strip gave number 15 in that street a particularly large garden, part of which was described in 1774 as 'a Pleasure ground' and part 'walled in for Kitchen'.³⁴⁵ Acquisition in 1726 of a garden in Brand Lane gave the owners of 15 Broad Street access to that lane, where a coach house and other buildings were erected.³⁴⁶

• Possession of a scenic outlook was sometimes another incentive to acquire additional property. The long garden of Broad Gate House (p.202), adsorbing a number of small properties, gave opportunity for 'delightful views of Whitcliffe Hill and the River Teme'.³⁴⁷ An advertisement for 'Castle House' (High Hall, p.162) in 1787 made the extravagant claim that the garden commanded 'rich prospects replete with great variety of beauty and vast extent, unrivalled by any in Ludlow'.³⁴⁸ At 3 Brand Lane (p.191), where the garden had been extended by purchase in 1683, there was 'a very good garden with the ancient city (SIC) walls at one end and a terraced walk, with a view of the Clee Hills'.³⁴⁹

5: Grandiose plans and aspirations

Remarkable plans for large scale property development were mooted in Ludlow during this period. They did not materialise, but they do show that people in the town had aspirations and imagination, which may have inspired and encouraged some of the lesser projects that did occur.

The first came from William Gower, an Oxford graduate who had been Member of Parliament for Ludlow from 1690 to 1695 and 1700 to 1702.³⁵⁰ His wife, Sarah, buried at St Laurence's on 20th December 1686, was the daughter of Thomas Lambe, Alderman of London.³⁵¹ It was perhaps these London connections that in

³⁴⁴ *Salopian Journal*, 26th, April, 1837, p. 1, col. 4.

³⁴⁵ *Shropshire Chronicle*, 17th Dec., 1774, p. 3, col. 4.

³⁴⁶ With deeds of 4 Brand Lane, conveyance, 2nd Aug., 1726.

³⁴⁷ Deeds of Broad Gate, map with conveyance 5 Feb. 1852; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 10th Sept., 1813, .

³⁴⁸ *Hereford Journal*, 5th July, 1787, p. 3, col. 1.

³⁴⁹ Beesly, P., *Ludlow Houses: 27 Broad Street, 3 and 4 Brand Lane* (Ludlow, 1960), long lease, 1683; Oman, C, *Ayot Rectory*, (London, 1965), p. 21.

³⁵⁰ Weyman, H.T., 'The Members of Parliament for Ludlow', *TSAS*, vii (1895), 1-54 (pp. 36-7).

³⁵¹ *Ibid*; *LPR*, p. 525.

August 1703 led to Gower being invited to become the first Custodian of Ludlow Castle.³⁵² His knowledge of the capital and of the squares such as St James's and Soho, which had been laid out since the Restoration, would certainly have underlain the suggestion which he made in writing on 22nd June 1704 to Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan, then Speaker of the House of Commons and a politician of rising consequence.³⁵³ An abstract of the letter reads:

Enclosed draft is of a petition to the Queen that, in as much as the buildings of Ludlow Castle have suffered greatly from neglect, so that their repair would cost many thousands of pounds, and that it is a remote place of no service to the Queen or Royal family, she would grant a lease of the Castle, with all the buildings, courts, gardens, and bowling green, with the ditches and other grounds outside the walls for a term of years; and that the Castle may be pulled down and the ground built into a handsome square, to the great advantage of the royal subjects of the ancient Corporation.

Had this project come to fruition, Ludlow would have been in the first group of English provincial towns to have a square, that at Warwick laid out after the fire of 1694 being a Midlands example.³⁵⁴ In the event, no more is heard of the scheme and no reply from Harley has been found, though it may be relevant that Gower was replaced as Custodian on 3rd July 1704, just a fortnight after he had written his letter.³⁵⁵ However, he was to be given 'a reasonable time for removing his family and effects from the castle'.

The second imaginative scheme to be considered came in a published letter by an anonymous writer to the Burgesses and Fellow Residents of Ludlow, dated 1808.³⁵⁶ He begins by extolling the merits of Ludlow. The scenery 'is beautiful in a high degree'. The air is 'as pure as can be wished for', and no place 'has better water'. There are 'medicinal springs in the neighbourhood'. There are 'admirable varieties of situation for delightful Walks'. You have, he urges, 'as beautiful a situation for erecting neat houses as could be desired in an inland town'. The details of a substantial genteel housing development on Whitcliffe are then put forward. The fine views across the Teme valley to the town and to the hills beyond are eloquently

³⁵² *Calendar of Treasury Books (CTB)*, XVIII, 1703 (London, 1936), p. 383, 'licence to William Gower to take into his custody the castle of Ludlow', 26th Aug., 1703.

³⁵³ HMC, *Report on the MSS of the Dukes of Portland*, 8 (London, 1893), p.125; *DNB*, XXIV, (London, 1894), pp. 399-406.

³⁵⁴ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 75.

³⁵⁵ *CTB*, XIX, 1704-05 (London, 1938), p. 299.

³⁵⁶ Original possessed by the late R. Ogston of Ludlow; photocopy in writer's possession.

extolled. 'I do not say that you would ever become a formidable rival to Bath', he modestly adds, but then proceeds to actually name 'the Crescent', 'Charlton Place' and 'Ludford Row', all 'beautiful residences'.

6: Socio-Economic Layout of the Town

Since the Middle Ages the line of the medieval High Street market place, with its extension along what is now Tower Street, had been the economic spine of Ludlow.³⁵⁷ This continued during the 1660- to 1848 period.³⁵⁸ The eastern two thirds, from Galdeford Gate to the west end of High Street, were always predominantly commercial, with shops below and living premises above occupying most of the burgages, though with inns and public buildings interspersed. Like sprigs from a branch, there were short extensions of this 'central business district' along the Bull Ring, Old Street and Broad Street. The interlacing of open spaces with 'rows' and 'islands' in the centre of this strip, shown on Fig. 66 (p.197), gives a distinctive character to this part of Ludlow, sections of which were used for the street and livestock markets and fairs.³⁵⁹ Most of the town's traders and their households lived here, usually in upper storeys above their shops. Further west, however, Castle Street retained some of the character it had in the Tudor period, when Churchyard in 1587 noted that 'on every side thereof fayre houses are', several of them occupied by members and officials of the Council of the Marches.³⁶⁰ Some of their successors lived here in the post-Restoration period, and elite residences lasted throughout the 1660 to 1848 period.³⁶¹ Many of these were occupied by lawyers, while others were altered or rebuilt by land-owning gentry.³⁶²

³⁵⁷ This is clear from early rentals, e.g. SA, LB, 5/3/62, Palmers' Guild rental, c.1283-84, which itemises shops or 'selda'.

³⁵⁸ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843.

³⁵⁹ SA, LB, 11/4/147, Quarter Sessions, 5th April, 1720, deposition of Richard Fewtrell, implies that White Lion Inn (20-22 Castle Street) adjoined the Horse Market, which was, therefore, in Castle Square; SCM, Griffiths Scrapbook, 1816-26, p. 265, Tower Street described as 'near the Cattle, Sheep and Pig markets', which were in the Bull Ring and adjoining streets. .

³⁶⁰ Churchyard, *The Worthiness of Wales*, pp. 84-86.

³⁶¹ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, pp. 1,6; Faraday, 'The Ludlow Poll Tax Return', p. 114.

³⁶² Weyman, *Ludlow in Bye-Gone Days*, p. 52, High Hall sold to James Poole by Mrs Kettleby, 1773; SA, LB, 8/3/153-55, suggests rebuilding 1773 to 1775; *Hereford*

The large property blocks to the south – R, T and X – had a commercial character in their northern parts, especially in Broad Street, where shops reached as far as two major coaching inns, the Angel (R, p. 193) and the Crown (T, p. 198).³⁶³ Elsewhere in blocks R, T and X (p.206), and in Q (p.191), U (p.200) and W (p.205), further south, there were large houses facing Broad Street, Mill Street and Brand Lane.³⁶⁴ Several of these were rebuilt or re-fronted between 1690 and 1770, making this a prime residential area, though there were lower status properties - workshops, stables, alehouses and smaller houses - along Raven Lane, Bell Lane and Silk Mill Lane.

The blocks further west – Y (p. 209) and Z (p. 212) – also contained high status residences, some of them, such as 41 Mill Street and Dinham House, on large sites formed by amalgamations before 1660.³⁶⁵ However, there were also pockets of craft industries and smaller houses, as on the east side of Dinham and in the redundant street, Christ Croft (p.209), while back building occurred along some plots on the west side of Mill Street, making this an area of mixed socio-economic character.³⁶⁶ Over the 1660 to 1848 period, however, the balance altered, especially in Dinham, where the development of the former ditch as ‘the Mall’ from the 1740s helped to create an ambiance of gentility.³⁶⁷

Developments of a different kind occurred along the ‘ancient north south routeway’ of Old Street, the Bull Ring and Corve Street, where the burgages were orientated east to west. The Bull Ring and the upper part of Old Street, reaching into Tower Street (blocks G and L, pp.173 and 182) had generally small plots, which were tightly developed with shops and upper living premises in front, and slaughter houses,

Journal, 5th July, 1787, p. 3, col. , sale of ‘spacious and elegant Mansion House near the Castle....which has been lately erected’.

³⁶³ Faraday, ‘The Ludlow Poll Tax Return’, pp. 111-113.

³⁶⁴ SA, LB, 8/3/85-155, Window Tax assessments, 1696-1775; tenorial histories of individual houses, held by Lloyd, D. J.

³⁶⁵ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, pp. 8, 10.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 11; SA, LB, 4/1/922, lease of Christ Croft to Francis Jones, weaver, and Thomas Jones, weaver, 4th Jan., 1722; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 158-165, 8 houses at 31-39 Mill Street, owned by Francis Maund, joiner.

³⁶⁷ *Hereford Journal*, 15th April, 1801, p. 3, col. 2, sale notice of Dinham Hall, ‘opening to the Mall or public walk’.

stables, warehouses, and workshops behind.³⁶⁸ This was a zone of tradesmen and artisans. Further south, along Old Street (block L and the east side of block R, p.193, and Q, p.191), development was mixed, with some large houses and inns, but also intense back development of low status housing, especially, after 1800, in Dean's Yard and Noakes's Yard.³⁶⁹

The long suburb of Corve Street (pp. 166, 168 and 170) was also an area of mixed development. The northern part, colloquially known as 'lower Corve Street' (p. 168), was a specialist industrial area throughout the 1660 to 1848 period, with tanning predominating at first, then supplemented by glove manufacture and malting.³⁷⁰ The industrial zone extended southwards, taking advantage of long burgages, especially those abutting to a back lane south of what is now Station Drive.³⁷¹ In the mid-eighteenth century, however, many large houses were built by successful manufacturers, especially on the west side, with fine views of Whitcliffe and the Castle.³⁷² The most southerly part of the street, with the slope rising to Corve Gate, was also mixed in character, but with a number of high status residences especially on the west side, some of them built on damaged Civil War sites.³⁷³ By the nineteenth century this high status residential character extended northwards, with gentry and professional people occupying the former houses of glovers and other manufacturers.³⁷⁴

³⁶⁸ SA, Clark and Co. collection (1141), 6, mortgage, by John Taylor, maltster, 7th March, 1728, of 'two messuages, malt-house, stable, pigsty, convenient house and mixen place' (identified as 35-41 Bull Ring).

³⁶⁹ SA, 1141, conveyance, 27th Aug., 1806, 'for some years divided into several dwellings', 7 resident heads of household listed, plus three nailshops; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 848-86, 18 houses on the site.

³⁷⁰ Faraday, 'The Ludlow Poll Tax Return, 1667', p.110; six tanners, a shoemaker and a dyer are listed for the west side of lower Corve Street; SA, LB, 8/3/226, Window Tax assessment, 1762; DL, Easter Book, 1763-71. These documents show two maltsters and three glovers, as well as a dyer and three tanners.

³⁷¹ Private deeds, 137 Corve Street, which had the house and workshops of the Hattams, masons and joiners, from 1676 to 1784, and the house and malt-house of James Valentine, maltster, from 1801 to 1810.

³⁷² SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 327d, lease of 13 Corve Street to Walter Griffiths, glover, 17th Feb., 1742; SA, LB, 8/3/133, Window Tax assessment, 1750, 'in building'.

³⁷³ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, pp. 72d, 94, 191, leases of three separate properties, united in a single lease to Rowland Earsley, 13th Oct., 1682; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, lease of 'house, stable, garden, orchard (identified as 8 Corve Street), 14th Aug., 1717.

³⁷⁴ See Appendix 3F.

The other suburbs had a lower status character. To the south of the town, there were continuous street frontages in Lower Broad Street, with predominantly artisan housing, extended by back building from 1760.³⁷⁵ There was intermittent development in Holdgate Fee, Temeside and Lower Mill Street, in blocks M (p. 182), N (p. 132), O (p. 186), P (p. 189) and V (p. 202), with some farm buildings throughout and room for terraced housing in the early 19th century.³⁷⁶ From 1660 to the mid 18th century, there was sporadic settlement east of the town in Upper and Lower Galdeford, in blocks H (p.175), J (p.177) and K (p.180), with a number of barns and other farm buildings as well as generally small houses.³⁷⁷ Many of the sites were later filled in by low status housing, as small courts or as back building, and by a range of industrial buildings, typically for crafts such as those of wheelwrights and nail-makers.³⁷⁸ Several inns, some of them with plentiful stabling, were located here.³⁷⁹

Meadows and some arable land and market gardens, with occasional buildings, occupied the town's peripheral land, especially off Weeping Cross Lane (block M, p. 182), between Lower Mill Street and Dinham (block AA, p. 214) and in Linney (blocks AB, and part of D, p. 216).³⁸⁰ There were small industrial complexes at the mill sites along the River Teme, the largest at the Castle Mills in Dinham (block AA), which had its own cluster of artisan cottages.³⁸¹

The mosaic of plots and developments which gave the town its socio-economic character was a complex one. It has been shown that distinct zones can be recognised, such as the high status residential areas centred on the middle part of Broad Street (blocks Q, p. 191, and U, p. 200) or the western side of Dinham (block Z, p. 212); the predominantly industrial area in lower Corve Street (block E, p. 168);

³⁷⁵ SA, LB, 8/3/144, Window Tax assessment, Lady Day, 1763, showing a house on almost every property on both east and west sides of Lower Broad Street; SA, 5411/46, assignment of 'messuage now converted and used as five messuages', 26th Aug., 1797 (identified as 68 Lower Broad Street).

³⁷⁶ SA, 1141/5. conveyance of messuages on east side of Holdgate Fee (later 137-145), 25th March., 1797.

³⁷⁷ SA, LB, 4/1/34, pp. 20-23.

³⁷⁸ HRO, AA/20, will of William Beach, brickmaker, 1st March, 1780, left six houses on one burgage (11-17 Upper Galdeford) to son Benjamin.

³⁷⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/8, Corporation Minute Book, 1830-35, licence to alien, The Fox Inn in Upper Galdeford 'with stables, outbuildings and yards', 28th Oct., 1833.

³⁸⁰ *Salopian Journal*, 15th Feb., 1837, p. 1, col. 6, sale notice, 'freehold meadow called The Friars with brick built stables, cow house, calves cot and shed'.

³⁸¹ DL, 1828 Corporation map of Ludlow and its fields.

and the congested, low status housing and industrial area north west of Upper Galdeford (H, p. 175). But the social distinctions were rarely absolute. In 1667 William Griffiths, Gent., lived in a ten hearth house at 14-15 King Street on the south side of King Street (block R, p. 193) in the heart of the town's commercial zone, with Evan Phillips, 'eldest Clerk of Government of his Majesty's council in the Marches of Wales', as a lodger.³⁸² The 1841 census records two small cottages at the rear of 2 Dinham (block Y, p. 209), valued at £3 15s and £3 respectively, at the heart of a complex including 7 Dinham, Castle Lodge, and 54 to 56 Mill Street, valued at sums ranging from £18 5s. to £36 10s.³⁸³

³⁸² SA, LB, 4/1/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 25; Faraday, 'The Ludlow Poll Tax Return, 1667', p. 120'; St Laurence's Church, chancel wall.

³⁸³ SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 134-41.

Chapter 5

The Ownership of Ludlow properties

This chapter begins by establishing that Ludlow Corporation leaseholds can be equated with freeholds for ownership analysis. The chapter describes and seeks to explain the pattern of ownership in 1669, using the Burgage Rental of that year and other documents. It finishes with a similar analysis for 1843, using the first surviving Ludlow Borough Poor Rate Book. The intervening sections consider changes in ownership across the whole period, describing first owners who lived in Ludlow, then those from elsewhere. Owners are categorised in a number of ways, including their membership of the occupational and social status groups considered in chapter 4 (pp. 76-81, Fig. 13), and their places of residence. In describing ownership, frequent reference is made to the properties and their layout described in chapter 4.

Attention is drawn to the many owners who had just one or two Ludlow properties, to those who accumulated or inherited what are called 'small urban estates' and to 'immigrant entrepreneurs' who accumulated a number of holdings. A tendency for some owners, from a diversity of backgrounds, to build 'larger estates' from 1760 is one of a series of indicators of demographic, economic and social change in Ludlow in the second half of the 1660 to 1848 period, a theme that will be considered more fully in chapter 7 (pp. 346-48). The gathering of properties for political purposes, part of Ludlow's turbulent politics of the 1830s and 1840s, is a feature of the latter part of the study period.¹ The membership of dynasties and kinship networks is also explored, and their importance for property ownership is highlighted, as is the pattern of ownership by women.

The chapter draws upon the data base provided in Appendix 4, and uses case studies to illustrate trends and processes.

1: Corporation leaseholds

For the purposes of this study leaseholders of Corporation properties are equated with freeholders. In 1690 the Corporation began the practice of including a covenant for renewal in their leases, giving security of tenure, so that apart from the

¹ Mason, J. F. A., 'Parliamentary Representation, 1832-85', *Victoria County History (VCH), Shropshire*, III (London, 1979), pp. 336-39.

annual payment of rent, and the charge of an entry fine at renewal, the leased property was a virtual freehold. For the thirty years before that, and in fact back to the sixteenth century, petitioners for renewal of leases, or for licence to alienate them, had always been successful, so the insertion of a covenant clause from 1690 was in effect the formalisation of a well known practice.²

The first extant lease to have a covenant is that to John Salwey, Esq., dated 20th March, 1690.³ The entry fine was £5 and the annual rent 12 shillings. The details were recorded in the Corporation Minute Book, no doubt because of the significance of this lease. . The minute reads:

Lease to John Salwey Esq. of his house in Broad Street, with a covenant at the expiration of 24 years of this term to grant him a new lease at the like fine and rent but if not renewed within seven years of the end of the term then a six shillings fine every year the same is not renewed to be added to this fine.

This arrangement was no doubt meant to encourage early petitions for renewal, bringing the Corporation an entry fine earlier than if the lease went to its full term.

2: Ownership in 1669

In 1669, Ludlow's 539 properties were owned by or held as secure Corporation leases by 268 people, an average of nearly two properties for each owner. As shown on Fig.88, only nine landowners had more than six properties and none had more than eleven; while 157 persons owned a single property. Ludlow at this time therefore had a pattern of property ownership corresponding more closely with that of Dudley, which had 175 owners in 1649, than with that of seventeenth century Truro, 'where most land belonged to a few landowners'.⁴

The large number of owners is one feature of Ludlow's 1669 pattern of ownership. The nine largest landowners were not the grandest gentry of the surrounding countryside, as was the case for example at Monmouth, but came from predominantly professional backgrounds, though often related to armigerous

² Shropshire Archives (SA), Ludlow Borough Collection(LB), 4/3/1-340, petitions prior to 1690, though some of these are for first time leaseholders, not for renewals.

³ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 9.

⁴ Roper, J. S., *Dudley: the Town in the Seventeenth Century* (Dudley, 1963), pp. 9-10; Palmer, J., *Truro in the Seventeenth Century* (Truro, 1989), p. 15.

Fig. 88: Size of Ludlow property holdings, 1669

A	Properties in individual	
	holdings	
B	Number of owners/Corporation	
	leaseholders having that number	
	of holdings	
C	Total number of	
	properties	
A	B	C
1	157	157
2	47	94
3	26	78
4	16	64
5	10	50
6	3	18
7	3	21
8	1	8
9	2	18
10	2	20
11	1	11
Total	268	539

families.⁵ Four were lawyers or their widows, among them Timothy Littleton, Esq., Sergeant at Law and a Member of Parliament for Ludlow.⁶ Two others, William Archer, Esq. and William Deverell, were Clerks to the Council of the Marches.⁷ William Griffiths and John Acton came from gentry stock but in Ludlow had become a mercer and a glover respectively, though by 1669 Griffiths had ceased trading and

⁵ Rees, W., *A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales, 1609-1613* (Cardiff, 1953), pp. xxvii-xxix.

⁶ Henning, B. (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1660-90*, II (London, 1983), p. 753.

⁷ College of Arms (Col. of Arms), RR 19/E/E, Visitation of Herefordshire, 1663, pp. 160-1; Public Record Office (PRO), Chancery (C.), 8/201/56, Complaint of Avery Price of Holdgate Fee, Ludford, glover, 3rd Nov., 1675; Hodges, W., *An Historical Account of Ludlow Castle* (Ludlow, 1794), p. 98.

in 1672 had a ten hearth house at Burway.⁸ The last was Valentine Rawlins, a curate at Rochford in Worcestershire, but his ten properties had been inherited from his father, a Ludlow ironmonger.⁹

At the other end of the scale, the 157 owners with a single property came from a wide occupational and social range. Of those resident in Ludlow, nearly half were owner occupiers, many of them small scale craftsmen, traders and labourers. Examples include Henry Child, a cooper who had a freehold four hearth house at 17-19 Corve Street, with inventoried goods valued at £110 4s 6d; Edward Slade, butcher, who had a freehold two hearth house at 13 King Street; and Richard Brecknock, labourer, who had a one hearth house on a Corporation property in Upper Galdeford, with goods valued at only £4 1s 1d.¹⁰ Others owned or leased a single property, but were tenants elsewhere, for example Richard Blackpatch, miller, who tenanted one of the Castle Mills from the Corporation leaseholder, Sir Job Charlton, but who owned a property at 24/25 Broad Street, where his own tenant was Richard Wigley, blacksmith.¹¹ Several persons from higher social groups owned only a single Ludlow property, among them the Rector, Ralph Fenton, who lived in the glebe Rectory, but also had a close in what is now St Mary's Lane.¹² Local gentry were well represented among those owning only a single property in Ludlow, among them Sir Job Charlton of Ludford, Richard Herbert of Oakly Park and Thomas Powys of Henley Hall, who all lived within two miles of Ludlow, and whose families were later

⁸ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 25; Watkins-Pitchford, W., *The Shropshire Hearth Tax Roll*, 1672 (Shrewsbury, 1949), p. 170.

⁹ Worcestershire Record Office (WRO), Rochford Parish Register, Rawlins signed as curate 1668-87; PRO, Probate (Prob.), 11/214, will of William Rawlins, ironmonger, 14th Dec., 1650.

¹⁰ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 26; Herefordshire Record Office (HRO), AA/20, will and inventory of Henry Child, 19th Jan., 1685; SA, LB, 4/2/34, p. 25; HRO, AA/20, will and inventory of Edward Slade, 8th Dec., 1675; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 20; HRO, AA/20, will and inventory of Richard Brecknock, 31st July 1679.

¹¹ HR, AA/20, will and inventory of Richard Blackpatch, 23rd July, 1673; custody of David Lloyd (DL), Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 5; SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 14.

¹² SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 14; Faraday, M. A., 'The Ludlow Poll Tax Return, 1667', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society (TSAS)*, LIX (1971-72), 109-21 (p. 114).

participants in a sixty year struggle to secure a lasting hold on Ludlow's Parliamentary seats.¹³

Between the extremes of ownerships came just over a hundred persons each with between two and six properties. The pattern is a mosaic of widely different circumstances and case histories, some of which can be illustrated from the 22 dealers within this group. They included a number of innkeepers, among them Richard Scott, who owned The Crown, a three burgage freehold property in Broad Street, with inventoried goods valued at £212 1s 4d.¹⁴ Scott acquired another freehold and leased four Corporation properties, some of which were investments but two of which, a freehold and an adjoining leasehold in Lower Galdeford, were associated with innkeeping. They had no buildings but were able to provide fodder and grazing for horses.¹⁵ Several persons had a town centre residence and a peripheral field, among them John Bowdler, a mercer with goods valued at £530 4s 11d, who lived in a Corporation leasehold at 1 Broad Street and owned a close off lower Corve Street.¹⁶

A second feature of the pattern of ownership in 1669 was the wide occupational and social range. The 176 owners resident in Ludlow, just over three quarters of all owners, came from nine of the classes listed in Fig. 89, including two from the *dependent* group: one of them Matthew Howell, a resident in Hosier's Almshouses.¹⁷ The largest group of owners were the *manufacturers*, accounting for 44.38% of the total, followed by the *dealers*, with 20.22%. The twenty shoemakers, for example, included Thomas Cleobury, a member of the Corporation assessed for Church Lewn at 1s 9d, and nine others assessed at 1s or more, as well as three persons assessed at 4d; while two others, William Ambler and Lewis Heighway, both of whom lived in Mill Street, were not assessed for the Church Lewn and were exempt

¹³ DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, pp. 5, 9d; SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 28; *Victoria County History, Shropshire*, III (London, 1979), pp. 256-60.

¹⁴ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, p. 18; HRO, AA/20, will and inventory, Richard Scott, 23rd Nov., 1685.

¹⁵ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 22, F94 & C191, now Nos. 109-115, Lower Galdeford; *ibid*, p. 22; DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 15.

¹⁶ HRO, AA/20, will and inventory of John Bowdler, 24th Sept., 1690; SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 27; the close was the north part of the triangle of land between Corve Street and St Mary's Lane (Fig. 45, p. 168).

¹⁷ SA, LB, 4/2/1/15, p. 7, 'Names of the poor admitted and Remayninge in the Almshouse, 8th October, 1669'.

Fig.89 Ownership of Ludlow properties, 1669

A	B	C	D	E	F	H	J
Code	Grouping	Ludlow		"Foreign		All	
	[1]	owners	%	owners"	%	owners	
		[2]					
1	Agriculture	7	3.93	6	11.54	13	5.65
4	Building	14	7.87	0	0	14	6.09
5	Manufacturing	79	44.38	3	5.77	82	35.65
6	Transport	2	1.12	0	0	2	0.87
7	Dealing	36	20.22	6	11.52	42	18.26
8	Finance	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	Labour	7	3.93	0	0	7	3.04
10	Professional	20	11.24	13	25	33	14.35
11a	Services	0	0	0	0	0	0
11b	Domestic	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	Gentry	11	6.18	24	46.15	35	15.22
13	Dependent	2	1.12	0	0	2	0.87
		178		52		230	
	Unspecified [3]	20		3		23	
	Place of residence unknown					20	
						273	
1	See p.70, esp. fn. 52.						
2	Date from appendix 4.						
3	Place of residence known but not occupation or social status.						

from the 1672 Hearth Tax.¹⁸ The *builders* and *agriculturalists* showed a similar range but the ten *labourers*, predictably, were all of modest circumstances, with lewn payments of 6d. or 4d., all those who paid Hearth Tax having one hearth only. Between them, however, they owned or held under the Corporation ten properties, with Henry Fayres owning a freehold in Lower Broad Street and leasing two small

¹⁸ Faraday, ‘Poll Tax Return, 1667’, pp. 116, 117: both Ambler and Heighway are named in the list at the end of the Castle ward assessment, an indication of limited wealth. Ambler can be identified as a corviser from his will, HRO, AA/20, 29th Jan., 1694; Heighway from a Quarter Sessions deposition, SA, LB, 11/4/94, 28th March, 1668.

Corporation tenements in Old Street, in one of which he lived.¹⁹ Predictably, the *professional* and *gentry* groups were much more prosperous, paying an average church lewn of 1s 6d and living in houses which averaged five hearths each, though five of them had ten hearths or more. People in these groups owned or leased from the Corporation an average of 3.5 properties each, though a number had only one, among them John Winwood, a Clerk of the Signet.²⁰ A characteristic gentry holding was that of John Newton, Esq., of Heightly in the parish of Chirbury, a former student of Grey's Inn, who owned his residence, now 7 Dinham, and leased two adjoining Corporation properties.²¹

The 52 owners and Corporation leaseholders known to have lived outside Ludlow, 22.61% of the total, had a rather different social composition, with only four from *manufacturing* and none from the *building* trades. Seven were *farmers*, a class which was to have increasing importance in the ownership of Ludlow properties. There were also 14 *dealers*, four of whom were London merchants, one of them Henry Barnard Esq., an Alderman of the City of London, who had acquired the Ludlow estates of the once influential Townshend family.²² Barnard had associations with Bridgnorth but it was his marriage to Emma, daughter of Robert Charlton of Whitton, which cemented his link with the Ludlow district.²³ Of the 109 non-residential owners, however, over two thirds came from the *professional* and *gentry* groups. The former included the Registrars of Worcester and Hereford diocese, and also four clergymen, all of these coming from Ludlow families.²⁴ The predominant influence, however, was that of the 24 *gentry*. Most of these lived on modest estates

¹⁹ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 15, property F160 (9-14 Lower Broad Street); SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 211d., properties C176 & C177 (part of Friars' Terrace).

²⁰ SA, LB, 15/1/59, Church Lewn return, 1669; Watkins-Pitchford, *Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672*, pp. 162-67; Faraday, 'Ludlow Poll Tax Return, 1667', p. 112.

²¹ SA, 6001, 4084, Morris, Joseph, *Genealogical Manuscripts*, Vol.111, p. 1175; Foster, J. N., *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 1892), p. 1065; SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 9; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 78.

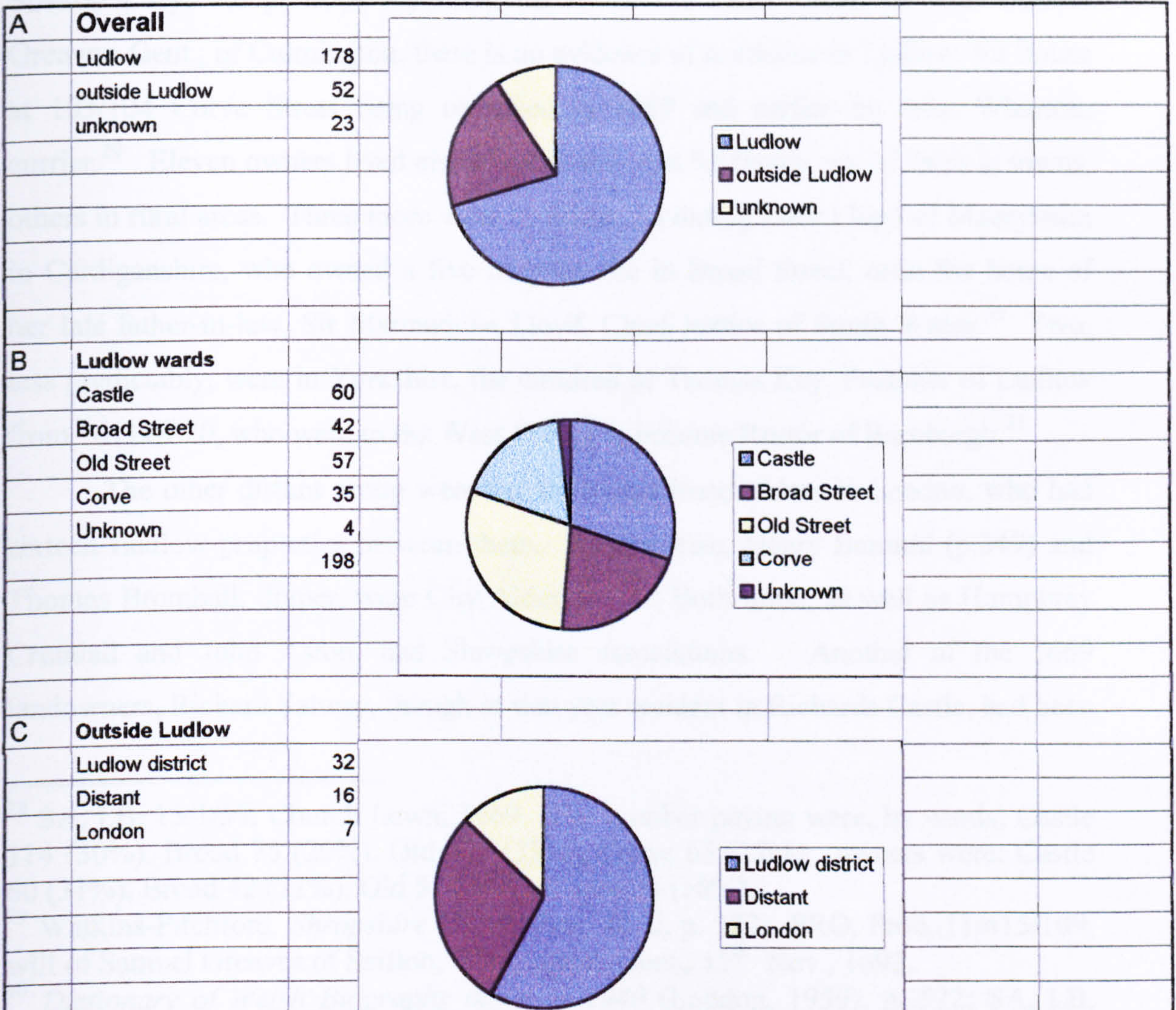
²² Woodhead, J. R., *The Rulers of London, 1660-1689* (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1965), p.24; SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 21; DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 3.

²³ Col. of Arms, RR 19/B/G, Visitation of Shropshire, 1663, p. 64d.

²⁴ Havergal, Rev. F.M., *Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford* (Hereford, 1881), p. 59, Griffith Reynolds, LLB, Registrar; WRO, BA, 3585, will of Thomas Vernon, Principal Registrar of the Diocese of Worcester, 25th Sept., 1693.

fifteen miles from Ludlow, among them Baugh of Aldon, Powell of Stokesay and Whitchcott of Burford, all of whom presented their coats of arms at the Heralds Shropshire Visitation of 1663.²⁵ A few had larger holdings, including the Cornewalls of Berrington²⁶ and the Fowlers of Harnage Grange, a few miles south east of Shrewsbury, 'a family of great antiquity'.²⁷

Fig.90: Geographical distribution of owners and Corporation leaseholders of Ludlow properties, 1669



A third feature of the pattern of owners and leaseholders is their geographical distribution, already referred to incidentally. Within the town itself, as shown on Fig.90, the owners and Corporation leaseholders were distributed between the four

²⁵ Col. of Arms, RR 19/B/G, p.6d; SA, 6001, 4079, Morris, Joseph, Genealogical MSS, Vol. VI, p.1175.

²⁶ Liverpool, 4th. Earl, and Reade, C., *The House of Cornwall* (Hereford, 1908), pp. 86-7.

²⁷ 'Some Letters of William Fowler, Steward of Shrewsbury, 1593-95', ed. Hobbs, J. L, *TSAS*, 56 (1961), p. 273; PRO, Prob., 11/324, will of William Fowler of Harnage, Esq., 6th July, 1667.

wards in similar proportions to those of the Church lewn payers in 1669, though Old Street ward had 4% less owners than lewn payers, the other wards all slightly more.²⁸ All parts of Ludlow had some areas of small houses at this time, but the greatest concentration was in Galdeford, in Old Street ward. Of the 52 non-Ludlow residents, a group sometimes called 'foreigners', 33 (63%) lived within the greater Ludlow district as defined in Chapter 2 (pp.30-32), eleven of them in Bromfield, Ludford and Stanton Lacy, the parishes adjoining the town. In some cases, as with Samuel Greaves, Gent., of Culmington, there is no evidence of residence in Ludlow, his house at 103/104 Corve Street being occupied in 1669 and earlier by John Wharton, currier.²⁹ Eleven owners lived elsewhere in the west Midlands, six of them in towns, others in rural areas. Three more were in Wales, including Lady Lloyd of Maesyvelin in Cardiganshire, who owned a five burgage site in Broad Street, once the home of her late father-in-law, Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, Chief Justice of South Wales.³⁰ Two, less predictably, were in Yorkshire, the children of Thomas Key, Preacher of Ludlow from 1611-1620, who went to the West Riding to become Rector of Barnburgh.³¹

The other distant group were the six owner/leaseholders in London, who had sixteen Ludlow properties between them. At least two, Henry Barnard (p.349) and Thomas Bromhall, draper, were City Aldermen.³² Both these, as well as Humphrey Crundall and John Aston, had Shropshire associations. Another of the 1669 landowners, Richard Salwey, though in that year resident in Richards Castle, had been

²⁸ SA, LB, 15/1/59, Church Lewn, 1669. The number paying were, by wards: Castle 114 (30%), Broad 75 (20%), Old 123 (33%), Corve 63 (17%); owners were: Castle 60 (31%), Broad 42 (22%), Old 57 (29%), Corve 35 (18%).

²⁹ Watkins-Pitchford, *Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672*, p. 182; PRO, Prob., 11/415/109, will of Samuel Greaves of Seifton, Culmington, Gent., 11th Nov., 1692.

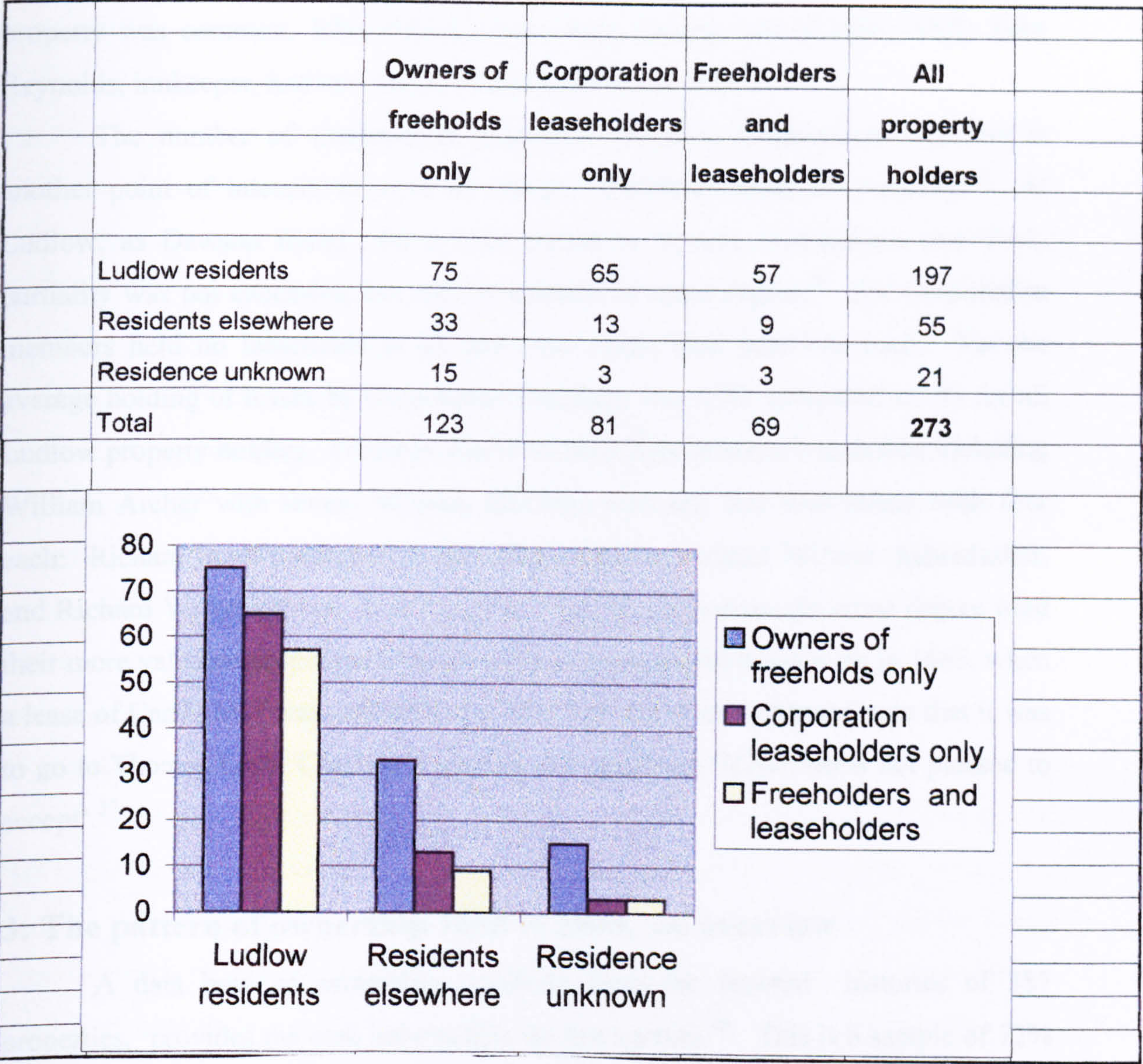
³⁰ *Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London, 1959), p. 572; SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 5.

³¹ Venn, J. and J.A., *Alumni Cantabrigienses. Part 1, To 1751* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 534; PRO, C. 3/364/60, complaint of relatives of Geoffrey Green, Gent., deceased, and answer of Thomas Key, clerk, 15th and 19th May, 1623; *Ludlow Parish Registers, 1558-1812*, (LPR), 1 (Shropshire, 1912), p. 325, burial of Margaret Green, 22nd Nov. 1622; York Registry, will of Richard Key, Barnburgh, Yorkshire, 1st July, 1687; 'Notes of Yorkshire Churches', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society*, XXIV (1917), pp. 97-98. Richard Key (bur. 1686), who succeeded his father at Barnburgh, and Abigail Key, later Fletcher, were beneficiaries of the will of Margaret Green (bur. 1622) and inherited Thomas Key's Ludlow properties.

³² Beavan, A. B., *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 1 (London, 1908), p. 132; *Wem PR* (Shropshire, 1908), p. 313; PRO, Prob. 11/360, will 30th June, 1679. In his will Bromhall leaves his wife 'one house in the town of Ludlow'.

a prominent London merchant during the Commonwealth, when, it has been concluded, ‘he had been at the very centre of commercial policy formulation’, as well as serving as Ambassador to Constantinople.³³

Fig.91 Ludlow owners and Corporation leaseholders, 1669



A fourth feature of the 1669 Ludlow pattern of ownership is the balance between freehold and Corporation leasehold properties. As show on Fig. 91, the number of persons owning freehold property only is consistently higher than the number leasing Corporation property only, though the gap is narrower for Ludlow

³³ Brenner, R., *Merchants and Revolution, 1550-1653* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 548, 603, 604; Garnier, R. and Hewlings, R., ‘The Salwey Saga’, *Country Life* (21st. Sept., 1989), 208-13 (p. 213).

residents than for those living elsewhere. Among the poorer sectors of society, there is certainly no evidence that one kind of property was easier to acquire than the other. Of the nine builders with one property, six held leaseholds and three had freeholds, but among those whose occupation is unknown, most of whom had low Church Lewn assessments, 13 single property holders had freeholds compared to eight with Corporation leaseholds. Among the richer groups, possession of both kinds of property was common, John Pearce, ironmonger, having two of each, while John Reynolds, innkeeper, had two freeholds and three leaseholds.³⁴

The number of Corporation properties leased to Corporation members is another point of interest, in view of charges sometimes made of partiality.³⁵ At Ludlow, as Dawson found for a later period at Boston, Nottingham and York, partiality was not excessive, but can be detected to some degree.³⁶ Six Corporation members held no leaseholds at all and nine others held only one each. Yet the average holding of leases by Corporation members was 1.92, compared to .93 for all Ludlow property holders. Fourteen members held three or more leaseholds, including William Archer with seven, William Griffiths with six, and four others with four each: Richard Scott innkeeper, Ralph Sharrett baker, Samuel Weaver haberdasher, and Richard Wilkes glover. It is true, also, that the Corporation to some degree used their more valuable properties to flatter or indulge powerful persons, as in 1665, when a lease of Castle Mill was offered to Sir Job Charlton, with a minuted note that it was to go to Thomas Lane, Charlton's relative and secretary, 'if Sir Job is not pleased to accept'.³⁷

3: The pattern of ownership 1660 to 1848, an overview

A data base of ownership, resulting from the tenorial histories of 387 properties, provides the core information for this section.³⁸ This is a sample of 72% of the town's properties. The central, northern and eastern parts of the town are

³⁴ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, pp.11, 23; DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p.13; Burgage Rental, 1669, pp. 6, 11; Corporation Rental, 1679, p.14.

³⁵ Ellis, C., *History of Leicester* (Leicester, 1976), p. 95.

³⁶ Dawson, E. J., 'Finance and the Unreformed Borough: a Critical Appraisal of Corporation Finance 1660-1835, with Special Reference to the Boroughs of Nottingham, York and Boston', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Hull, 1978, p. 151.

³⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 231.

³⁸ See Appendix 4.

covered almost entirely, but the coverage of the south and west is more selective, with few properties included for the western part of Dinham and for Linney north of the Upper Linney lane.³⁹ Large parts of the areas covered perfunctorily were fields while those with houses had owners of mixed social composition, so that the conclusions drawn from the remaining properties are unlikely to be excessively distorted.

Of the total of 387 properties, 44% were owned by the Corporation, the remainder being freehold. For the Corporation properties, complete tenorial histories, each covering 188 years, have been compiled for 110 properties (64%), while the mean coverage for all Corporation properties is 175 years. As explained in chapter 4 (pp. 140-144), tenorial work on freehold properties is often more difficult than for the generally well documented Corporation properties. Nevertheless, complete histories have been produced for 55 of the freeholds (26%), while the mean coverage is 137 years. Against a total of 197 properties for which a complete tenorial sequence has been compiled, there are 16 where ownership is known for less than fifty years. The working notes on two of the properties researched are presented in Appendix 2, as an indication of the method used. One of them, 17 Tower Street/1 Old Street, was a Corporation property formed by the merger before 1660 of two previously separate properties; its tenorial history is known for the full period of 188 years. The other, 30 Broad Street, was a freehold, for which it has only been possible to compile a history for 54 years, less than a third of the whole period.

The focus on ownership arises from the aims of this study, where changes in the layout and fabric of the town, and the improvement of properties, are central themes. Ownership of property gave the opportunities to develop and change it and therefore to contribute to the evolution of the townscape. For other perspectives the contribution of tenants, lodgers and other visitors would be considered too, but these are of less importance here than the owners. In 1724 six of 15 master glovers, six of twelve butchers and one of seven lawyers did not own property in the town. The proportion was even more striking among the male gentry, 18 out of 28 owning no Ludlow property. Several of the latter were lodgers, but the number included Mr Edward Botterell of Burrington, Mr Prince Lewis, who had links with New Radnor

³⁹ Properties are covered as follows: B, C, D, E, F, G, J, K, L, M, N,,Q, R, S and Y: almost all; T,U, V, W and X: most; O, Z, AB: very few; P, AA: none. Blocks AA and AB largely consisted of fields.

and Mr Foliot Walker of Onibury, all of whom rented town houses.⁴⁰ Such people contributed to the town economically, by the businesses they operated, the rents they paid and the custom they provided. But except, perhaps, for giving opinions that became part of the consensus in which the movement for change and improvement was shaped, they played no part in determining the way the town's physical form was altered.

The data base amassed from tenurial reconstruction forms Appendix 4, where the fundamental distinction is continued between owners resident in Ludlow (A) and those who were 'foreign' (B), i.e. whose main home was outside the Borough. In Appendix 4,B is formulated slightly differently from A, to allow for parishes, zones and counties to be included in the latter. An abstract of the data base is shown as Fig.92 (p. 256), which categorises the data on ownership by occupational and social status classes. The data was also sorted in other ways, e.g. chronologically and by location within the town, as seemed appropriate in the analysis. The results of this are sometimes referred to but are not presented in full.

The upper table in Fig.92 gives data on the number of owners identified between 1660 and 1848. The total is 3,080, of which 2,314 (75%) lived in Ludlow, and the remaining 766 (25%) elsewhere. Overall the largest grouping was *Manufacturing* (30%), followed by *Dealing* (20%), *Gentry* (17%) and *Professional* (14%). *Agriculture* (7%) and *building* (7%) were some way behind, while other groups had only 1% or less of the total.⁴¹ These figures are comparable in outline with those of Fig. 89 (p. 248), which refer only to 1669. Comparison of column K with columns C and H on Fig. 92 shows, however, that the 1660-69 differences between Ludlow and foreign owners persisted. *Agriculture* predictably had many more owners (179) outside Ludlow than in the Borough (46), while *Gentry* from outside (287) were more than those in the town (242). On the other hand, *Manufacturing*, *Dealing* and the *Professions* had higher percentages in the town than

⁴⁰ DL, Easter Book (EB), 1717-24 (1724); deeds, 75 Corve Street, marriage settlement citing Edward Botterell of The Heath, Stoke St Milborough, Gent.. and his son, Edward Botterell, of Deepwood in the parish of Burrington, 13th April, 1739; HRO, AA, will of Prince Lewis, Gent, 13th April, 1739; SA, 6001, 4360, Purton, Revd. R. C., folio volume of Shropshire pedigrees, p. 409, Foliot Walker was grandson of Richard Walker of Wootton and younger brother of Francis Walker, Sheriff of Shropshire, 1725.

⁴¹ 'Building' includes the category 'extraction'.

Fig.92: Ownership of a majority (72%) of Ludlow properties, 1660 to 1848

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L
Owners										
Code	Grouping	Ludlow		Zone 1	Zone 2	Distant	All 'foreign	%	All	
	[1]	owners	%	owners	owners	owners	owners'		owners	%
		[2]		[3]	[4]	[5]				
1	Agriculture	46	1.99	104	49	26	179	23.39	225	7.31
4	Building	188	8.12	2	3	14	19	2.48	207	6.72
5	Manufacturing	811	35.05	38	28	43	109	14.23	920	29.87
6	Transport	35	1.51	0	0	0	0	0	35	1.14
7	Dealing	550	23.77	4	8	68	80	10.44	630	20.45
8	Finance	28	1.21	0	2	4	6	0.8	34	1.1
9	Labour	30	1.3	1	0	0	1	1.13	31	1.01
10	Professional	358	15.47	8	21	55	84	11	442	14.35
11a	Services	14	0.61	0	0	0	0	0.13	14	0.45
11b	Domestic	12	0.52	0	0	1	1	0.16	13	0.42
12	Gentry	242	10.46	126	92	69	287	37.5	529	17.18
13	Dependent	0	100.01	0	0	0				
		2314		283	203	280	766	101.26	3080	100
Annual Ownership Units [6]										
Code	Grouping	Ludlow		Zone 1	Zone 2	Distant	All 'foreign	%	All	
	[1]	owners	%	owners	owners	owners	owners'		owners	%
		[2]		[3]	[4]	[5]				
1	Agriculture	903	2.33	1158	519	348	2025	19.25	2928	5.93
4	Building	3025	7.79	20	11	57	88	0.84	3113	6.31
5	Manufacturing	13412	34.55	400	343	784	1527	14.52	14939	30.28
6	Transport	608	1.57	0	0	0	0	0	608	1.23
7	Dealing	10466	26.96	40	184	999	1223	11.63	11689	23.69
8	Finance	310	0.8	0	13	18	31	0.29	341	0.69
9	Labour	511	1.32	16	0	0	16	0.15	527	1.07
10	Professional	5723	14.74	94	313	795	1202	11.43	6925	14.04
11a	Services	198	0.51	0	0	89	89	0.85	287	0.58
11b	Domestic	185	0.48	0	0	0	0	0	185	0.37
12	Gentry	3479	8.96	2077	13498	890	4316	41.04	7795	15.8
13	Dependent	0		0	0	0	0			
		38820					10517	100	49337	99.99
1 See p.70, esp. fn.52.										
2 Date from Appendix 5, a digest of Ludlow Borough Rate Book, 1843 (SA, LB, 15/2/245)										
3 17 parishes closest to Ludlow (see Fig. 2, p.30).										
4 106 parishes beyond Zone 1.										
5 Other places including London.										
6 Multiples of property and known length of ownership: see text										

elsewhere, as would be anticipated, these all being in large measure ‘urban activities’. Columns E to H show also that there were differences between the zones outside Ludlow. *Dealing*, for example, accounted for more many owners in the ‘distant’ group, which included several towns, among them London and the three county towns closest to Ludlow: Hereford, Shrewsbury and Worcester.

The lower part of Fig. 92 uses Annual Ownership Units (A.O.U.s), one unit being ownership of a property for one year or less by one person or persons. The total number of A.O.U.s is 49,337, 38,820 (79%) of which were of Ludlow residents, and 10,517 (21%) were of those living elsewhere. The A.O.U.s are informative because they reflect length of ownership, rather than number of owners. The similarity of the two sets of figures strengthens the validity of each, while the slight differences can sometimes be illuminating. In agriculture, for example, the A.O.U.s’ % in column L is 5.93%, compared with 7.31% for owners, a reflection, in part, of the many short term mortgages given by farmers.

The statistics allow the patterns of ownership to be quantified, but limitations must be noted. Some of these are generic. The data available makes no attempt to value the properties, though rateable values do enable this to be done for 1843, as shown below (pp. 301-306). Other limitations arise from gaps in the record. For properties when the complete tenorial sequence is known, as at 17 Tower Street/1 Old Street, the terminal dates of each phase of ownership are precise, but this is not always so. For example, at 30 Broad Street it is not known when Katherine Reade and Roger Williams acquired the property.⁴² Nor is not known how long Thomas Price of Leominster held the property after it had been mortgaged to him by Mary Gaine some time before 1705.⁴³

4: Owners resident in Ludlow with one or two properties

In all the occupational and social status groups, a majority of the owners had just one property, most of them owner occupied. The blacksmiths were an extreme case, with all 24 owners having just a single property, each owner occupied. William Wigley, at 71 to 72 Lower Galdeford, from 1679 or earlier to 1702, and Thomas Meredith, facing the Market Square at 4 Church Street from 1708 to 1756

⁴² See appendix 2.

⁴³ Ibid.

were examples.⁴⁴ There was a profusion of single owners in the clothing trades, with 52 among the 54 shoemakers. Of 31 bakers, eighteen owned a single property while another eight owned two each. One of the single property owners was William Westwood, who bought 8 Broad Street in 1801 for £400.⁴⁵ This property was later described as 'the baker's shop under the corridor', which in 1854 was still 'selling the same cakes and wigs it had done thirty five years earlier'.⁴⁶ Out of 99 innkeepers, 74 owned just a single property. Most of these were owner occupiers that came from a wide social range. At one end of the spectrum were Thomas Jones, and his heirs, who from 1721 to 1780 owned The Angel in Broad Street, one of the town's coaching inns.⁴⁷ At the other were his contemporary, Thomas Heath and his heirs, who operated a small alehouse, The Green Dragon, in their premises at 98 Corve Street from 1720 to 1772.⁴⁸ There was a similar proportion of single property owners (72%) amongst the gentry. Many of these were from rural land owning families who resided in Ludlow sufficiently long to be classed as urban gentry. An example was Richard Archer Esq. of Little Hereford, who lived at 39 Broad Street from his marriage in 1709, his widow remaining until her death in 1731.⁴⁹ A later example is provided by the Syers at 11 Dinham. From 1784, and probably from 1779, that property was owned by Elizabeth Syer, widow of Mr Richard Syer of Norton in the parish of Culmington.⁵⁰ In 1822 it passed by settlement to Charles Louise, Marquis of Croismare, who married Sophia, Elizabeth's grand-daughter, and retained the property until it was sold in 1843.⁵¹

⁴⁴ DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 17d; SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1714, p. 109; SA, Morgan (5411), 67/8, conveyance of 4 Church Street, to Thomas Meredith, 12th Aug., 1708, and 76/4, need to declare a fine, Thomas Meredith to John Roberts, 1758; SA, LB, 8/3/88-128, Window Tax assessments, 1705-58; HRO, AA/20, admin of Thomas Meredith, 15th Feb., 1757.

⁴⁵ Deeds, 8 Broad St., release, 25th March, 1801.

⁴⁶ Oman, C., *Ayot Rectory* (London, 1965), p. 206.

⁴⁷ SA, Clark & Co. collection (1141), 11, conveyance to Thomas Jones, 2nd Feb., 1721; conveyance from Mary Jones, widow, to William Toldervy, Gent., 8th Aug., 1780.

⁴⁸ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 27; SA, LB, 8/3/94-152, Window Tax assessments, 1720 to 1772; HRO, AA/20, will of Thomas Heath, inn-holder, 7th Sept., 1742; SA, Salwey and Rickards (2030), 2/224, conveyance, 22nd July, 1772, by Mary Heath, widow of Samuel Heath, innkeeper.

⁴⁹ HRO, B56/3, Folio Note Book of Phillips, B., *LPR*, I, p. 656, 2, p. 792.

⁵⁰ *Hereford Journal*, 29th July, 1779, p. 4, col. 1.

⁵¹ SA, 1141/36, marriage settlement, 27th Dec., 1822; SCM, Norton, sale notice, 18th April, 1843.

Not all single property owners were also occupants. In 1659 John Cheshire, carpenter, took out a Corporation lease for a messplace at 143/144 Corve Street, where he later built a house, but he resided at the adjoining free hold property, 145, where he was the tenant of Mary Davies (nee Crump), wife of Tamberlaine Davies, mercer.⁵² Robert Jones, Esq., a descendant of Rees Jones the lawyer who rebuilt The Feathers in 1619, owned that property from 1753 to 1781; but it was occupied by a series of landlords, while Jones himself was a tenant at 28 Broad Street.⁵³ Richard Baldwin Esq., inherited 2/3 Mill Street from his mother in 1736 and retained ownership until his death in 1779, but he lived elsewhere, for much of the time with his sister at 49 Broad Street.⁵⁴

Though numerically not very significant, particular interest attaches to the two occupational groups shown in chapter 3 to have been the least affluent: labourers and servants. Discounting widows, 22 labourers, with a total of 511 A.O.W. s; and 12 servants, with 198 A.O.W. s, owned a single property each. Sometimes other titles were used for the labourers, including thatcher, tallow chandler, and gardener, indications of some of the work they did.⁵⁵ Only one inventory has been found, that for John Preece, who held a Corporation lease on 71 Old Street from 1678 to 1713.⁵⁶ His goods were valued at £4 16s, of which £3 10s was the value of 'a chattel lease of an old house', presumably 71 Old Street.⁵⁷ The remainder, 'goods in the dec'd's

⁵² Deeds, lease and release, 12th/13th Dec., 1658; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 58; DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 4d.: the house was then described as 'a place he hath lately built'; SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 29.

⁵³ Lloyd, D.J. and others, *The Feathers* (Ludlow Research Paper, 5, 1986), pp. 17-18; SA, 5411/39/2-4, deeds of 28 Broad Street, conveyance, 26th Oct., 1751; SA, LB, 8/3/137-155, Window Tax assessments, 1755-75.

⁵⁴ HRO, AA/20, will of Mary Baldwin, widow, 16th Nov., 1736; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 13d, lease to Richard Baldwin, Esq., 24th Sept., 1740; *ibid*, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 113, lease to Richard Baldwin, Esq., 29th April, 1767; SA, LB, 8/3/116-55, Window Tax assessments, 1744-76; HRO, AA/20, will of Jane Baldwin, widow, 26th July 1779.

⁵⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 305d, lease to Thomas Richards, labourer, 26 Lower Raven Lane, 20th Feb., 1738; DL, Easter Books (EB), 1763-71 (1763 entries), Castle ward, Thomas Richards, thatcher; DL, Easter Books, 1785-88 (1788 entries), Old Street ward, Samuel Oliver, labourer, St Stephen's Yard; HRO, AA/20, will of Samuel Oliver, tallow chandler, 2nd July, 1792; DL, EB, 1788, John Bradley, labourer, at 74-76 Lower Broad Street; HRO, AA/20, will of John Bradley, gardener, 7th April, 1814.

⁵⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Books, 1690-1712, p. 115d, lease, 8th Sept., 1703; SA, LB, 2/1/35, licence to John Preece and wife to alien, 17th April, 1713.

⁵⁷ HRO, AA/20, inventory, 26th Jan., 1713.

house', were valued at only £1 5s. Two later labourers, however, Samuel Oliver (d.1792) and John Bradley (d.1814) made wills, Oliver having a value of 'under £300', while Bradley left the 'three leasehold messuages' on the property at 74 to 76 Lower Broad Street, perhaps built or rebuilt by money from the mortgage he took out on the property in 1811.⁵⁸

All the domestic servants who owned property received them as bequests from grateful employers. Sometimes these were for life only. In 1761 John Griffiths, baker, left his freehold messuage, bakehouse and brewhouse at 5 Church Street to 'Mary Jones my servant', but after her death to his nephew, Thomas Pitt of Barrow.⁵⁹ In other cases there was no such limitation. In 1753 Richard Brown, lawyer and widower, left his Corporation properties at 40 Mill Street, with the stable opposite at 15 Mill Street, to his servant Mary Owen.⁶⁰ Within three years she had married Henry Hill, a gardener of Maeslough, Radnorshire, the properties remaining with their family until 1794.⁶¹ Another servant who remarried was Jane Price, who in 1805 had been left 28 Broad Street 'with £300' by Anna Maria Vaughan, her spinster mistress for many years.⁶² In 1808 she married Thomas Palmer of Shelderton, in Clungunford parish, eventually moving to Leamington, then emerging as a fashionable spa.⁶³ Her descendants were living there in 1848, one of them named Anna Maria; but Jane had moved back to Ludlow before her death in 1847.

In most occupational and social status groups, some owners had two properties. This was often due to inheritance. From 1660 to his death in 1692 Richard Nethway, tailor, held a lease on 52 to 54 Old Street, which he inherited from his mother in law Margaret Teague; and owned 90-91 Lower Galdeford, a freehold property inherited from his paternal grand-father.⁶⁴ Often an owner lived in one property and rented out the other. From 1697 to 1740, two generations of Plummers,

⁵⁸ SA, 2030/2/166, Assignment of lease by way of mortgage, 15th May, 1811.

⁵⁹ HRO, AA/20, will of John Griffiths, 24th Nov., 1761.

⁶⁰ HRO, AA/20, will of Richard Brown, 12th Nov., 1753.

⁶¹ SA, LB, 4/2/37, Corporation Rental, 1756; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p.236, lease to Henry Hill, 28th Oct., 1777; *ibid*, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p.71, licence to Edward Owen Hill to alien, 28th Oct., 1794.

⁶² HRO, AA/20, will of Anna Maria Vaughan, spinster, 21st March, 1805.

⁶³ SA, 5411/39/11, marriage settlement; SA, 5411/39/14, will of Jane Palmer, made at Leamington, 1st Aug., 1847.

⁶⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 26, lease, 4th Oct., 1651; *LPR*, p. 555, burial, Richard Nethway, 3rd April, 1692; SA, LB. 4/2/34, p. 22.

Richard Plummer, pewterer, and his son, Richard Plummer, II, tallow-chandler, held Corporation leases for 2B/3 Bull Ring, described in 1697 as 'wherein he dwells' and for 10 to 12 Tower Street, where 'a messuage, barn, stable and backside' were rented to blacksmiths: first Edward Crowe, then John Prodgers.⁶⁵ Some second properties were acquired years after the first, suggesting investment after success in manufacturing or dealing. From 1643, for example, Philip Jones, hatter, leased a moiety of a Corporation property at 9 Bull Ring, adding the other moiety at 10 in 1674.⁶⁶

The second property was often an adjunct to the first. Edmund King, surgeon, leased the Corporation property which is now the Church Inn from before 1660 to 1694. Occupying an encroachment site on the churchyard, there was no garden, so King also leased part of the town ditch 'under ye Towne wall at ye head of brod liney', the two properties eventually becoming one leasehold.⁶⁷ Edward Wilding, butcher, was owner occupier of a freehold property, 4 Broad Street, from 1705 to 1716,⁶⁸ and also had a Corporation lease on Cox's Close in Lower Galdeford, probably using it to fatten animals before slaughter.⁶⁹ Stables were often a second property owned jointly with a residential property. 43 Mill Street, described at various times as 'stable' or 'stables', was held throughout the 1660 to 1848 period by the owners of number 7, a Corporation leasehold on the opposite side of the road. These included Tobias Eysam, Gent., from 1725 to 1768 and then his nephew, James Graham until 1831.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ SA, LB, 4/1/1778, lease (2B/3 Bull Ring), 1st Feb., 1697; SA, LB 4/1/1050, lease (2B/3 Bull Ring), 16th Oct., 1728; SA, LB, 8/3/98, Window Tax assessment, 1724; SA, LB. 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 204, lease (10-12 Tower Street), 22nd Dec., 1727; SA, LB, 2/1/56, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, lease (10-12 Tower Street), 28th Oct., 1751; HRO, AA/20, will of Richard Plummer, tallow chandler, 26th Jan., 1740.

⁶⁶ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 112, lease of 'upper or southwest of a house above the Sign of the Bull', Sept., 1643; p.199, 'the other hath...north end'.

⁶⁷ SA, LB 4/2/2, p.120; DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p.11; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 41, lease, 'messuage known as The Sign of the Cross Keys, and garden on north side of the Town Wall', 12th Feb., 1717.

⁶⁸ SA, LB, 3/1/162-68, Land Tax assessments, 1706-18; HRO, AA/20, wills of John Wilding, 11th Dec., 1705, and Edward Wilding, 12th June, 1716.

⁶⁹ SA, LB 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 132; *ibid*, p. 145d, lease of 'Coxe's Close with orchard and garden ground adjoining', 14th Aug., 1708.

⁷⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 168, licence to alien, 'messuage, garden and two stables', 20th Oct., 1725; *ibid*, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 240, lease of messuage and stables, 13th Oct., 1778.

5: Owners resident in Ludlow: small urban estates

Though the majority of all owners and Corporation leaseholders residing in Ludlow – 2,190 (94%) out of 2,323 – had only one or two properties over the 1660 to 1648 period, a small number – 132 (6%) – owned three or more properties. Of these 90 (two thirds) had three or four properties, 38 (29%) had between five and ten properties, while a very small minority, four (3%) had more than ten. The pattern is not unlike that found at Banbury by Trinder, where the Chief Rent Book for the Borough in 1831 listed 179 properties, which were owned by 117 different people, only two people – a solicitor and a brewer – having more than ten properties.⁷¹

These agglomerations of property are here called ‘estates’ but they are very different in kind from the huge aristocratic estates considered by Cannadine at Birmingham or Beckett at Nottingham.⁷² The Ludlow holdings were modest accumulations of property, often widely scattered across the town, though in a very limited number of cases – as shown in chapter 4 (pp. 231-236) – contiguity of ownership did allow mini-terraces of two, three and on one occasion six houses fronting the street, a different kind of development from the many instances of back building also considered in chapter 4 (pp. 226).

The number of such estates held by the different occupational and social status groups is one indicator of their economic vitality. Some of these estates came through inheritance but others were gathered together over a period of years, often as a way of investing capital from success in business or from other sources. Innkeepers with 13, builders with ten, and glove manufacturers, mercers and gentry, with nine properties each, have all been shown in chapter 3 (pp. 76-94) to be vibrant sectors of the economy. The professions, with eleven estates from medicine and eight from law, thrived as Ludlow sustained its roles as a market town and a fashionable social centre. The clothing trades, on the other hand, dominated by small operators, had few property accumulations of this kind, with just three for shoemakers, two for tailors and none for hatters, peruke-makers and stay-makers. There were also small numbers for the metal and wood trades, and none for farmers, chandlers and

⁷¹ Trinder, B., *Victorian Banbury* (Chichester, 1982), p. 9.

⁷² Cannadine, D., *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967* (Leicester, 1980), pp. 32-32; Becket, J., *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1966), p. 267.

wheelwrights. Other groups had intermediate positions, including seven for butchers, six for tanners and curriers and five for ironmongers. The variety of ways in which these estates were accumulated and in most cases disseminated will be illustrated by a range of examples.

Most estates built up progressively. William Harding, maltster, acquired a Corporation property, 101 Corve Street, in 1716, after marrying Hannah Powis.⁷³ From 1735 he leased the messuage and garden next door at 99, with the orchard behind and in 1738 he also leased 89-93, which had another orchard at the rear.⁷⁴ When he died in 1740 the small estate passed to his brother James, who doesn't appear to have lived in Ludlow, and was eventually dispersed.⁷⁵ Richard Greenhouse, tanner, then 38 years old, inherited 62 and 63 Corve Street from his uncle, Richard Beddoes, tanner, in 1786.⁷⁶ In 1790 he acquired an adjoining property, 64 to 66,⁷⁷ and in 1794 bought for £120 'about half an acre...called Bank Close' in St Mary's Lane, later the site of the Louisa Powell Almshouses.⁷⁸ When Greenhouse died in 1817, the lands went to Trustees 'for the benefit of the younger children', one of whom was living in Chipping Camden in 1844.⁷⁹ In 1804 George Brittain, mason and builder, inherited what later became Warrington Gardens from his father, Thomas Brittain, mason, converting what had been 'three several tenements, stables and garden' into 'ten tenements'.⁸⁰ In 1825 Brittain mortgaged these properties, probably to raise more capital⁸¹, for by 1829 he owned 93-101 Old Street, where nine

⁷³ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 146, lease (101 Corve St.) to Hannah Powis, spinster, 8th July, 1692; *ibid*, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p.37, lease (101 Corve St.) to Mr William Holland and Hannah his wife, 11th Oct., 1716.

⁷⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 287d, lease (99 Corve St.) to William Holland, 28th Jan., 1735; SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 301, lease (89-93 Corve St.) to William Holland, 5th Oct., 1738.

⁷⁵ HRO, AA/20, will of William Holland, 3rd June, 1740.

⁷⁶ *LPR*, p. 884, bap. of Richard Greenhouse, 4th Aug., 1748; HRO AA/20, will of Richard Greenhouse, 25th Oct., 1817, cites lease for life to Richard, 17th May, 1781.

⁷⁷ SA, LB, 15/2/221, Poor Rate assessment, 1780: Richard Beddoes; *LPR*, p. 1036, burial of Richard Beddoes, 11th Sept., 1786; SA, LB, 15/2/225, Poor Rate assessment, 1788, Richard Greenhouse.

⁷⁸ Deeds of Louisa Powell Almshouses, conveyance, 27th Sept., 1794.

⁷⁹ HRO, AA/20, will of Richard Greenhouse, 25th Oct., 1817; deeds, conveyance 15th Jan., 1844, from Edward Greenhouse of Chipping Camden, mercer.

⁸⁰ SA, 2030/2/271, conveyance, 24th Jan., 1801.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, mortgage to Francis Williams of Henwick, Hallow, Worcs., 25th Sept., 1825.

houses were later erected.⁸² Brittain's final property venture was at 57 to 75 Upper Galdeford, where he added two small houses and widened his activities to become a beer retailer and horse salesman as well as a builder.⁸³

Predictably, some estates belonged to prominent members of the Corporation. George Long, wine merchant, arrived in Ludlow after 1669, perhaps from Lyonshall, where property is mentioned in his will.⁸⁴ He was elected to the Corporation in 1672, serving as Bailiff three times during a membership of 46 years.⁸⁵ In that year he was living at 68 Broad Street, a seven hearth house.⁸⁶ In 1677 he leased 29 Broad Street from the Corporation, described as 'newly built by him', but sublet to tenants.⁸⁷ In 1689 he bought one of Ludlow's largest properties, The Crown Inn.⁸⁸ In 1708 he leased 'a messuage and shop near the Church Scallions', giving him a total of five properties, all in or close to the town centre.⁸⁹ At his death in 1718 29 Broad Street, was bequeathed to his daughter Dulcibella, wife of John Cottrell of Birmingham, ironmonger, and the house 'adjoining the passage to the churchyard' to his granddaughter, Elizabeth Cottrell; but the others went to his son James Long, ironmonger, who succeeded his father on the Corporation, though never holding office. By marrying the widowed daughter of William Pryce, mercer (pp 266-268), James acquired the Corporation leases on 40 Broad Street and the adjoining rear premises at 9 to 13 Lower Raven Lane, so that he too had five properties.⁹⁰ After the death of

⁸² DL, Corporation map of Ludlow and its fields, 1828; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 955-63.

⁸³ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 431, licence to alien five messuages, 28th Oct., 1826; Robson, W., *Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (London, 1840), p. 66; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 662- 68.

⁸⁴ SA, LB, 5/1/59, Church Lewn, 1669, George Long not listed; HRO, AA/20, will of George Long, 17th April, 1718.

⁸⁵ See Appendix 1.

⁸⁶ Watkins-Pitchford, *Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672*, p. 164; DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 11d, lease to John Colbatch, 'part of the house Mr Long lives in'.

⁸⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 313; e.g., SA, LB, 8/3/158, Land Tax assessment, 1702, Mrs Bulkley, widow of the former Rector.

⁸⁸ PRO, Feet of Fines CP (2), 867, 1689; Watkins-Pitchford, *Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672*, p.164: The Crown had 18 hearths in 1672.

⁸⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/866, lease, 13th Oct., 1708.

⁹⁰ LPR, p.7 21, marriage, Mr James Long and Mrs Elizabeth Harwood, 14th Jan., 1719; SA, LB, 4/1/1006, lease of 'messuage and garden in Broad Street and barn in Merivale', 16th April, 1723.

James in 1728,⁹¹ however, the estate was sold off by his heirs, his son, another George, conveying 68 Broad Street and the Crown to members of the Sayce family.⁹²

Another example of property acquisition and development over two generations by Corporation members comes from two booksellers: Edward Robinson 1 (bur.1701) and his son Edward Robinson II (bur.1717). An estate of four scattered properties had been accumulated by Edward Robinson 1 before 1660. He lived at 16 King Street, a Corporation property; leased 9 High Street, another Corporation property; and owned a freehold, 23 Broad Street.⁹³ To these he added in 1655 a 'messplace' at 10 Lower Galdeford, a 'barn and garden' by 1679.⁹⁴ As the town's leading bookseller who sold books to the Herberts at Oakly Park, a member of the Corporation from 1659 and twice Bailiff, and also the official Postmaster for at least part of the period, Robinson thrived in post-Restoration Ludlow.⁹⁵ By 1699 he had acquired another town centre property, 51 Broad Street.⁹⁶ Here, by 1709, his son, Edward Robinson II had built 'a new erected messuage', which he sold for £250 to Philip Lutley, Esq., a Diddlebury landowner seeking a Ludlow town house.⁹⁷ In 1701 and 1710 Edward Robinson I also bought two properties in Lower Galdeford and in 1716 he purchased 'the great stone house' in Mill Street, which had belonged to the heirs of a London merchant, selling it on the following April to a Ludlow surgeon, Caesar Hawkins.⁹⁸ The profits of this transaction, and some of the properties, were left to Edward's daughter, Elizabeth, who later married Henry Jordan, apothecary, giving him the core of his eventual estate of six properties.⁹⁹

⁹¹ *LPR*, p. 778, bur. 15th Dec., 1728, Mr James Long.

⁹² SA, Morgan (786), 55/6, conveyance of The Crown and other properties, 15th Aug., 1739.

⁹³ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, p. 165, lease of 16 King Street, July, 1636, and lease of 9 High Street, 8th Sept., 1659.; SA, LB, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 13.

⁹⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 95; DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 13d.

⁹⁵ NLW, Powis Castle collection, 16,928, list of books received of Robinson, bookseller, 4th Nov., 1684 to 12th June, 1686; *Calendar State Papers Domestic (CSPD)*, 1663-64 (London, 1862), p. 350; see Appendix 1 for details of Robinson's Corporation career.

⁹⁶ SA, LB, 8/3/156, Land Tax assessment, 1699.

⁹⁷ SA, Morgan (5246), 51, conveyance, 4th June, 1709.

⁹⁸ SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 6; HRO, AA/20, will of Edward Robinson, 21st Jan., 1717, 'all that messuage in Mill Street I lately purchased from the heirs of John Robinson'.

⁹⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 310d, lease (16 King Street) to Henry Jordan, 31st Jan., 1739.

6: Owners resident in Ludlow: two immigrant entrepreneurs

With the exception of the 13 properties accumulated between 1805 and 1824 by the banker, Edward Prodgers, - the circumstances of which were considered above (pp.125-128) – the largest estates owned by Ludlow residents were that of William Pryce, mercer, and his son Francis between 1681 and 1738, which eventually had 15 properties; and that of John Stead, physician, between 1684 and 1741, which at its peak comprised twelve properties. The two estates, shown on Fig.93 (p. 267), were therefore contemporary, maturing in the eventful years after 1689, when, as argued in chapter 3, Ludlow society and economy succeeded in adjusting to the dissolution of the Council of the Marches.

William Pryce came from the remote parish of Llanavon Vechan in Breconshire, a few miles west of Builth. When he died in 1719, he left 40s ‘to be given to poor persons of that parish’, adding that this was ‘where I was born’.¹⁰⁰ Stead’s place of origin is not known, but he may have been a relative, perhaps son, of John Stead of London, confectioner, to whom some of the Ludlow lands later held by Stead were mortgaged by the then owner in 1656.¹⁰¹ Though neither is listed in the 1672 Hearth Tax, they were established in Ludlow in the early 1680s, each serving as Church Warden: Stead in 1681, Pryce in 1685.¹⁰² Stead was elected to the Corporation in 1682 but held no office, and in 1696 ‘forfeited his place by his not subscribing the Association according to late Act of Parliament’.¹⁰³ Pryce, in contrast, was not elected until 1691, but went on to become Low Bailiff in 1704 and High Bailiff in 1715.¹⁰⁴ Stead lived the longer, being buried in St Laurence’s in 1741.¹⁰⁵ William Pryce was buried there in 1719, but his estate was inherited and expanded by his son, Francis, who had been baptised in Ludlow in 1687.¹⁰⁶ Francis

¹⁰⁰ PRO, Prob., 11/569, will of William Pryce of Ludlow, Gentleman, 7th July, 1719.

¹⁰¹ PRO, C. 8/144/12, bill of Henry Barnard of Ludlow, Esq., 17th June, 1661.

¹⁰² LPR., pp. 486, 515.

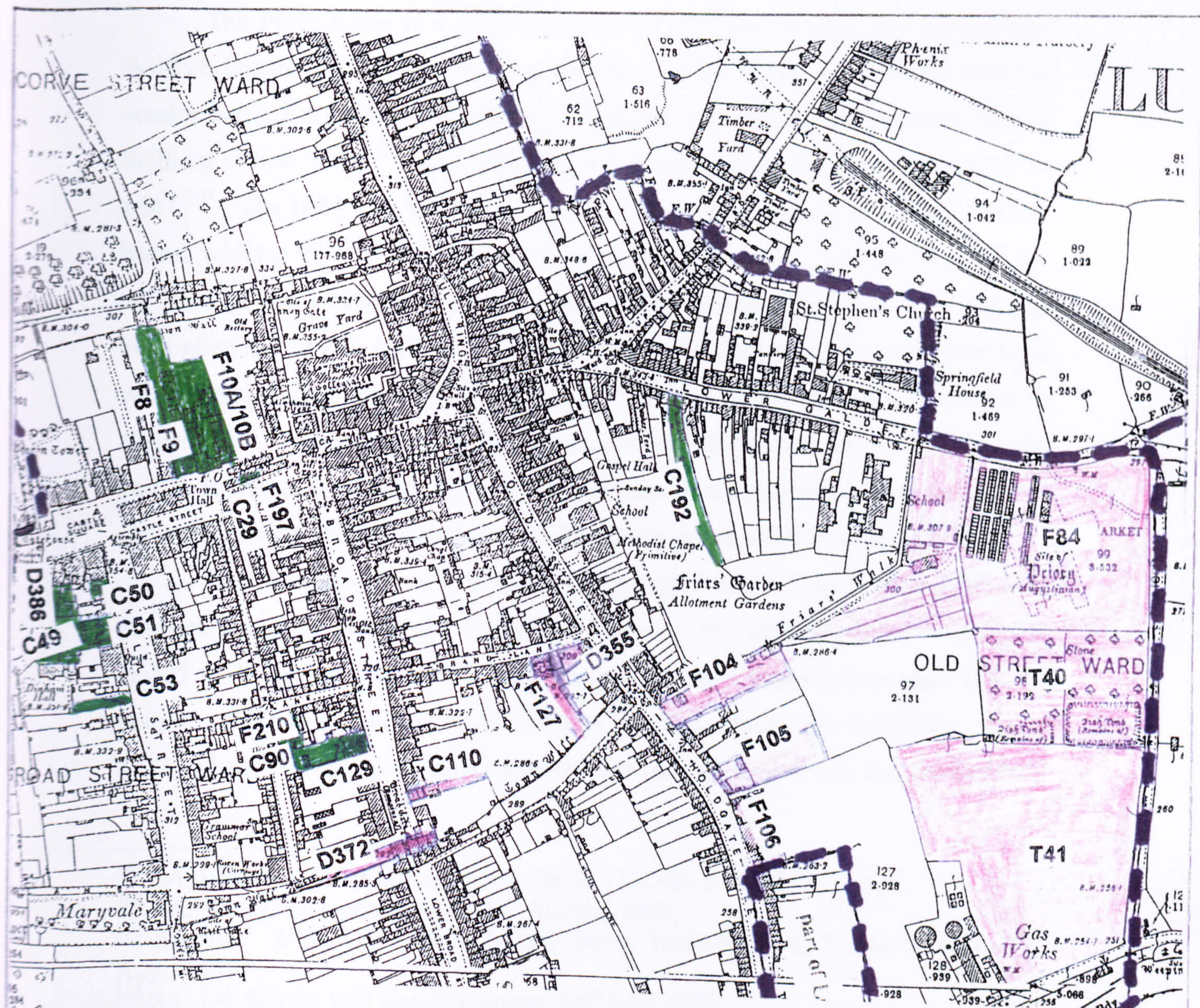
¹⁰³ SA, LB, 2/1/3, Corporation Minute Book, 1680-90, p. 18; *ibid*, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 66d.

¹⁰⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/3, p. 8; Appendix 1.

¹⁰⁵ LPR, p. 845.

¹⁰⁶ LPR., pp. 529, 717.

Fig.93: Map of part of Ludlow, showing the Pryce and Stead estates, as described in the text.



Pryce			Stead		
Corporation	C29	5 High Street	Corporation	C110	32 Broad Street
	C49	8 Dinham		D355	46-50 Old Street
	C50	Blue Boar		D372	Broad Gate
	C51	50-51 Mill Street	Freehold	F84	Austin Friary site
	C53	54-46 Mill Street		F104	91 Old Street to 3/4 Friar's Lane
	C90	9-13 Lower Raven Lane		F105	103-107 Old Street
	C129	40 Broad Street		F106	113-121 Old Street
	C192	105-108 Lower Galdeford		F127	2 Brand Lane
	D386	2 Dinham		T40	Orchard
Freehold	F8	10 Castle Street		T41	Great Meadow
	F9	8 Castle Street			
	F10a/10b	Quality Square			
	F197	4 Castle Street			
	F210	3-7 Lower Raven Lane			

quickly took his father's place on the Corporation and remained a member until his death in 1737, but held no office.¹⁰⁷

The Pryce estate is a classic example of accretion through two generations. William bought his first property, - a freehold, 4 High Street – in 1681 for £40, the vendor being Revd. Henry Watkins of Devynock, Breconshire, a few miles west of William's birth place.¹⁰⁸ An adjoining Corporation property, 5, was acquired in 1687.¹⁰⁹ The 1689 Poll Tax records that William Pryce, mercer, was living in High Street, with his wife, two children – one of whom was Francis – and one maid,¹¹⁰ but by 1694 he had moved to 40 Broad Street, another Corporation property, which had been alienated to him in 1690.¹¹¹ Properties in Mill Street and Lower Raven Lane were added during the 1690s¹¹², while by 1705 two major freehold properties in Castle Street had been acquired.¹¹³ These were The Greyhound Inn, at 8, and, to the east of it, the great complex round Quality Square which had been described in 1587 as 'a fayre house that Maister Secretarie Fox did bestowe greate charges on'.¹¹⁴

Two more properties were added to the Pryce estate during William's lifetime, but both were in the name of Francis. The first, in 1705, was a Corporation tenement at 105 to 108 Lower Galdeford, but this was leased to Francis, then aged 18, 'by petition of Mr Bailiff Pryce' (i. e William).¹¹⁵ The second, also to Francis, was in 1713, when he took up a newly created lease of a portion of the former Guildhall

¹⁰⁷ SA, LB 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 84; *LPR*. p. 829.

¹⁰⁸ SA, 5411/103/1, conveyance, 25th March., 1681.

¹⁰⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/3, Corporation Minute Book, 1680-90, p. 6, licence to alien, 17th Aug., 1687.

¹¹⁰ SA, LB, 8/3/42, Poll Tax assessment, 14th May, 1689.

¹¹¹ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 78d, lease (40 Broad St.), 26th Aug., 1697.

¹¹² SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 23d, lease (45-46 Mill St.), 8th July, 1692; SA, Morgan (768), 1, conveyance of 3-7 Lower Raven Lane, 23rd May, 1698; SA, LB, 2/1/4, 1690-1712, p. 78d, lease (9-13, Lower Raven Lane), 26th Aug., 1697.

¹¹³ HRO, Court of Noke Estate, Pembridge (AK 49), 19, conveyance and assignment, 30th Jan., 1737, attesting William Pryce's purchase of the Castle Street properties, but no date given; SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 129d, liberty to 'Bailiff Pryce' to 'make a passage through the Town Wall for carriage of his rubbish from the Great House in Castle Square into Linney', 28th Sept., 1705.

¹¹⁴ Thomas Churchyard, *The Worthiness of Wales: A Poem* (London, 1587, reprinted by Thomas Evans, London, 1776), p. 84.

¹¹⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 129, lease, 25th Sept., 1705.

enclosure, on land that had previously not been built upon.¹¹⁶ In the 1720s Francis continued with vigour to expand the estate, adding The Blue Boar in Mill Street in 1720, and 10 Castle Street, perhaps in 1722.¹¹⁷ Later, he acquired a block of properties in Dinham, embracing what are now 2, 7, 8 and 9, parts of which were freehold and part Corporation leasehold.¹¹⁸

The history of the Stead estate is different from that of the Pryces in a number of ways. At first, properties were accumulated piecemeal, beginning with 2 Brand Lane in 1684. This, the western part of what is now Brand House, was rebuilt by Stead, who received licence in that year 'to erect poles before his newly erected house in Brand Lane'.¹¹⁹ This is probably where he was living in 1689, with his wife, two sons, an apprentice and a maid.¹²⁰ In 1685 he acquired the large former Austin Priory site in Lower Galdeford, which had once belonged to the powerful Townshend family.¹²¹ To these two properties another six were then added, comprising a great swath of land in the south east of the Borough which had been owned successively by the Austin Friars, the Townshends and Henry Barnard (see p.249), from whom it had passed to Humphrey Bradshaw by 1680.¹²² Some of these properties were ancient burgages abutting to lower Old Street, others were fields, the largest of which, in the corner of Temeside and Weeping Cross Lane, was called 'the Great Meadow'.¹²³ The total area was just over eleven acres, about a twentieth of the whole Borough.¹²⁴

¹¹⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 12, lease, 28th Oct., 1713.

¹¹⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/5, pp. 91/92, lease (Blue Boar), 20th Feb., 1720; PRO, Prob., 3/37/23, invent. of goods of Francis Price, 21st Feb., 1737. The inventory suggests that Price owned 10 Castle Street, as the tenant – innkeeper Thomas Deuxall – owed him £72 rent arrears. The increase from 15 windows in 1722 to 30 in 1723 (SA, LB, 8/3/96-97, Window Tax assessments) suggests a period of rebuilding comparable to that the Pryces are known to have done elsewhere, so that the most likely date of acquisition is 1722 or earlier.

¹¹⁸ SA, 5411/88, conveyance (7 Dinham), 18th Sept., 1725; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 301d, lease (2 & 8 Dinham), 1st July, 1738.

¹¹⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/3, Corporation Minute Book, 1680-90, p. 26.

¹²⁰ SA, LB, 8/3/42, Poll Tax assessment, 14th May, 1689. . The Stead entry is at the end of the Old Street ward assessment, having been omitted from its sequential street position.

¹²¹ PRO, Feet of Fines, CP 25(2), Michaelmas, 1st James 2 (1685-86).

¹²² SA, LB, 4/2/2/, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 185.

¹²³ SA, LB, 4/2/24, Burgage Rental, 1669, pp. 21, 23; SA, Deeds of Ludlow Gasworks (3452), 1-2, lease and release, part of land called the Friars, 1st & 2nd. Feb., 1816, recitals of earlier conveyances.

¹²⁴ PRO, IR, 29/29/208, Ludlow Tithe Apportionment and Map, 1847.

Before 1694 Sutton's Close, with an area just under two acres, had been added by purchase from William Archer, Esq., a former Clerk at the Council of the Marches.¹²⁵

To this substantial estate – in area, already the largest in Ludlow – Stead in 1693 added a cluster of Corporation properties at and around the Broad Gate. The hub was the medieval gatehouse itself, 'with chambers above', which had previously been leased for 12s a year, but to this was added 'the dungeon', 'the messplace before the door of the premises' and 'messuages and gardens in Merivale', bringing the rent to 17s.¹²⁶ Later, there were further additions, especially the town ditch west of Lower Broad Street, so that by 1724 the rent had risen to 32s.¹²⁷

The ways in which Stead and the Pryces used their resources to develop and improve their properties will be considered in chapter 6. In particular it will be shown that they each made an elegant home for themselves and their families out of the fabric of much older buildings: the medieval Broad gate and the Elizabethan 'Faire House' round Quality Square. But the destiny of the two estates varied. The Pryce's Castle Street properties were mortgaged for £600 in 1734, - an indication, perhaps, of financial difficulty - but the estate was kept intact until after Francis's death in 1737.¹²⁸ By 1747, however, all the properties had been sold by the heirs, most of them to the tenants. The greater part of the Stead estate, in contrast, was broken up sooner, the former Friary lands and Sutton's Close being sold before by 1714 to Samuel Waring, a glove manufacturer and dealer of rising fortune.¹²⁹ The Broad Gate agglomeration, however, survived until after John Stead's death and was sold intact in 1741 to another physician, Samuel Spratt.¹³⁰

7: Owners resident in Ludlow: some larger estates after 1760

After 1760, when Ludlow's economic and social character began to change, as outlined in chapter 3, a number of tradesmen, none of them on the Corporation, began to accumulate modest urban estates of five, six or seven properties. Such a

¹²⁵ PRO, Prob., 11/42, will of William Archer, Esq., 16th Feb., 1694, 'whereas I have sold one close or parcel called Sutton's Close to John Stead...'

¹²⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 37d, lease, 27th Jan., 1692.

¹²⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 145, lease, 23rd Oct., 1724.

¹²⁸ HRO, Court of Noke Estate, Pembridge (AK 49), 19, conveyance and assignment, 30th Jan., 1737.

¹²⁹ Botfield, B., 'On the Discovery of the Remains of the Priory of Austin Friars at Ludlow', *Archaeologia*, xxxix (1862), 173-88 (p. 180).

¹³⁰ Deeds, conveyance, 23rd July, 1741.

man was Richard Ingram, tailor, who first appears in 1763, when he was at 10 High Street, a freehold property, paying 1s 6d Church Lewn.¹³¹ Married by 1766, he was able in 1769 to take a Corporation lease on 26 to 28 Lower Raven Lane, then described as 'two messuages at the lower end of Merivale'.¹³² In 1787 he took another lease on 10A High Street, the narrow Corporation property next door to 10, which he also owned by 1798.¹³³ It is likely that the impressive three bay frontage the premises now have was built by Ingram after both properties came into his ownership, and before his death in 1809, when the ownership was again divided.¹³⁴ By that year he also owned 103 to 104 Corve Street, and in 1805 was able to purchase 51 Broad Street, formerly a residence of the Baldwin family.¹³⁵ Still living at 10 High Street, Ingram now seems to have enjoyed a comfortable life style, with his second wife and a maid, paying 2s 6d lewn; and in his will, proved in 1809, he was able to leave bequests totalling £1,540.¹³⁶

Others who prospered were William Pugh, innholder, and his son in law Thomas Hotchkiss, saddler. Pugh bought 10 Lower Galdeford - The Half Moon - in 1788 for £136 10s.¹³⁷ Soon he was indulging in property speculation, holding 23-35 Old Street – then The Seven Stars – for a few years from 1796 and 10 to 12 Tower Street – The Talbot – between 1816 and 1823.¹³⁸ The latter, which had a blacksmith's shop as well as the inn, necessitated a mortgage for £600 from the former owner, Samuel Acton and may not have been successful, for the property was advertised for sale in 1823.¹³⁹ Longer term investments were at 9 High Street, 20 to 21 Lower Galdeford and 105 to 108 Lower Galdeford, where he converted an old property into two dwellings.¹⁴⁰ When Pugh died in 1826 his properties passed to his son in law

¹³¹ SA, LB, 8/3/145, Window Tax assessment, 1763; DL, EB, 1763-71 (1763 entries).

¹³² SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minutes, 1746-87, p. 140, lease, 13th Oct., 1769.

¹³³ SA, LB, 2/1/6, p. 335, licence to alien, 13th Oct., 1787; P.R.O., Inland Revenue (IR), 71/23, Land Tax assessments for Ludlow, 1798.

¹³⁴ PRO, Prob. 11/1501, will of Richard Ingram, 5th July, 1809.

¹³⁵ Deeds of 51 Broad Street, lease and release, 25th/26th March, 1805.

¹³⁶ DL, Easter Book, 1804-11 (1804-08); PRO, Prob. 11, op. cit.

¹³⁷ SSDC deeds, packet 405, conveyance, 29th Sept., 1788.

¹³⁸ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 63, licence to alien, 7th Jan., 1794; deeds, assignment, 24th March 1816.

¹³⁹ mortgage, 26th March, 1816; SCM, Griffiths scrapbook, sale notice, 23rd Jan., 1823.

¹⁴⁰ SA, LB, 4/1/1676, lease (9 High Street), 28th Feb., 1808; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 134, licence to alien (20-21 Lower Galdeford), 13th Oct., 1825; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 131, lease (105-108 Lower Galdeford), 28th Oct., 1800.

Thomas Hotchkiss, saddler, who had married Elizabeth Pugh in 1812.¹⁴¹ The Half Moon was immediately sold to another innkeeper, James Blainey, for £700, £400 of which came from a mortgage by Hotchkiss and Elizabeth Pugh, widow.¹⁴² The cash proceeds would no doubt have helped Hotchkiss to purchase and in 1829 rebuild 1 King Street, where he had been in business, with a partner Edward Roberts, saddler, since 1808 or earlier.¹⁴³ Hotchkiss was a rising man in the town, successfully standing as a candidate 'in the Reform interest' at the Borough Council election in 1835, and serving as a Councillor until 1843.¹⁴⁴ In 1831 he took a Corporation lease on a 'nursery, garden and hovel' in Lower Gaulford (now Bishop Mascall Centre)¹⁴⁵, while in 1839 he acquired a £600 mortgage, with interest, on 51 to 57 Old Street, selling it four months later for £863 9s 4d. to Thomas Alcock, the Liberal Parliamentary candidate.¹⁴⁶

An occupational group with several tradesmen owning four or more properties were the butchers. These estates were all accumulated in the second half of the period, after the removal of the shambles in 1740 reduced competition from 'country' butchers. One of the first to benefit was Thomas Morley, who inherited two properties from his father Edward Morley, butcher, in 1750.¹⁴⁷ These were 35 to 41 Bull Ring, bought in 1729 by Edward with the help of a £200 mortgage from a fellow butcher in Cleobury Mortimer, and 4 to 16 Temeside, then a garden with one house.¹⁴⁸ Thomas, who had himself taken a lease on shops at 'the corner shop' (Bodenhams) in 1740, traded, like his father, from 35 to 41 Bull Ring.¹⁴⁹ He supplied a mortgage on 23 to 24 Lower Gaulford in 1751, acquired 1 and 2 Tower

¹⁴¹ LPR., p. 1241.

¹⁴² SSDC deeds, packet 405, conveyance, 26th Aug., 1826.

¹⁴³ Inscribed date 1829; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 501, lease of 'a cellar excavated by Mr Hotchkiss under the street', 28th Oct., 1829; deeds of Barclays Bank, conveyance, 29th Sept., 1808, west: Roberts and Hotchkiss, saddlers'.

¹⁴⁴ DL, *Account of the Votes*, 26th Dec., 1835.

¹⁴⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/8, Corporation Minute Book, 1830-35, p. 57, lease, 28th Oct., 1832.

¹⁴⁶ SA, 5411/133/13, transfer of mortgage with power of sale, 3rd Sept., 1839; *ibid*, 15, release, 2nd Jan., 1840.

¹⁴⁷ HRO, AA/20, . admin., Edward Morley, 25th Sept., 1750.

¹⁴⁸ SA, 1141/6, conveyance and mortgage (35-41 Bull Ring), 30th Sept., 1729; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 291, licence to alien, 7th April, 1738; deeds, conveyance and mortgage, 30th Sept. 1729; LB 2/1/5, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

¹⁴⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 316, lease, 27th Dec., 1740; SA, LB, 8/3/123- 53, Window Tax assessments, 1751-73.

Street in 1757, and bought 2 Temeside, , where his son to whom he bequeathed the property in 1773, a 'gentleman' living at Whitton, probably built the house that still occupies the site.¹⁵⁰ Thomas's will, proved in 1773, shows that as well as his six Ludlow properties he owned freehold lands and mortgaged houses in Leintwardine, Leominster and Tenbury, while a short obituary in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* described him as 'an opulent butcher and grazier'.¹⁵¹

Other butchers who accumulated four or more Ludlow properties were Edward Lewis, between 1777 and 1820; Richard Chipp, between 1798 and 1814; John Griffiths, between 1796 and 1819, followed by his wife Mary, then by son George after 1831; Benjamin Pitt, from 1826; and Samuel Dayos, from 1828.¹⁵² They enjoyed a high local reputation, 'the show of meat for Christmas 1840' for example, attracting 'universal admiration'.¹⁵³ Chipp, Griffiths and Dayos all traded in the Bull Ring, Lewis first at the top of Broad Street, then at what is now the Church Inn, and Pitt at 14 High Street. The five Griffiths properties were all in the Bull Ring, among them The Feathers Inn, which he bought, presumably as an investment in 1805, George selling it to Henry Whittall, druggist, in 1836.¹⁵⁴ Like Thomas Morley, the Griffiths family had wider interests than retailing, advertising in 1818 that they were 'not answerable for bargains' made by William Poyle, lately employed by them 'as a Dealer in Cattle and Pigs'.¹⁵⁵

Among the professional groups in Ludlow, the largest urban estates after 1750 were those of the lawyers, apothecaries and surgeons. The role of Somerset Davies (1715-81), attorney, who owned eight Ludlow properties, and many elsewhere, is considered below (pp.294-296) as part of the growing fortunes of the Davies family throughout the period. Henry Lloyd, from Dissersh in Radnorshire, established a legal practice in the early 19th century which persisted until the 1940s.¹⁵⁶ Living from 1804 or earlier at St Leonard's House, he purchased the Broad Gate in 1814, but it

¹⁵⁰ Deeds, mortgage (23-24 Lower Galdeford), 4th June, 1754; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 52d, lease (1/2 Tower St.), 25th Feb., 1757; Deeds, conveyance and mortgage, 4th June, 1754.

¹⁵¹ HRO, AA/20, will, 3rd Aug., 1773; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 26th June, 1773, p.3, col.6.

¹⁵² See Appendix 4.

¹⁵³ *Hereford Journal*, 1st Jan., 1840, p. 3, col. 6.

¹⁵⁴ Lloyd et al., *The Feathers*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁵ *Hereford Journal*, 6th May, 1818, p. 1, col. 2.

¹⁵⁶ *Holden's Annual Directory* (London, 1814), p. 5, Attorneys, H. Lloyd and W. Lloyd.

was his son John, inheriting in 1826, who built up a small estate of four properties, including 4 and 5 High Street.¹⁵⁷

Two apothecaries, Henry Davies I and his son Henry II had built up an estate of six properties from 1725 to 1800, living and trading successively at 5 to 7 Castle Street.¹⁵⁸ Another estate, that of the Turners, was started by a contemporary apothecary, Richard Turner I, who took a Corporation lease on 1 High Street from 1733.¹⁵⁹ When he died in 1776, this property passed to his son, Richard Turner II, surgeon.¹⁶⁰ The status of surgeons had been enhanced during the 18th century, after they had broken from the barbers in 1722, having their own Royal College by 1784.¹⁶¹ In Ludlow, though still behind the three physicians in social status in 1798, the surgeons owned more property, the estate gathered by Edward Turner II being the largest.¹⁶² The jewel in his crown was 27 Broad Street, the former residence of the Charltons and Somerset Davies, where he himself lived in 1798, when the land tax assessment was £1 2s 10d, an amount exceeded in Ludlow only by Dinham House and the building now known as High Hall.¹⁶³ His other properties included 33 Broad Street, four houses east of lower Old Street, which he bought for £100 in 1797, and an

¹⁵⁷ Broad Gate deeds, conveyance, 21st Jan., 1814; Lloyd, M. *The Lloyds of Ludlow*, private publication, Oxted, Surrey, 1991, p. 18; SA, LB 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 95; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book 1788-1830, p. 428, lease (15 Corve St), 28th Oct., 1826; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 322 (5 High St.), 323 (5 High St.), 497 (Broad Gate).

¹⁵⁸ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 181, leases (9 Bull Ring, 27 Bull Ring, 30 to 32 Lower Raven Lane), 4th Jan., 1725; SA, LB; lease (of 153 Corve Street), 2nd March, 1743, describes land to north (i.e. 152) as 'formerly Henry Davies, Gent.'; SA, 1141/22/4, conveyance (5-7 Castle Street), 22nd Sept., 1739; Davies also owned 26 Bull Ring by his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of John Sharrett, who died 28th Sept., 1715 (*LPR*, p. 690).

¹⁵⁹ SA, LB, 4/1/1080, lease, 20th April, 1733.

¹⁶⁰ HRO, AA/20, admin, 6th May, 1776; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 315, lease, 13th Oct., 1785.

¹⁶¹ Corfield, P, *Power and the Professions* (London and New York, 1995), p. 154.

¹⁶² SA. 2881/1/79, Easter Books, 1789-1800. The names of 3 physicians and 7 surgeons are recorded in the 1798 entries. The physicians paid £1 1s church tax each, whereas the surgeons averaged 10s 11d. The physicians had three residential servants each, the surgeons averaged 1.8.

¹⁶³ PRO, I.R, 23/71, Land Tax assessments, 1798.

adjoining meadow.¹⁶⁴ Other surgeons with medium sized Ludlow estates were Philip Birt Adams, who from 1808 owned two Broad Street, houses, 32 and 50, living in the latter; and Richard Wakefield, who had properties in Corve Street, High Street and Raven Lane from 1820.

8: 'Foreign' owners

As shown in Fig.92 (p.256), 766 'foreign' owners of Ludlow property living outside the town have been identified, almost exactly 25% of all known owners. Between them they had 10,517 A.O.U.s, 21% of the total. The difference between these percentages is slight, but shows that the average holding by foreigners was a little less than that by residents. Of all foreign owners, 283 (36%) lived in the inner Ludlow region (see chapter 2, pp. 30-31), within a few miles of the town; 203 (27%) lived in the outer Ludlow region; while 280 (37%) lived elsewhere, 95 of them in or very close to London. The percentages of A.O.U.s held by owners in these three zones is almost identical to those of the number of owners.

The largest grouping was the *gentry*. The number identified is 287, accounting for 37.5% of all 'foreign' owners, while their A.O.U.s were 41% of the total. The role of the gentry in the communities around Ludlow (pp. 45-46), the extent of the rural estates which provided their power base (p. 47) and their part in the government and social life of Ludlow (pp. 82-102) have been considered in previous chapters. For many gentry families the ownership of Ludlow properties was just one of multifarious economic interests, as exemplified by the Herberts and Clives of Bromfield and Powis Castle (pp. 47-50, Fig. 6). Though the largest land owners in the Ludlow area for much of the 1660 to 1848 period, and the controllers of Ludlow as a pocket borough from 1727, they had very little property in the town. In 1756, when the personal and political influence of Henry Arthur Herbert, Earl of Powis, were at their height, he leased only the 'the waterworks', a profitable franchise first granted to him in 1728, after the Herbert control of Ludlow's parliamentary

¹⁶⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minutes, 1788-1830, p. 235, lease (32 Broad St.), 28th Oct., 1810; deeds of 49 Broad Street, conveyance, 21st Feb, 1826, north: 'tenement of Mr P. Adams'; Appendix 4.

representation had been established.¹⁶⁵ With their home at Oakly Park only two miles north west of Ludlow, the Herberts had no need of a town house for most of the period. In the 1770s, however, after Oakly Park had been sold to Robert Clive, they rented Ludlow houses: first 54 Broad Street, then Dinham House, the latter being bought in 1826 by Edward Viscount Clive, then residing at Powis Castle.¹⁶⁶

A middle ranking land owning family owning a house in Ludlow were the Dunnes of Gatley Park in the north Herefordshire parish of Leinthall Earls.¹⁶⁷ Of Welsh origin, the Dunnes acquired lands in several parishes by purchase and marriage, Thomas Dunne II (1716-70) adding 35 to 37 Broad Street in 1755.¹⁶⁸ This large property – it had been called ‘the fayre house by the gate’ in 1587 and had 13 hearths in 1672 – was replaced by three new houses.¹⁶⁹ One of these, 37, was sold c.1760, but 35 and 36 were retained by the Dunnes until after 1848, with Dr Martin Dunne, Thomas’s elder son, an innovative physician, living at 36 from 1770 to 1814.¹⁷⁰ Many land owning families had just a single property in Ludlow, where members lived intermittently. If residence became permanent, as it was, for example, for George Walcot, Esq. of Walcot, in the parish of Lydbury North, then the owner has been included as ‘Ludlow Gentry’ but the close link with the country estate remained. George, in fact, born in 1667, was a third son, who had been a London apprentice and then a merchant, with interests in Cartagena, Spain. He became Member of Parliament for Bishop’s Castle in 1701, but a few years later, probably in 1708, he purchased Brand House, and resided there until his death in 1743.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ SA, LB, 4/2/37, Corporation rental, 1756; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, lease of ‘mill house, engine, mill wheel and all other privileges as to waterworks of this town’, 27th July, 1728..

¹⁶⁶ Hussey, C., ‘Oakly Park, Shropshire’, *Country Life*, I & II, 1st and 8th March, 1956, 380-83, 426-29 (p.381); Dinham House deeds, assignment of lease, 28th Oct., 1826.

¹⁶⁷ HRO, Dunne collection (F76), introductory notes.

¹⁶⁸ SA, LB, 8/3/126-28, Window Tax assessments, Broad Street, 1755 to 1757: 1755, Mr Dunne, void; 1757, Mr Dunne’s houses; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 53d., lease to Mr Dunne of ‘terrace before his house’, 25th Feb., 1757.

¹⁶⁹ Lloyd, D.J. and Klein, P., *Ludlow: A Historic Town in Words and Pictures* (Chichester, 1984), p. 42; Watkins-Pitchford, *Shropshire Hearth Tax, 1672*, p. 164.

¹⁷⁰ Blainey, J.D., ‘Dr Martin Dunne of Ludlow, 1740-1814’, *Transactions of the Woolhope Natural Field Club (TWNFC)*, 45 (1985), pp. 271-83.

¹⁷¹ SA, 151, introductory notes to the Walcot collection; SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1714, p. 147d, licence to alien a Corporation garden, which was attached to the freehold, 10th Dec., 1708.

A prominent local family who owned a single Ludlow property, The Feathers, from before 1660 to 1787, but did not live in it, were the Jones family of Sheet House, in Ludford parish. Descendants of the Welsh lawyer, Rees Jones, who had ostentatiously rebuilt the property in 1619, they let the Feathers, first to gentry tenants in the 1660s, then to innkeepers from 1671.¹⁷² Other gentry owners for whom there is no evidence of town residence were Charlotte Morris, widow, and her son Philip, of the Hurst, Clun, who owned 9 Castle Street from 1802 to after 1843, letting it in 1802 to Gilley Pritchett, Esq., for £30 a year.¹⁷³ Other non-resident gentry held single Ludlow properties by mortgage, as did John Penny Esq. of Broadwood Hall, Clungunford, who in 1835 lent £500 to the developer, John Warrington, joiner, then living in London, enabling him to increase the number of houses on the site of what was later called Warrington Gardens from ten to seventeen.¹⁷⁴

Several non-resident gentry owned two, three or four Ludlow properties. Such owners included the Dunnes. Thomas Dunne II (1782-1854) inherited 24 to 26 and 23 to 23A Mill Street from his uncle Martin, the later property being a theatre, rented to tenant companies, which had been rebuilt in 1806.¹⁷⁵ An estate of three properties was that of the Charltons. The powerful Sir Job Charlton (1614-97) of Ludford House, Chief Justice of Chester, had not bought Ludlow properties, but after 1703 his son, Sir Francis (d.1728), found it expedient to do so. This followed the conveyance of Ludford House as part of the settlement on the marriage of his eldest son, Blunden, to Mary, the daughter of the Thomas Foley of Whitley Court, the rich ironmaster.¹⁷⁶ Although Sir Francis retained a life tenancy of Ludford House, he desired an alternative local residence, and in 1705 purchased 27 Broad Street for £100.¹⁷⁷ The death of his first wife in 1706, followed by his second marriage to the daughter of a London merchant, increased the need for accommodation away from Ludford, where family feuding culminated in allegations that Sir Francis had mismanaged Ludford

¹⁷² Lloyd et.al., *The Feathers*, 1986, pp. 17/18.

¹⁷³ Deeds, agreement to rent, 20th March, 1802.

¹⁷⁴ SA, 2030/2/271, mortgage agreement, 28th March, 1835.

¹⁷⁵ SA, Dunne (165), release, 21st July, 1796; HRO, F76/IV/69, will of Dr Martin Dunne, 10th March, 1815; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 30th April, 1806, p .3, col. 3. The tenant was R Hay, of the Worcester, Hereford and Wolverhampton Theatres.

¹⁷⁶ SA, Charlton Collection (11), 370, settlement dated 4th March, 1702/03.

¹⁷⁷ SA, 5411/38, conveyance, 19th/20th Dec., 1705.

Park.¹⁷⁸ To provide for the first son of this second marriage – Job, baptised at Ludford in 1710 – Sir Francis purchased in 1717 for £10,500 Park Hall at Whittington near Oswestry, a ‘picturesque Elizabethan mansion’.¹⁷⁹ In the same year Sir Francis was given licence ‘to make palisades before his house’ at 27 Broad Street, while over the next three years he purchased 3 and 4 Brand Lane.¹⁸⁰

Four ‘foreign’ owners had five, six or seven Ludlow properties, acquired by marriage or inheritance. An owner of six Ludlow properties was John Salwey, Esq. (bur.1729), of Richard’s Castle, a family whose special contribution to the shaping of Ludlow is considered below (pp. 296-97). Somerset Davies II, first of Wigmore, then of Croft Castle, had seven properties, inherited in 1787 from his father, the Ludlow attorney ‘of large fortune’.¹⁸¹ In the 1840s Beriah Botfield, antiquarian, bibliophile and M.P. for Ludlow, owned six Ludlow properties, again inherited from his father, Thomas Botfield, ironmaster (see also p. 303).¹⁸²

Farmers were the second ranked group of ‘foreign’ landowners, with nearly a quarter (23.6%) of owners, and just under a fifth (19%) of A.O.U.s. The number of farmers involved was 124, the majority of them owning just a single Ludlow property. A few acquired their property by purchase, as did Francis Dyke the younger of Wistanstow, yeoman, who bought 72 Corve Street for £51 on Lady Day, 1758.¹⁸³ The owners of 71 Lower Broad Street in 1820 were Richard Devey Adams of Silvington, farmer, and Elizabeth his wife. Elizabeth was the only daughter of William Beard of Ludlow, staymaker, who had bought the property for £100 in 1780, inheriting when her father died in 1797.¹⁸⁴ The most common way of acquiring a town property was by mortgage. Examples occurred at 3 Old Street, which was

¹⁷⁸ SA 11/376-79, Blunden Charlton and wife, plaintiffs, v. Francis Charlton, defendant, 9th May, 1724; *ibid*, 382-87, depositions.

¹⁷⁹ Ludford PR, 22nd Oct; 1710; SA, Park Hall collection (2216), will of Sir F. Charlton, 30th Sept., 1726, ‘has lately purchasedthe capital house called Park Hall’.

¹⁸⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 58, 27th Feb., 1717, ‘liberty to erect pallisades’ (27 Broad St.); Beesly, P., *Ludlow Houses: 27 Broad Street, 3 and 4 Brand Lane* (Ludlow, c.1960), p.13, sale of 3 Brand Lane., 1718; SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 88, licence to alien (4 Brand Lane), 3rd Dec., 1720.

¹⁸¹ Weyman, H.T., ‘The Members of Parliament for Ludlow’, *TSAS*, ser. 2, vii (1895), 1-54 (p. 44).

¹⁸² *DNB*, II (Oxford, 1921-22), pp. 905-06, Thomas Botfield.

¹⁸³ Deeds of 72 Corve Street, conveyance, 25th March, 1758.

¹⁸⁴ Deeds of 71 Lower Broad Street, conveyances 17th Oct, 1780 and 15th Feb. 1820; *LPR*, p. 1095, 5th March, 1797.

mortgaged to John Taylor, yeoman, of The Rock, Stanton Lacy, between 1754 and 1765, and again to William Lane, farmer, of The Butts, Stanton Lacy, from 1805 to 1820.¹⁸⁵

Only six 'foreign' farmers had two Ludlow properties each. They included John Carter of Halton, Bromfield, who invested heavily in Ludlow, giving a £200 mortgage on 31 Broad Street in 1778, and buying 6 Castle Street for £550 in 1789.¹⁸⁶ A larger estate was that of Richard Smith, 'formerly a mariner', who was a yeoman of The Lynch, Little Hereford.¹⁸⁷ In 1786 Smith inherited four Old Street properties from William Foster, innkeeper; The Green Dragon Inn at 32 and 'four small messuages and a pigstye' next door at 34; the 'barn, stables and garden opposite' at 51 to 57; and the site at 11 to 21, already crowded with seven houses and three nail-shops.¹⁸⁸ No. 11 was sold in 1806 but the others were retained by Smith until his death in 1809, when he was 'residing in Ludlow'.¹⁸⁹

Manufacturers accounted for 109 (14.23%) of 'foreign owners', with 1527 A.O.U.s. Many were village craftsmen in the Ludlow inner or outer districts, some of them prosperous. In 1750 William Harding of Bromfield, gunsmith, inherited a gun making business from his father, and then bought two Ludlow properties: 83 Corve Street in 1753 and 105-108 Lower Galdeford.¹⁹⁰ Richard Watkins, blacksmith, began as mortgagee for 51 to 57 Old Street in 1825, but in 1828 bought 32 and 34 on the opposite side of Old Street, and in 1831 added 134 Corve Street.¹⁹¹ An unusual

¹⁸⁵ SSDC deeds, packet 360, 3 Old Street, mortgage, 25th Sept., 1754; *ibid*, mortgage, 25th March, 1805.

¹⁸⁶ SCM, deeds of 31 Broad Street, assignment to John Carter of Prior's Halton, yeoman, 13th March, 1778; SA, Morgan (786), 56, conveyance, 23rd/24th June, 1789.

¹⁸⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 78, lease (34 Old St.) to Mr Richard Smith of The Lynch, Little Hereford, 28th Oct., 1795.

¹⁸⁸ HRO, AA/20, will of William Foster, 3rd July, 1786, bequest to Richard Smith, yeoman; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 78, lease of 'four several messuages', etc.(34 Old Street), 28th Oct., 1795; HRO, AA/20, will of Thomas Lewis, innholder, to nephew William Foster, 'barn, stables and garden' (51-57 Old Street), 7th March, 1768; SA, 1141, conveyance, 'several dwellings'(11 to 21 Old Street), 27th Aug., 1806.

¹⁸⁹ SA, 5411/133, will of Richard Smith, 7th Nov., 1809.

¹⁹⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 31, licence to alien (83 Corve St.), 13th Oct., 1752; SA, LB, 4/2/37, Corporation Rental, 1756.

¹⁹¹ SA, 5411/133, conveyance (51-57 Old Street), 18th July, 1825; *ibid*, 1141/3; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p.467, licence to alien (34 Old St.), 28th Oct., 1828; SA, 1141/3, conveyance (32 Old St.), 10th April, 1828; SA, LB,

case was that of Samuel Lloyd, tanner, who rebuilt 67-68 Corve Street in 1735, but later left Ludlow for Wistanstow, perhaps after the death of his wife in 1737.¹⁹² Heirs, living in Wistanstow in 1795 and in Acton Round in 1833, retained ownership of the Corve Street property until after 1843.¹⁹³

An important sub-group were nine ironmasters, based at Bringewood or on Clee Hill. They owned 30 properties between 1660 and 1848, with 256 A.O.U.s, but the influence of some of them was far-reaching, promoting the building of several prime Ludlow houses. The earliest was Richard Walker of Wootton, with a burgage in Old Street in the 1660s.¹⁹⁴ Some of the ironmasters owned Ludlow properties for short periods only, as did Richard Baldwin of Willey Furnace, with a Corporation lease on 7 Mill Street from 1721 to 1724.¹⁹⁵ Other investments were by mortgages, as at 50 to 53 Corve Street in 1808 by James George of Bitterley, 'proprietor of Clee Hill Coal and Ironworks' in 1808.¹⁹⁶ The largest investment in Ludlow came from Thomas Botfield, Esq., of Hopton Wafers. In ten years before his death in 1843 he purchased five substantial Ludlow properties, including High Hall, where his relative Sir Edward Thomason, the retired Birmingham manufacturer and inventor, was living in 1843.¹⁹⁷ These properties may have been intended to boost the parliamentary cause of Thomas's son, Beriah, who stood successfully for Ludlow in 1840.¹⁹⁸ Richard Knight of Bringewood (p. 43) made an even greater impact on the appearance of Ludlow. A man who 'rode many miles ...between Leintwardine and the

2/1/8, Corporation Minute Book, 1830-35, p. 48, licence to alien (134 Corve St.), 28th July, 1831.

¹⁹² SA, LB, 8/3/107, Window Tax assessment, 1735, 'Samuel Lloyd's house in building'; *ibid*, 8/3/109, Window Tax assessments, 1737, 'Samuel Lloyd or tenant'; *LPR*, p. 827, burial of Anne, wife of Samuel Lloyd, 24th May, 1737; HRO, AA/20, will of Samuel Powys, maltster, 10th April 1742, ref. to 'Mr Samuel Lloyd of the Grove in the parish of Wistanstow'.

¹⁹³ SA, 2623/147, articles of agreement for use of property, 25th March, 1795; *ibid*, 161-62, assigns of Thomas Lloyd, Wistanstow, bankrupt, to John and Charles Lloyd, Acton Round, 21st/22nd, Jan., 1833.

¹⁹⁴ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 23, F120, later the site of the Primitive Methodist Chapel; Col. of Arms, RR 19/B/G., p. 27.

¹⁹⁵ SA, LB 4/1/988, lease, 24th Aug., 1721; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p.1 68, licence to alien to Tobias Eysam, Gent.; *VCH, Shropshire*, 10, *Wenlock, Corvedale and the Stretton Hills* (Oxford, 1998), p. 456.

¹⁹⁶ Deeds, mortgage, 29th May, 1808; *Salopian Journal*, 15th May, 1816, p. 2, col. 3.

¹⁹⁷ SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 71 (High Hall), 344 (56 Broad St.), 517 (2, Brand Lane), 807 (Museum Store, Old Street), 1070-73 (46-50 Old Street), 1224 (69 Corve Street).

¹⁹⁸ Weyman, 'Members of Parliament for Ludlow', p. 50.

Worcestershire Stour collecting and carrying large sums of money in his saddle bags', Knight invested profits in rural properties, and, to a lesser degree, in Ludlow.¹⁹⁹ In 1700, two years after his acquisition of Bringewood ironworks, he purchased 3 Brand Lane for £100, selling to Sir Francis Charlton in 1718 for £200, probably after rebuilding.²⁰⁰ In 1727 he bought 9 Castle Street, selling it for £125 in 1733.²⁰¹ Knight's major contribution to Ludlow, however, came through provision for two of his children. In 1716 he settled his daughter, Elizabeth, who married Edward Baugh, lawyer, with a cash portion of £1800. This enabled Baugh to build a new house at 14 Castle Street, Ludlow, completed in 1728.²⁰² Six years earlier Dinham House, then 'newly erected', had been bought by Knight for his eldest son Richard (1696-1760), who in 1718 had married Elizabeth Powell of Stanage Park.²⁰³ The settlement was £10,000 to trustees on behalf of Richard and Elizabeth.²⁰⁴ Though the Knights later bought Stanage Park, Richard – a qualified lawyer, who was briefly Recorder of Ludlow – lived mostly at Dinham House, employing four residential servants and paying £1 1s Church Lewn; and enlarging the house in 1747.²⁰⁵ In 1751, the ironmaster's fourth son, Ralph, then chief operator at Bringewood, paid £899 10s for 8 and 9 Mill Street, where his son Thomas and other family members later lived.²⁰⁶ Another Knight legacy was Dinham Hall, the site of which was accumulated from three smaller properties (Fig.75, p.209) by Samuel Nash, Gent., of Holmer, near Hereford.²⁰⁷ Nash, a relative of the Knights, who was agent for Richard Payne

¹⁹⁹ Beesly, P., *A Brief History of the Knight Family* (Ludlow, c. 1960), p.2. Many mortgages and purchases are cited in HRO, T74, e.g. lands in Clee St Margaret, which were mortgaged to Knight in 1721 and sold to him in 1730 (T74/85).

²⁰⁰ Beesly, *Ludlow Houses* (c.1960), p. 13.

²⁰¹ Deeds, conveyances, 24th Nov., 1727, and 3rd Sept., 1733.

²⁰² HRO, T74/258, articles of agreement, 29th May, 1716. An inscribed date is on a drain-head.

²⁰³ SA, LB. 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 104, lease of Corporation moiety of property, from which purchase of the whole can be inferred; Beesly, *The Knight Family*, p. 3.

²⁰⁴ HRO, T74/227.

²⁰⁵ Weyman, H.T., 'Recorders of Ludlow', *TSAS*, ser. 2, xi (1899), 301-30 (p. 327); SA, LB, Easter Books, 1741-48; SA, LB, 8/3/196-98, Window Tax assessments, 1746-48: 40 in 1747, 51 in 1748.

²⁰⁶ HRO, T74/486, agreement of term in trust, 28th Sept., 1751.

²⁰⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 326, lease of 'messuage called the Hole in the Wall', 28th Oct., 1786; *ibid*, property described as having 'freehold garden' to south; SA, 1141/52, assignment of lease, messuage in Mill

Knight, the builder of Downton Castle, died in 1796, but left the site to his son Richard, an attorney, who built an imposing stone house there – the present Dinham Hall Hotel.²⁰⁸

For both *dealing* and *professional* groups, accounting respectively for approximately 11% each of both owners and A.O.U.s, a higher proportion than for other groups lived beyond the Ludlow region. About a third of the two groups together – 54 out of 164 - lived in London and will be considered separately. Of the others, several held properties by inheritance. Edward Parry of Shrewsbury, tobacconist, acquired four properties through marriage to Ann; she was the 'dear daughter' of James Wide, Ludlow Alderman and bookseller, who died in 1769.²⁰⁹ Heirs of Ludlow properties had often migrated to expanding industrial towns, and sold the properties as soon as they conveniently could. When William White, grocer, of 10 Church Street, died in 1766, the ownership of his properties was shared by his two sons: George, a grocer in Birmingham, and John, a Chandler in Kidderminster.²¹⁰ Some relatives in distant places retained Ludlow properties as a source of income, as did Mary, wife of John Smallman of Coventry, Chandler, who owned 49 Lower Galdeford in 1843, eleven years after inheritance.²¹¹

The largest professional group among the foreign owners of Ludlow properties was the clergy, who owned 50 properties. In the period under review the educational level and social status of rural clergy were high. By the early Victorian period nine tenths of all clergy were graduates, while the 1720 witticism 'Gentlemen of the Long-Petticoat Tribe' acknowledged that most incumbents enjoyed the status of gentlemen.²¹² At Richard's Castle, three members of the Salwey family were Rectors for all but seven years between 1662 and 1759, one of them, John Salwey II (Rector

Street, 9th Sept., 1786; lease 28th Oct., 1786, LB 2/1/6, p. 386; C52:assignment, 9th Sept., 1786; F250, sale, 1787 (DL, Morley papers).

²⁰⁸ DL, unpublished paper on Dinham Hall by Morley, E.L., a Ludlow local historian, c.1975..

²⁰⁹ PRO, Prob., 11/1769/951, will of James Wilde, 29th Aug., 1769; the properties were 45 and 46 Bull Ring, 1 Broad Street and 114/ 115 Lower Galdeford.

²¹⁰ Deeds, conveyance, 3rd Nov., 1770.

²¹¹ SA, 1141/7/5, Trust Deed, 24th Dec., 1832; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 760-765.

²¹² Jones, A., *A Thousand Years of the English Parish* (Moreton-in-Marsh, 2000), p. 222; cited by Corfield, P, *Power and the Professions* (London, 1995), p. 109.

- 1702-38), holding a Corporation lease on 14 and 15 King Street from 1695 to 1738.²¹³ At Clungunford Rockes were Squires from 1715 and Rectors from 1779, Revd. John Rocke holding both positions from 1824.²¹⁴ Receiving over £1,000 in rent, more that £200 in tithe and with income from various investments John Rocke had a comfortable life-style and was able to make investments, such as a mortgage on the property at the corner of Lower and Upper Galdeford in Ludlow.²¹⁵

9: Foreign owners: County Towns and London

- Dealers and professional men were prominent in economic and social links between Ludlow and the three nearest English county towns, as is sometimes reflected in ownership. From 1669 or earlier until his death in 1690 Thomas Baldwin Esq. of Diddlebury and Shrewsbury, where he became Recorder in 1676 and Mayor in 1685, owned 111 and 113 Corve Street, the latter being called 'a great messuage'.²¹⁶ Griffith Reynolds, 'Bachelor of Laws', a native of Ludlow who was buried in Hereford Cathedral in 1693, held a mortgage of £30 on 9 Broad Street (The Angel) from 1675.²¹⁷ Dealers in all three county towns also had Ludlow properties, Thomas Wilde of Hereford, bookseller, inheriting 153 Corve Street from his father, James Wilde of Ludlow, bookseller in 1767, his widow retaining it until 1793.²¹⁸ County town dealers were sometimes mortgagees, as was Thomas Davies of

²¹³ Andrews, C., *The Rectors of Richard's Castle, 1549-1892* (Richard's Castle, 1992), pp.19-42; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 79d.

²¹⁴ Barrett, A. and F., *Clungunford: 950 years of a Rural Community* (Clungunford, 2002), pp. 112-17.

²¹⁵ Ibid, p.115, investments included £240 from the Worcester and Birmingham Canal Co.; SA, LB, 2/1/8, Corporation Minute Book, 1830-35, p.72, licence to assign for mortgage, 28th Oct., 1833.

²¹⁶ Martin, E., 'The History of Several Families connected with Diddlebury, I, The Baldwins', *TSAS*, ser. 4, vol. 11 (1912), 133-85 (p. 156); SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 27.

²¹⁷ Havergal, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford*, p. 59; *LPR*, p.180, bap., 14th July, 1629; PRO, C. 8/481/21, answer of Elizabeth Reignolds and others, 8th Feb., 1709.

- ²¹⁸ PRO, Prob. 11/951, will of James Wilde, 29th Aug., 1769; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 194, lease, 28th Oct., 1774; SA, LB 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Books, 1788-1830, p. 55, licence to alien, 16th Oct., 1793. Thomas had previously been in Stourbridge, 'removing to his father's business in Ludlow' in 1757 (*Aris's Gazette*, 13th Dec., 1756, p. 3, col. 3).

Shrewsbury, draper, who supplied £100 to Samuel Bottrell of Ludlow, joiner, in 1803 for 6 and 7 Tower Street, perhaps to enable rebuilding.²¹⁹

Of these county towns, Worcester was most significant for the ownership of Ludlow properties. Seventeen owners, with 254 A.O.U.s, lived in that city, the same as at Shrewsbury and Hereford together. Though not at first growing in size as rapidly as some county towns – 10,500 in 1670, 10,300 in 1750 and 14,842 in 1801, - Worcester then doubled in size by 1841. ‘A city of small businesses and craftsmen’, the city gave opportunity ‘for men of ability by way of trade and the law’.²²⁰ Situated on the main road to London, it attracted a number of Ludlow people, including Edward Wellings, of the Ludlow carrying dynasty, who kept The Bell Inn in 1751; and there were numerous kinship links between the two places.²²¹ Ludlow boys making their way in Worcester, and later acquiring Ludlow properties, included John Tipton, apothecary, who in 1720 inherited 7 to 9 and 10 to 11 Lower Mill Street from Edward Winston, barber.²²² One migrant to Worcester from Ludlow was Anthony Scarlett, brazier, who acquired four Ludlow properties between 1787 and 1795.²²³ By 1798, however, he had become a hop merchant in Worcester, living in St Nicholas’s parish.²²⁴ His will, proved in 1807, refers to properties in Stanton Lacy, Claines and Worcester, as well as to those in the Ludlow.²²⁵

In the number of Ludlow property owners they had, as well as in most other regards, the county towns cited were eclipsed by London. With a population of about 450,000 in 1680, rising to over 600,000 by 1750 and to nearly two million by 1841, London was ‘an urban colossus’, which had more than 10% of the national population

²¹⁹ SA, 1141/161/8, assignment for mortgage, 21st May, 1803.

²²⁰ Talbut, G., ‘Worcester as an Industrial and Commercial Centre 1660-1750’, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 10 (1986), 91-102 (p. 99).

²²¹ *Aris’s Gazette*, 28th Jan., 1751; HRO, AA/20, will of Mary Dyke of Ludlow, widow, bequest to Ann, daughter of Samuel and Ann Nicholas of the City of Worcester, currier, £20, 24th March, 1798.

²²² HRO, AA/20, will of Edward Winston, 28th Feb. 1720.

²²³ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 335, lease (2B/3 Bull Ring), 13th Oct., 1787; *ibid*, p. 335, licence to alien (36-38 Old Street), 13th Oct., 1787; SA, Curry’s deposit (3924), assignment of lease (18 King Street), 16th June, 1800; SA, LB 11/4/226; PRO, IR, 23/71, Land Tax assessment, 1798 (78 Corve Street), 11th - 12th March, 1788.

²²⁴ PRO, IR, 24/39044.

²²⁵ PRO, Prob., 11/1469, will, 9th Oct., 1807.

for much of the period, increasing to 14% in 1851.²²⁶ The number of Ludlow properties owned by London residents at various times was 94, and they had 1,303 A.O.W.s, about an eight of those for all 'foreign' owners. Most of the London owners had their Ludlow properties by inheritance, but others had themselves migrated to London, or were Londoners who saw investment opportunities in Ludlow.

The occupational range of Ludlow people in London was wide. Some were socially elevated. Humphrey Payne, son of Nicholas Payne, tallow-chandler, was an eminent goldsmith, who became Warden of the Company in 1747, then retired to Daventry with 'a Handsome Fortune'.²²⁷ Benjamin Colbatch of Cornhill, stationer of the Royal Exchange, inherited 41 Mill Street in 1725, and was building a new house there by 1740, leaving it in 1741 to his niece.²²⁸ Several migrants to London followed the trades of their fathers. Rees Prickett, son of Rees Prickett of Ludlow, landlord of The Prince Rupert, was a victualler of the City of London, inheriting 23 to 35 Old Street from his widowed mother in 1740, though the Prince Rupert had earlier been left to a son in law.²²⁹ Also of the City of London was Richard Griffiths, glover, who inherited 13 Corve Street from his father Walter in 1771.²³⁰ Others took new directions. John Harley of Ludlow, dyer, who died in 1756, left 46 to 49 Corve Street to his wife Anne, and after her death to 'my son John Harley, distiller, of London'.²³¹ John, then described as 'of St Marylebone, Middlesex', inherited when his mother died in 1775, himself leaving the property, then 'divided into two tenements', to his eldest daughter in 1787.²³²

Some Londoners acquired their Ludlow properties through marriage. In 1708 Thomas Austwick of Aldersgate married Joan Rogers, daughter of Elisha Rogers the Ludlow carrier, later succeeding to the Corporation Old Street property now called the

²²⁶ Schwarz, L., 'London 1700-1840', Cambridge Urban History of Britain, II, 1540-1840 (2000), pp. 644, 650; Boulton, J., *Neighbourhood and Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 343.

²²⁷ Grimwalde, A. G., *London Goldsmiths, 1697-1837: their Marks and Lives* (London, 1976), p. 616.

²²⁸ Deeds, conveyance, 23rd June, 1725; SA, LB, 8/3/111-12, Window Tax assessments, 1739/40, void, new built house; 1741, rear drain-head inscription; PRO, Prob. 11, 1741/198, will of Benjamin Colbatch, 12th Aug., 1741.

²²⁹ PRO, Prob. 11/70s, fo.153, will of Mary Prickett, widow, 23rd May, 1740.

²³⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p.160, lease, 8th Oct., 1771.

²³¹ HRO, AA/20, will of John Harley, 13th Dec., 1756.

²³² SA, 1141/30, will of John Harley, 16th Dec., 1787.

Old Fire Station.²³³ Early London directories, for 1690 and 1722, show that wagons from Ludlow and Leominster, operated by the Rogers family, terminated at inns in Aldersgate.²³⁴ A later marriage, at St Laurence's in 1803, was that of Isaac Armstrong, then of St Martin in the Fields, London, to Margaret Waring, daughter of James Waring, through whom Sutton's Close off Old Street eventually came into his ownership.²³⁵ In 1831 Armstrong, then a saddler's ironmonger of King Street in the City of London, purchased the row of Corporation properties on the western edge of Sutton's Close (now 73 to 81 Old Street), which had been brought under one ownership by William Davenport, yeoman, of Bringewood.²³⁶ Though apparently always based in London, he commissioned the imposing Friars' Terrace (Fig. 56, p.182), built partly on these properties, partly on Sutton Close, which was completed before 1835.²³⁷

Many London residents gave mortgages on Ludlow properties. When Edward Weaver, yeoman, left 90 and 91 Lower Galdeford to his nephew in 1816, it was subject to £30 to Francis Stanton of Russell Square, London, tailor – probably a relative of an earlier owner, Richard Staunton of Ludlow, tailor.²³⁸ Larger sums came from London residents with no known family association with Ludlow. Such financiers included Edward Sergeant, 'citizen and vintner of London', who took out a mortgage for £130 on 33 Broad Street in 1708 on behalf of Mr Thomas Hill, probably a relative of the Hills of Court of Hill, Burford.²³⁹ A larger sum, £600, was put up in 1737 by William Backhouse of The Tower of London, Gent. as a mortgage

²³³ LPR, p. 647, marriage, 28th May, 1708; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 29, lease, 28th May, 1708.

²³⁴ PRO, C. 8/626/9, complaint of Richard Rogers of Leominster, carrier, 26th Oct., 1708; De Laune, T, *Anglia Metropolis*, (London, 1690), p. 47; Burridge, R., *A New Review of London* (London, 1722), p. 43

²³⁵ LPR, p. 1228, marriage, 8th Jan., 1803; HRO, AA/20, will of James Waring, 27th July, 1815. Waring specified that his lands should be sold, with a fifth of the proceeds going to Margaret. Land instead of cash may have been given by the executors.

²³⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/8, Corporation Minute Book, 1830-35, p. 20, licence to alien leases of several properties, 25th Jan., 1831.

²³⁷ SCM, John Wood map of Ludlow, 1835.

²³⁸ Deeds, conveyance, 23rd June, 1801; HRO, AA/20, will of Edward Weaver, 6th May, 1816.

²³⁹ SA 5411/40/2-3, mortgage and marriage settlement, 19th July, 1708; Col. of Arms, RR 19/B/G, p. 81.

for Francis Pryce Esq., £400 of which redeemed an earlier mortgage for Pryce by Joseph Jeffries of London, butcher.²⁴⁰

10: 'Foreign' owners: political interlude, 1839 to 1845

The political turbulence of these years at Ludlow has been described in a number of publications, but the extent of acquisition of property for electoral advantage has not been appreciated.²⁴¹ With £10 house holders now having the franchise, an owner of property could ensure that tenants shared his political persuasion. For example, Thomas Alcock, a Liberal 'stranger' from Surrey, had been an unsuccessful candidate for one of the two Ludlow seats at the national election of 1837, but determined to stand again at a by-election in 1839, caused by the elevation of the Tory member, Lord Edward Clive, to the Earldom of Powis.²⁴² His campaign was managed by James Coppock, 'the notable Whig agent and a former secretary of the Reform Club'; that of Clive by William Holmes, for 'thirty years Tory whip'.²⁴³ At the poll on 6th June Alcock defeated the Conservative, Henry Clive, by 186 votes to 182. But the election was declared invalid in 1840 by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, who heard evidence of intimidation, open treating and bribes up to £300. With neither of the 1839 candidates standing for the repeated election, Beriah Botfield defeated another imported Liberal. Initially, however, Alcock was again a candidate at the general election of 3 July 1841, though he withdrew before polling day, when two Conservatives convincingly defeated the remaining Liberal candidate. He then abandoned Ludlow, but was elected for East Surrey in 1847, holding the seat for 18 years.

Investment in real estate by the Liberals, who felt themselves disadvantaged in Clive dominated Ludlow, was considerable, involving nine separate properties and

²⁴⁰ IRO, AK, 49/19, conveyance and assignment, document, mortgage, 30th Jan., 1737; *ibid*, 5th & 6th Feb., 1734.

²⁴¹ Gash, N., *Politics in the Age of Peel* (London, 1953); Mason, J. F. A., 'Parliamentary Representation 1832-85', *VCH Shropshire*, III, pp. 336-39; Speight, M., 'Parliamentary Elections in Ludlow between the Reform Acts, 1832-1867', in Lloyd, D.J. and others, *Victorian Ludlow* (Bucknell, 2004), pp. 97-111. Speight (p. 107) has the only reference to 'the erection of houses to be let to political supporters'.

²⁴² All information on Ludlow elections from Weyman, 'Members of Parliament', pp. 47-51, unless stated otherwise.

²⁴³ Mason, *op.cit.*, p. 337.

Fig.94: Copy of notice of sale of Ludlow houses and other properties,
26th April, 1841 (1)

Particulars, &c.,
OF
VALUABLE
FREEHOLD HOUSES & LANDS,

All of them within

THE BOROUGH TOWN OF LUDLOW,

COMPREHENDING

The Freehold Public House, Garden and Orchard; Four Houses in front of the Street, and Four at the rear; a House and Garden, and Coach-house adjoining; also, a Cottage and Four Houses.

The whole of this Property is in

OLD STREET, LUDLOW,

With the capability of

SECURING SIXTEEN VOTES;

Likewise, included in the Second Lot, is

A COTTAGE and GOOD ORCHARD at CAINHAM,
THREE MILES FROM LUDLOW;

Also,

KNOWBURY FARM of 138 ACRES,

ABOUT FOUR MILES FROM LUDLOW.

This Farm is a certain fortune to those who will sink for Coal, or who may desire to break down the monopoly in this article, by which it is as dear at Ludlow (although within so short a distance of the Collieries) as good Newcastle Coals are in London. The first portion of this Property claims especial attention, from its manifest and highly

IMPORTANT POLITICAL INFLUENCE,

Inasmuch as referring to the result of all the Elections since the Reform Bill, when the parties have been so nicely balanced, the Property under consideration, it cannot be doubted, will

SECURE BOTH SEATS IN PERPETUITY.

As it regards the Farm,

Coal has already been discovered;

And both Ludlow and Leominster are now supplied from its immediate vicinity. The Purchaser of this Estate will show his lively sense of gratitude to the Independent Constituency who return him, by making Coals (the first of necessities in this world) exceedingly reasonable.

THE FARM IS FREEHOLD,

And occupation may be had immediately; and, lastly,

The very advantageous Mortgage of £20,000,

With Interest at Three-and-three-quarters per cent., most amply secured upon the rich Grazing Lands,
almost

EXCLUSIVELY WITHIN THE BOROUGH.

33 houses. Where exact conveyance dates are known, they are in the second half of 1839, after the June election, or in January 1840.²⁴⁴ The purchases were therefore a long term strategy to improve Liberal chances in Ludlow, not part of the corrupt electioneering leading up to June 1839. Purchase prices are known for only three properties, but all are high: £863 9s 4d for 51 to 57 Old Street (Fig. 56, p. 182), where four new street frontage houses had been erected before 1825; £610 for 24 to 26 Old Street (Fig. 64, p.193), where, with the adjoining 20 to 22, 16 smaller houses, many of them back buildings, could secure 16 votes; and £145 for 109 to 113 Lower Galdeford (Fig. 55, p.180), which was then garden ground, though two houses had been built by 1843.²⁴⁵ The two former purchases were by Alcock, the last by Coppock. Coppock also bought 114 to 115 Lower Galdeford, then occupied by a beer retailer, but which was The Queen's Head by 1844; and 6 and 7 High Street.²⁴⁶ Alcock bought 93 to 101 Old Street, where there were eight houses in 1843, including The Hen and Chickens Inn, which opened between 1840 and 1841; and 22 to 26 Bell Lane (Fig. 87B, p.233), on the site of a former timber yard, where there were no residents in 1841, but six inhabited houses in 1843.²⁴⁷ Local tradition refers to this group, one of Ludlow's few terraces, as 'Election Row'.

Polling lists for the re-run by-election of 1840 and for the national election of 1841 show that all identifiable occupants of the bought houses voted for the Liberal candidate.²⁴⁸ Early in 1841, however, Alcock seems to have made his decision to withdraw, for on 26th April the 16 houses on the west side of Old Street, at 20 to 26, were offered for sale, together with property at Knowbury, presumably owned by Alcock. Part of the sale notice is reproduced as Fig. 94. Also on offer was a 'very advantageous mortgage of £20,000', presumably that which Alcock had taken over from E. L. Charlton in 1837 as means of persuading him to withdraw as one of the Conservative candidates for the election of that year, a defection which let in two

²⁴⁴ SA, 5411/133/15, lease (51-57 Old St.), 1st/2nd Jan., 1840; *ibid*, 135/3 lease (24-26 Old St.), 28th Jan., 1840; SSDC deeds, packet 250, lease (114-15 Lower Galdeford), 9th Aug., 1839; *ibid*, lease (109-13 Lower Galdeford), 10th Sept., 1840.

²⁴⁵ SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 836, 837.

²⁴⁶ Borough Poor Rate Book, entries 320. 321.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, entries 955-962; Robson, W., *Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (London, 1840), p. 68; Pigot, *Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1842), p. 23; Borough Poor Rate Book, entries 352-57.

²⁴⁸ DL, *Revised list of voters in the Borough of Ludlow, 3rd Oct.1840*, e.g. John Needham, shoemaker, 6 High Street; Timothy Meyricke, the Hen and Chickens; Francis Collins, plumber, 24 Old Street.

Liberals and caused great local bitterness.²⁴⁹ The 1843 Borough Poor Rate Book, however, shows that Alcock was still the owner of 24 to 26 Old Street. Indeed, it was not until June 1845 that the property was sold, for £540, £70 less than Alcock had paid in 1840!²⁵⁰

11: Dynasties and kinship networks: owners of Ludlow properties

The impact of dynasties and wider networks has been considered by a number of urban historians, but largely from the viewpoint of membership of Corporations or other ruling elites. Cullingford, for example, showed that in Poole, between 1754 and 1830, Lesters held the Mayoralty 13 times, Spurriers ten times and four other families 13 times between them.²⁵¹ This section looks at the extent to which family relationships over several generations affected property ownership in Ludlow. As discussed in chapter 2 (pp. 45, 46), rural estates around Ludlow had been built up over several generations, with primogeniture keeping them intact. It will be shown that the smaller urban estates of Ludlow were more volatile. Some were preserved through two or more generations, others were dispersed through inheritance. Only one dynasty, that of the Actons, retained Ludlow property for the whole 1660 to 1848 period. A few exceeded a hundred years, two of them – Hattam and Woodall – being in the building trades, though others, such as Waring and Wellings, embraced several occupations, the latter being first carriers, then having a mercer, a banker and an army officer. More frequent were dynasties of three or four generations, such as the Plummers from 1660, in various branches of manufacturing; the Coles, who were saddlers and mercers, again from 1660; the Merediths, wheelwrights from 1764 to 1848; and the Paynes, watch-makers from 1738 to 1848.²⁵²

Case studies will illustrate contrasting patterns of dynastic ownership in Ludlow. The long lasting Actons (Fig.95, p. 291) had a substantial estate at the beginning of the period, which was dispersed and then replaced by later agglomerations of property. Acquired partly in 1650, as an estate that included land

²⁴⁹ Mason, 'Parliamentary Representation 1832-85', p. 337; Speight, 'Parliamentary Elections, 1832-67', p. 100.

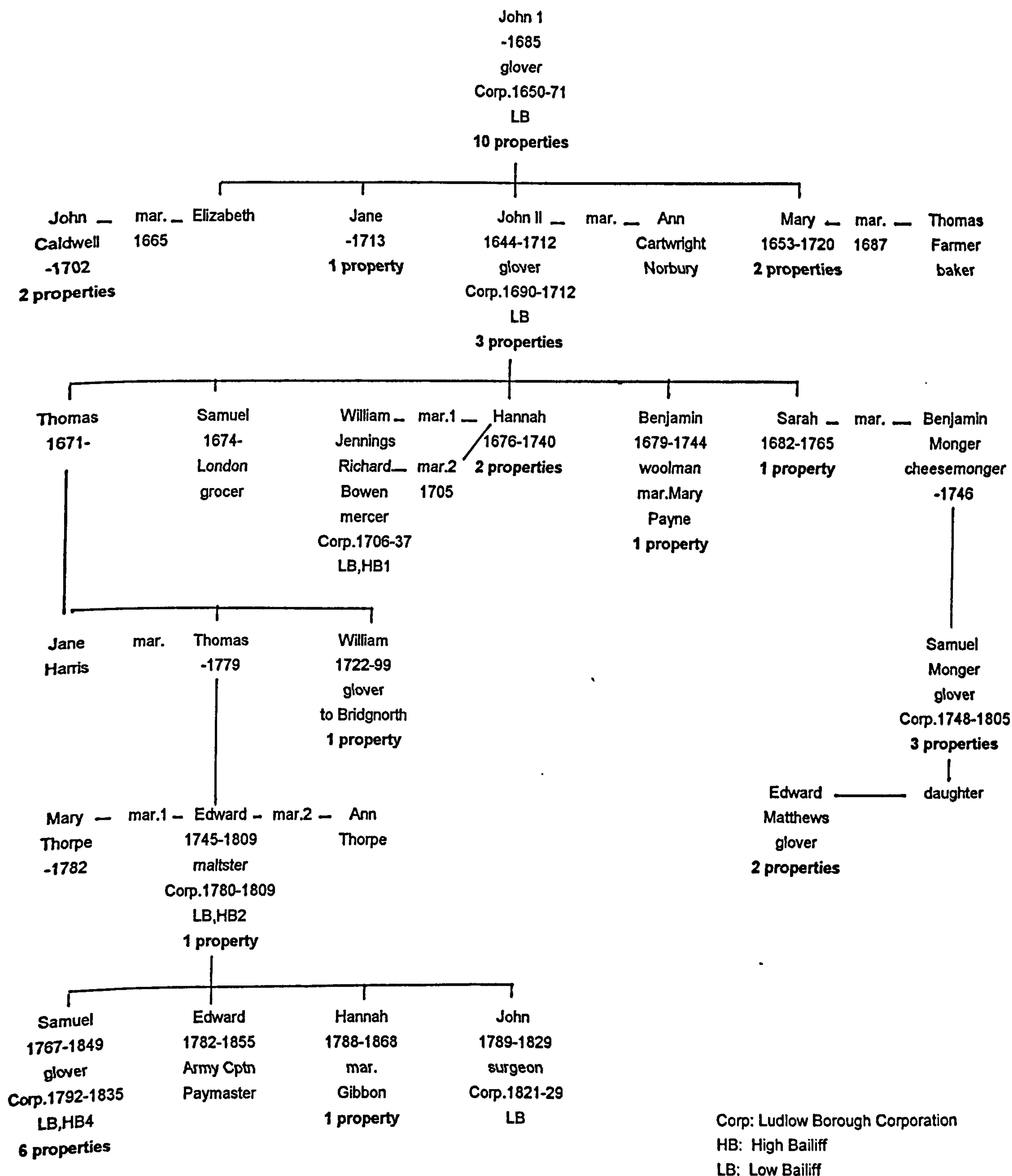
²⁵⁰ SA, 5411/135/4, conveyance, 28th June, 1845.

²⁵¹ Cullingford, C. N., *A History of Poole* (Chichester, 1988), p. 177.

²⁵² Pedigrees made up largely from wills and parish registers; for the Paynes, Elliott, D. J., *Shropshire Clock and Watchmakers* (Chichester, 1979), pp. 105-06.

Fig.95

Actons: glovers and other occupations



Corp: Ludlow Borough Corporation
HB: High Bailiff
LB: Low Bailiff

Based on Ludlow and other parish registers, wills and title deeds
The properties are listed in Appendix 4.

In Cainham and Richard's Castle, John Acton I, glover, owned ten Ludlow properties by 1660, as well as rural properties.²⁵³ By his will, proved in 1686, only three Ludlow properties went to his son John Acton II, five being divided among his three daughters, and two going to grand-children.²⁵⁴ The history of 4 to 6 Bull Ring, given to daughter Mary, illustrates dispersal processes. A year after her inheritance, Mary married Thomas Farmer, baker.²⁵⁵ Dying in 1731, Thomas left no will, but his second wife Anne, dying three years later, bequeathed the property to various Farmer heirs, who eventually sold it, in 1776, to John Penny, a Ludlow ironmonger.²⁵⁶ When John Acton II died in 1712, his properties were divided, so that by mid-century, due to this and some sales, the largest estate left was one of just three properties, all in the middle part of Corve Street, owned by Samuel Monger, glover, a grandson of John Acton II.²⁵⁷ Meanwhile, another medium sized estate had been built up by Samuel Acton, glover, which included 29 Corve Street, the one property of John Acton I to have remained in family ownership. The Actons were principally a dynasty of glovers, though some had other trades and two members entered the professions.

The Waring dynasty (Fig. 96, p. 293) is one with several occupational groups. The progenitor was William Waring I, joiner, who in 1662 married a daughter of Peter Cole, butcher.²⁵⁸ He owned 15 Broad Street and added 10 Broad Street in 1676, by inheritance from his father in law.²⁵⁹ Number 13 was acquired later, certainly before 1700.²⁶⁰ These properties, with a Broad Street frontage of 48 yards (broken only by a narrow plot, number 14), remained in Waring hands for more than a century, though other properties were added. William Waring I was succeeded in

²⁵³ PRO, Feet of Fines, C25/590, Hilary term, 1650; SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, pp. 4, 5, 11, 19, 26; DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 1d..

²⁵⁴ PRO, Prob., 11/383, fo. 68, will of John Acton, 15th May, 1686.

²⁵⁵ LRP, p. 527, marriage, 7th April, 1686.

²⁵⁶ LPR, p. 794, burial of Thomas Farmer, 15th Oct., 1731; *ibid*, p. 809, burial of Anne Farmer, widow, 12th March, 1733; HRO, AA/20, will of Anne Farmer, 2nd April, 1734; deeds of 4-6 Bull Ring, conveyance 26th March, 1776.

²⁵⁷ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 26 (30 Corve St.); SA, 1141/29, conveyance (30 Corve St.) to John Hosier, glover, 24th March, 1748; deeds of 30 Corve St., assignment from heirs of Hosier to Samuel Monger, 27th March, 1781; deeds of 113 Corve Street, lease and release to Benjamin Acton, 5th June, 1723; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 262, lease (134 Corve St.) to Samuel Monger, 13th Oct., 1780.

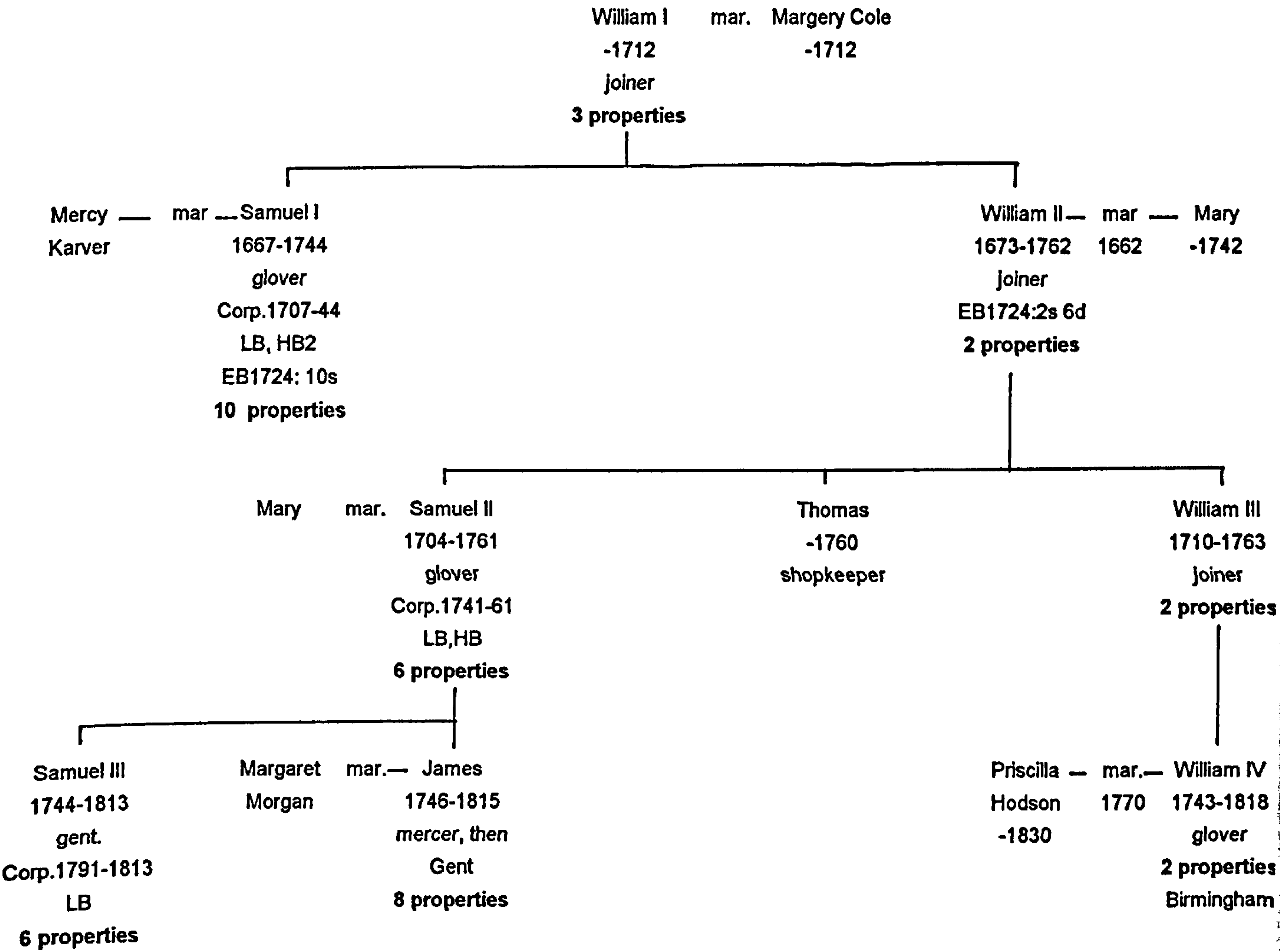
²⁵⁸ LPR, p. 391, 23rd Nov., 1662.

²⁵⁹ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 12; SA, LB, 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 43.

²⁶⁰ Beesly, P., *The History of No. 13 Broad Street, Ludlow* (Ludlow, c.1960), p. 1.

his joinery business by his second son, William II, but greater material success was gained by the elder son, Samuel I, glover. He accumulated ten Ludlow properties,

Fig.96 Warings: builders, glovers and mercers



Based on Ludlow parish registers, wills and title deeds
The properties are listed in Appendix 4

EB: Easter Book assessment
Corp.: member of Ludlow Borough Corporation
LB: Low Bailiff
HB: High Bailiff

including the former Austin Friary site, and properties off lower Old Street; lands outside the town at Brimfield, Corley and Ditton Priors; and investments in the Bank of England and East India Companies.²⁶¹ An obituary, in 1744, described him as 'an eminent wholesale glover, worth £20,000' (£2,660,000 in 2002).²⁶² As shown on Fig. 96, much of the estate passed to his nephew, Samuel Waring II, and then to great nephews, two of whom, Samuel Waring III and James Waring - a mercer - made additions. However, some lands were sold in their life times and others after death, those remaining of Samuel Waring III being left to executors 'on trust for the benefit of the children'.²⁶³ The two properties of the other branch of the Warings were also sold after William Waring V – a glover- had moved to Birmingham.²⁶⁴

The fortunes of the Davies family (Fig.97. p.295) illustrate how property holdings could be associated with social advance. In the 1660s Richard Davies, apothecary, a migrant from Eaton-under-Heywood, had a Ludlow estate of six properties, but this was dispersed among heirs.²⁶⁵ A grandson, Somerset Davies I, mercer, had three properties – in King Street, College Street and Linney. This was augmented by his son, Somerset Davies II, the 'attorney ...of large fortune'.²⁶⁶ He added several properties, among them Job Charlton's former house at 27 Broad Street, which Davies further enhanced. The family peaked when Somerset Davies III became Member of Parliament for Ludlow in 1783, later buying country estates, first at Wigmore, then at Croft Castle, though the Ludlow properties were then sold, including 27 Broad Street in 1789.²⁶⁷

²⁶¹ Botfield, B., 'On the Discovery of the Remains of the Priory of Austin Friars at Ludlow,' *Archaeologia*, xxxix (1862), 173-88 (p. 180); SA, 123/25; PRO, Prob., 11/735, fo. 246, will of Samuel Waring, 22nd Sept., 1744.

²⁶² *Aris's Gazette*, 1st Oct., 1744, p. 3, col. 3.

²⁶³ e.g. SA, 3452/2, release of trustees of James Waring to Wade Brown of Ludlow, 2nd Feb., 1816.

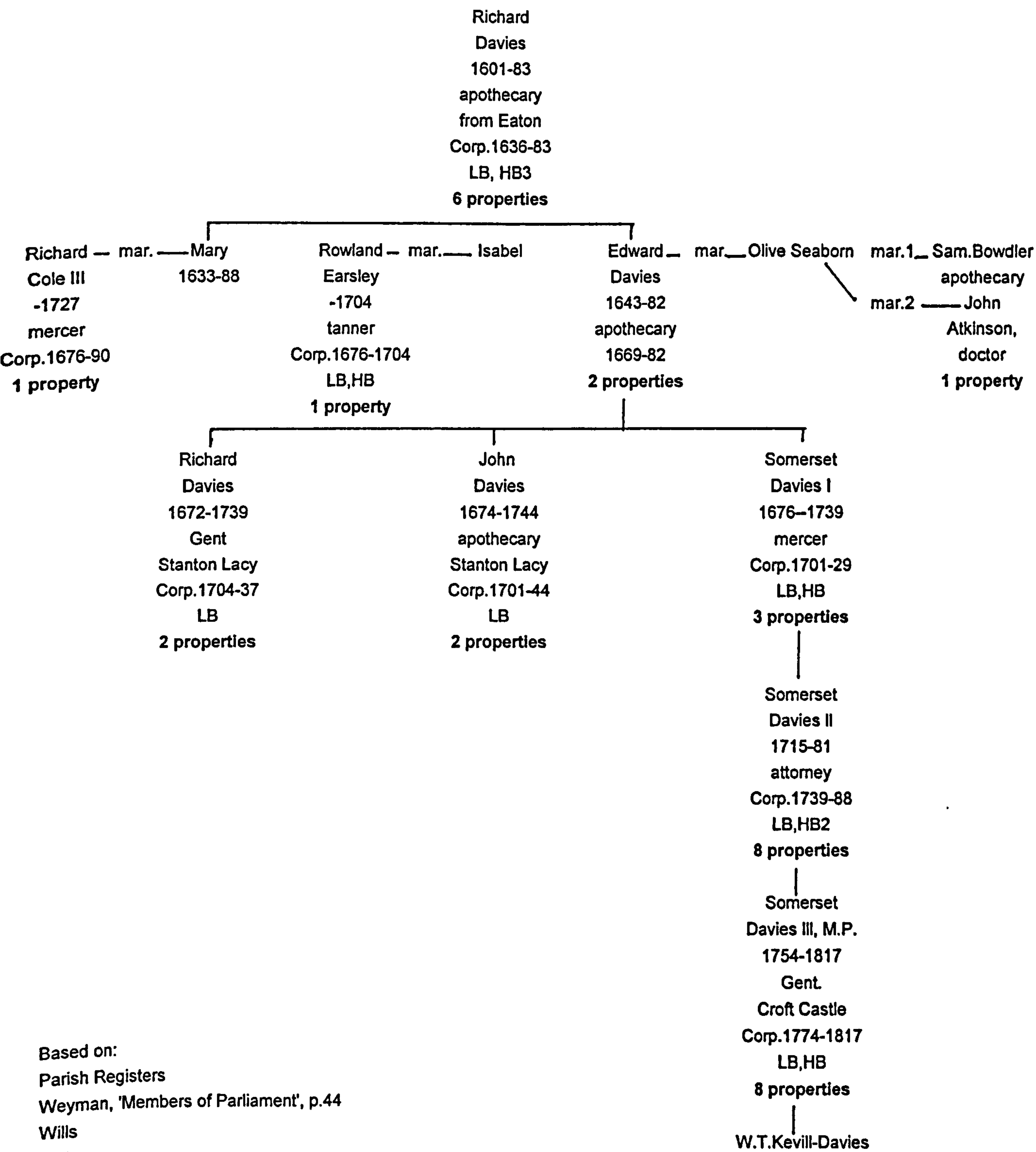
²⁶⁴ Deeds, 13 Broad Street, conveyance to Thomas Bowen of Bromfield, innkeeper, 25th Oct., 1803.

²⁶⁵ Several properties in King Street, 1 College Street and Conduit Close; see Appendix 4.

²⁶⁶ Powys, P.L., *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, ed. Climenson, E.J. (London, 1899), p. 135.

²⁶⁷ Weyman, 'Members of Parliament for Ludlow', p.44; Beesly, P, *Ludlow Houses*, p. 8

Fig.97 Davies: a family of rising fortune



Based on:
Parish Registers
Weyman, 'Members of Parliament', p.44
Wills

The properties are listed in Appendix 4
Corp: member of Ludlow Borough Corporation
LB: Low Bailiff
HB: High Bailiff

For the Salweys (Fig.98, p. 297) of Richard's Castle, Ludlow properties were just a small part in what has been called 'a history of aggrandisement', involving three country houses and estates.²⁶⁸ Descended from the London merchant Richard Salwey, who had been 'at the core of the revolutionary movement', the Salweys were less involved in the government of Ludlow than many rural land-owning families, especially in the late Stuart period.²⁶⁹ However, they acquired six Ludlow properties through the marriage of John Salwey I with Jane, the daughter of William Griffiths, a scion of a Welsh gentry family who, like William Pryce (p. 266), began in Ludlow as a mercer.²⁷⁰ John Salwey I rebuilt one of his Broad Street houses in 1703, and though two of his six properties went to younger sons, his heir, Richard Salwey I, retained four properties and commissioned two more Broad Street houses.²⁷¹ After 1750, however, Salweys resided less often in Ludlow, Dr Thomas Salwey, of Corporation leaseholder of 18 Broad Street, for example, dying at Bath in 1759.²⁷² By 1798 their remaining properties, 18 and 52 Broad Street, were both occupied by tenants, and were sold after the death of John Salwey II in 1803.²⁷³

12: 'Holding up half the sky': women as Ludlow property owners

The quotation, a saying of Chairman Mao, is the title of a paper by Dr Susan Wright already referred to in chapter 3.²⁷⁴ Wright considers many aspects of the role of women in eighteenth century Ludlow, especially the range of occupations, but does not refer to property ownership except incidentally. Covering the 1723 to 1786 period, she found that women accounted for between 25% and 29% of all heads of household, the majority of them being widows: 75% in 1723, 63% in 1763. The

²⁶⁸ Garnier and Hewlings, 'The Salwey Saga', p. 208.

²⁶⁹ Four members of the family were on the Corporation – Richard Salwey II, John Salwey II, John Salwey III and Henry Salwey – but no offices were held; see Appendix 1..

²⁷⁰ Col. of Arms, 1663 Visitation: RR 19/B/G, p. 29d.

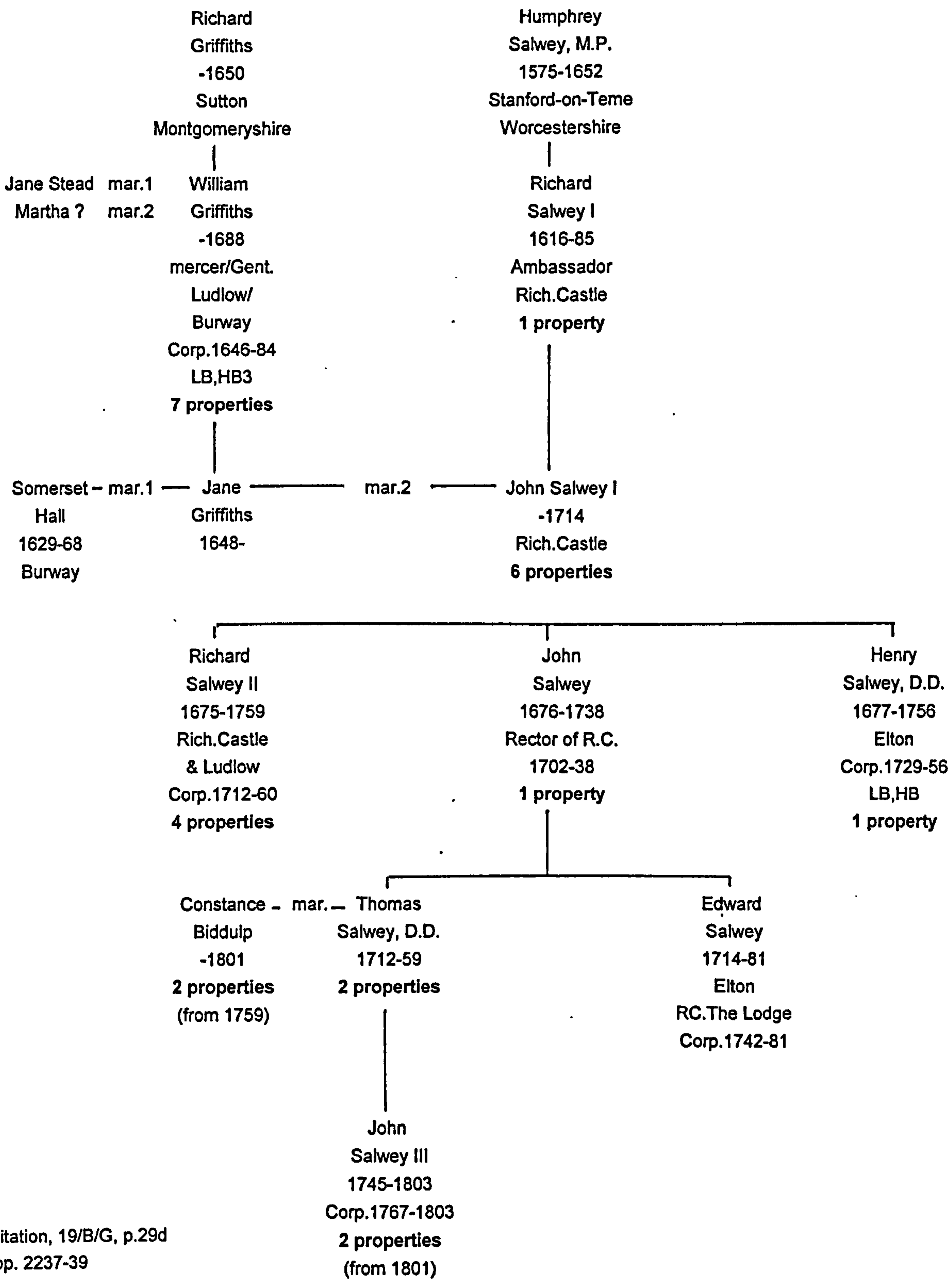
²⁷¹ SA, Mead collection (2705), 14, building contract (17 Broad St.), 3rd Feb., 1703; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 295, lease (18 Broad St.), 10th March, 1736; SA, LB, 8/3/117, Window Tax assessments, Richard Salwey's 'new house' (52 Broad Street).

²⁷² *Gentleman's Magazine (London)*, 1759, p. 497.

²⁷³ PRO, I.T, 23/71, Land Tax assessments; SA, 5411/35/6, Agreement for sale and purchase (18 Broad St.), 27th Oct., 1803; deeds of Methodist Chapel (52 Broad St.), release, 20th Feb., 1805.

²⁷⁴ Wright, S., 'Holding Up Half the Sky': Women and their occupations in eighteenth century Ludlow', *Midland History*, 14 (1989), pp. 53-74.

Fig.98: Griffiths and Salwey land owning families with Ludlow properties



C.of Arms: 1663 Shropshire Visitation, 19/B/G, p.29d
Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1952), pp. 2237-39
Ludlow and Richard's Castle parish registers; wills; title deeds
Properties listed in Appendix 4
Corp.: member of Ludlow Borough Corporation
LB: Low Bailiff
HB: High Bailiff
RC: Richard's Castle

current research shows, however, that the proportion of women owners, taken across the whole 1660 to 1848 period, was much less, 13.09%. Although the figures, referring to different periods, are not exactly comparable, the imbalance is striking.

Fig.99: Women owners of Ludlow property, 1660 to 1848

A	B		C	D	E		F	G	H
			Number of owners				Number of A.O.W.s		
	Grouping of		Ludlow	Ludlow	%		Ludlow	Ludlow	%
	husbands and/or		owners	women	(D of C)		owners	women	G of F)
	their heiresses			owners				owners	
1	Agriculture		46	2			963	96	9.97
4	Building		188	29	15.53		3025	352	11.64
5	Manufacturing		811	102	12.58		13,412	1664	12.41
6	Transport		35	4			608	60	9.87
7	Dealing		550	76	13.82		10,466	1006	9.61
8	Finance		28	0			310		
9	Labour		30	5	13.9		511	51	9.98
10	Professional		358	48	13.41		5,723	802	14.01
11a	Services		14	0			198		
11b	Domestic		10	7	70		185	142	76.76
12	Gentry		242	31	12.81		3,479	559	16.07
13	Dependent		0	0					
14	Institutions		9	0			136		
	TOTALS		2323	304	13.09		39,016	4732	12.13

Data about women owners, abstracted from Appendix 4, is summarised in Fig. 99. The percentage of all A.O.U.s, 12.13%, is slightly less than the percentage of the number of owners, indicating that on average women owned properties for shorter periods than men. Unless there is evidence of a different occupation, women have been placed in the same occupational and social grouping as their husbands or fathers. The figures in columns D and G show that women owners were spread across nearly all occupational status groupings, with *manufacturing* much the largest grouping. Where the number of women owners in an occupational/status grouping is five or more, percentages of women owners as against all Ludlow owners have been shown in columns E and H. The number of owners range from 12.58% to 15.53%, with *domestic services*, a special case, standing alone at a higher level. For A.O.W.s the

range is slightly wider, from 9.98% for labour to 16.07% for independents, *domestic services* again having a much greater percentage.

Domestic service was the only grouping in which women owners were a majority, with seven of ten owners being unmarried women. Some have been considered above (p. 260). Another was Adda Tranter, who was left 39 Broad Street in 1808 by her employer, Ann Sheppard. This was for her lifetime only, after which the property reverted to cousins of Ann Shepherd.²⁷⁵ In 1821 Samuel Vaughan, a bachelor butcher, left 5 Broad Street in perpetuity to his house keeper Mary Williams, she selling it in 1828.²⁷⁶

There are many examples of women succeeding to their husband's property and continuing his business. Thomas Sayce, ironmonger, purchased 68 Broad Street in 1739, leaving it, when he died in 1748, to his wife Anne, then to his brother.²⁷⁷ Between that year and 1756, when she married again, Ann Sayce traded at the premises as an ironmonger, being presented to the Town Court in 1755 for 'leaving potts and grinding stones in the streets'.²⁷⁸ Several widows were innkeepers, such as Margaret Heath, from 1742 to 1760 licensee of The Green Dragon (94 to 98 Corve Street), after inheriting from her husband.²⁷⁹ Mary Kinnersley, dyer, was a working widow at 24 to 26 Mill Street from 1737 to 1768, but this property was hers by inheritance from her father, Clement Downe, Gent., her husband, Thomas Kinnersley, dyer, living in it with her from December 1726 until his death.²⁸⁰ In 1841 John Crundell, baker, left his premises at 4 Tower Street to his wife Sarah, specifying that she was to 'carry on the trade of a baker'.²⁸¹

For most women owners, especially widows and spinsters, as was the case with most men, the land they owned, nearly always from inheritance, was a place in

²⁷⁵ PRO, Prob., 11/1483, will of Ann Shepherd, 12th July, 1808.

²⁷⁶ DL, Easter Books, 1804-11, Samuel Vaughan and maid; HRO, AA/20, will of Samuel Vaughan, 30th Nov., 1821; deeds of De Greys café (5-6 Broad Street), conveyance, 4th May, 1828.

²⁷⁷ SA, 786, conveyance, 12th Sept., 1739; HRO, AA/20, will of Thomas Sayce, 27th July, 1748.

²⁷⁸ SA, LB, 11/2, Quarter Sessions Minute Book, 1752-1810, 1755 entries.

²⁷⁹ HRO, AA/20, will of Thomas Heath, 7th Sept., 1742; *ibid*, will of Margaret Heath, widow, 22nd April, 1760.

²⁸⁰ HRO, AA/20, will of Clement Downe, 18th April, 1727; *ibid*, admin. of Thomas Kinnersley, 29th Nov., 1737; *LPR*, p. 829, burial of Thomas Kinnersley, 16th Nov., 1737; *ibid*, p. 958, burial of Mary Kinnersley, widow.

²⁸¹ HRO, AA/20, will of John Crundull, 10th June, 1841.

which to live, or an asset that would generate income. Mary Kettleby, widow of lawyer Abel Kettleby (1676-1744), lived at High Hall from 1749 to 1766.²⁸² Lower down the social scale Margaret Probert, a brickmaker's widow, lived at 4 to 6 Lower Galdeford from her husband's death in 1721 until her own in 1742. Her husband had taken a long lease on the property in 1717, 'for the lives of himself, his wife and his children'.²⁸³ William Taylor of Southwark, skinner, redeemed The Rose and Crown in Ludlow from mortgage in 1761, his widow, still in Southwark, receiving interest until after 1798.²⁸⁴ However, a few women owned two, three or four properties. From 1832 to 1844, Jemima Adams, widow of surgeon Philip Birt Adams, lived at 50 Broad Street, and drew income from other properties.²⁸⁵

The women owners cited above inherited their properties from members of their families, usually husband or father. Women who could buy properties for themselves were much rarer, but two examples have been found. In 1777 Elizabeth and Mary Jordan opened a 'boarding and day school for ladies' at 13 Corve Street.²⁸⁶ They had, a pupil later wrote, 'been educated for their own gratification, but when reverses came they supported their parents by opening a seminary'.²⁸⁷ Perhaps with their profits, they bought the house in 1792 for £540, using it first as a school, then as a private residence until Elizabeth's death in 1843.²⁸⁸ The second case is more unusual. The Revd. John Edwards, curate of Hopton Cangeford from 1774 and Preacher of Ludlow from 1778, supplemented his income by working as a computer for the National Almanack.²⁸⁹ 'The Principal part of the calculation' however, was done from the outset by John's wife, Mary. When John died prematurely in 1784 Mary continued the work, encouraged to do so by Nevil Maskelyne, the Astronomer

²⁸² Weyman, 'Records of Ludlow', p. 326-27; SA, LB, 8/3/121-47, Window Tax assessments, 1749-66.

²⁸³ Deeds, conveyance, 20th June, 1717; *LPR*, p. 733, burial of Peter Probert, 19th Sept., 1721; *ibid*, p. 852, burial of Margaret Probert, 31st July, 1742.

²⁸⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 75d, licence to alien for redemption, 21st Jan., 1761; PRO, IR, 23/71, Land Tax Assessment, 1798.

²⁸⁵ HRO, AA/20, will of Philip Adams, 15th May, 1832; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843; the properties were 32 Broad Street (entry 500), 123-125 Old Street (Ludford) and 2-6 Lower Mill Street (entries 194-98).

²⁸⁶ SA, LB, 15/2/214, Poor Rate assessment, 1777; *Hereford Journal*, 30th May, 1792, p. 3, col. 3. .

²⁸⁷ Oman, *Ayot Rectory*, p. 22.

²⁸⁸ Deeds, assignment of lease, 26th Dec., 1792; conveyance, 31st Dec., 1859.

²⁸⁹ Draft paper by Dr Mary Croarken, Norwich, Visiting Fellow, University of Warwick, 'Mary Edwards: Computing for a living in eighteenth century England'.

Royal, who often visited Ludlow to see his sister, the widow of Robert Clive, then living at Oakly Park. In 1810 Mary was able to purchase 4 Brand Lane, 'an airy house with a garden', and when she died in 1815 the computation was continued by her daughter Eliza.²⁹⁰

13: Ownership in 1843

This section is based on the earliest surviving poor rate book for the reformed Borough of Ludlow, dated 5th January 1843.²⁹¹ As listed in Appendix 5, there are 1,356 entries, arranged by wards in an easily traceable sequence round the town, beginning on Castle Walk and finishing in Corve Street. The valuations show a wide range. The Feathers Inn, for example, was valued at £47 15s, one of the twenty most highly valued properties in Ludlow.²⁹² The street front properties on either side ranged from £27 to £20.²⁹³ The various back buildings went down to £3 16 5s for cottages in what is now Attorney's Walk and £3 for the small building on the town wall then used for the manufacture of candles.²⁹⁴

The rate book does not provide a valuation for every property – the candle-house is valued alone but William Evan's slaughterhouse, on a nearby property, jointly with his yard - but it does enable the holdings of all Ludlow property owners to be valued, compared and analysed. The name of every owner is known, and for 1,221 of the 1,355 properties – fractionally over 90% - the occupation or social status of the owner has been identified. Using this information, the owners have been categorised into the same occupational and social status groups as were used earlier in the chapter. These are shown in the upper part of Fig. 100 (p.302). In the lower part of Fig. 100, the values of the properties have been processed in the same way. It must be remembered, however, that the figures refer to ownership not to economic activity, and that many successful business operated from rented rather than owned property. The trade directories for the early 1840s list, for example, list between 21 and 23

²⁹⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 234, licence to Somerset Davies, Esq., to alien 4 Brand Lane to Mrs Mary Edwards, 28th Oct., 1810; Petition to the Board of Longitude, 5th Dec. 1811, Cambridge Univ. MSS, RGO 14/11, part 1, f.145, cited by Croarkern.

²⁹¹ SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843; all 1843 references in this section from this source. .

²⁹² Ibid, entry 598.

²⁹³ Ibid, entries 597, 599.

²⁹⁴ Ibid, entries 605, 606, 607.

Fig.100 Ownership of all Ludlow properties, 1843

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L
Number of properties owned										
Code	Grouping	Ludlow		Zone 1	Zone 2	Distant	All "foreign	%	All	
	[1]	owners	%	owners	owners	owners	owners"		owners	%
		[2]		[3]	[4]	[5]				
1	Agriculture	7	0.76	56	1	16	73	24.17	80	6.55
4	Building	117	12.73			1	1	0.33	118	9.66
5	Manufacturing	341	37.11	24	18	7	49	16.23	390	31.94
6	Transport	6	0.65						6	0.49
7	Dealing	278	30.25	4	6	28	38	12.58	316	25.88
8	Finance	20	2.18						20	1.64
9	Labour	1	0.11						1	0.08
10	Professional	116	12.62		7	1	8	2.65	124	10.16
11a	Services	3	0.33						3	0.25
11b	Domestic	2	0.22						2	0.16
12	Gentry	28	3.05	27	66	40	133	44.04	161	13.19
13	Dependent	0							0	
		919		111	98	93	302		1221	
Property values										
Code	Grouping	Ludlow		Zone 1	Zone 2	Distant	All "foreign	%	All	
	[1]	owners	%	owners	owners	owners	owners"		owners	%
		[2]		[3]	[4]	[5]				
		£	%	£	£	£	£	%	£	%
1	Agriculture	62	0.05	296	14	77	387	12.75	449	3.59
4	Building	838	8.82			103	103	3.39	911	7.28
5	Manufacturing	3020	31.78	210	390	100	700	23.06	3720	29.74
6	Transport	18	0.19						18	0.14
7	Dealing	3083	32.45	29	67	195	291	9.58	3374	26.97
8	Finance	138	1.45						138	1.1
9	Labour	7	0.07						7	0.06
10	Professional	1753	18.45		45	10	55	1.81	1808	14.45
11a	Services	25	0.26						25	0.2
11b	Domestic	16	0.17						16	0.13
12	Gentry	542	5.7	558	545	397	1500	49.41	2042	16.33
13	Dependent	0							0	
		9502		1093	1061	882	3036		12508	
1	See pp.76-81									
2	Data from Appendix 5, which is a digest of Ludlow Borough Poor Rate Book (SA, LB, 15/2/245)									
3	17 parishes closest to Ludlow (see p. 30)									
4	Parishes beyond Zone 1 (see p.31)									
5	Other places, including London									

maltsters, but only thirteen of these owned their premises.²⁹⁵ Those who were occupiers rather than owners included Henry Lloyd, a tenant of Jane Hand – a bricklayer's widow – at 142 Corve Street, where the house and stable were valued at £15 and a malt-house separately at £9.²⁹⁶ Approximately three quarters of all owners lived in the town, confirming the pattern presented above for 1669 and for the whole 1660 to 1848 period, though now drawn from complete statistics rather than from 72% of properties.

The statistics show that just over three tenths of the town was still owned by manufacturers. Glove making was in terminal decline, though five glovers, all of them apparently retired, were still property owners,²⁹⁷ while two tanners, William Gardener in Lower Galdeford and Benjamin Urwick in Corve street, owned 22 properties between them, with a total value of £163 10s.²⁹⁸ There were a number of new industries, such as the iron works of Chaplin Hodges, who owned a house, foundry and mill at Dinham, valued at £36, and had developed a small estate of nine houses in Frog Lane, six of them valued at only £3 each.²⁹⁹ Another new venture was the wool manufactory of William Evans, who acquired 34 and 35 Broad Street in 1832.³⁰⁰ His factory, arguably the first in Ludlow, was valued at £30 and the mill at £6. Of 'foreign' manufacturers, the largest input came from the Clee Hill ironmasters, - Thomas Botfield, Mary George (widow of James George), and George James Lewis, her son in law - who between them owned 33 properties valued at £439 15s: though this figure was considerably inflated by the political ambitions of the Botfield family, as shown above (p.280).

The dealers were now nearly as important, owning more than a quarter of Ludlow properties. Innkeepers were the largest group, with thirty individuals

²⁹⁵ Robson, *Commercial Directory*, 1840, pp. 68/69; Pigot, *Commercial Directory*, 1842, p. 22; Pigot, *Commercial Directory*, 1844, p. 24.

²⁹⁶ SA, 5411/74/9, conveyance of 142 Corve Street, 12th June, 1811; HRO, AA/20, admin. of John Hand to widow Jane Hand, 24th May, 1820.

²⁹⁷ Samuel Acton, William Jennings, John Maund, Thomas Spear and Thomas Wilkes, none of whom are listed under 'glove manufacture' in Pigot's *Commercial Directory* (1842), p. 22.

²⁹⁸ See Appendix 5 for details for this and other statements, unless another reference is given.

²⁹⁹ Pigot's *Commercial Directory*, 1835, p. 362; Robson's *Commercial Directory*, 1840, p. 65. Hodges was in business in Lower Broad Street in 1835, but had moved to Dinham by 1840..

³⁰⁰ SCM, deeds of 34-36 Lower Broad Street, conveyance, 4th June, 1832.

owning 91 properties, with a total valuation of £1,070 10s. These included the proprietors of four of the six larger establishments – listed in directories as ‘inns’.³⁰¹ Of the ‘taverns and public houses’, 13 of 50 landlords owned their own premises.³⁰² The next largest group were the butchers, two of whom, Samuel Dayus and Benjamin Pitt, both had properties valued at over £160. Grocer and ironmonger owners were fewer, but included William Harding, son of John Harding, wine merchant. Descended from Roger Harding, gardener, this was a Ludlow dynasty of rising importance, William and his father in law Henry Whittall, druggist, owning between them 20 properties with a total valuation of £315 10s.³⁰³ Three Ludlow ironmongers owned 21 properties between them, but a larger holding was that of Isaac Armstrong of the City of London, who had 27 properties valued at £141 5s.

The third class of Ludlow property owners were the gentry, 133 (82%) of whom lived outside Ludlow, half of them in the inner Ludlow district. The largest Ludlow estate was that of Janns Brettell Vaughan (d.1850), of Bromfield.³⁰⁴ He had five properties, valued at £176 10s, including 14 Castle Street and Merivale House off Camp Lane. Of almost identical value were the Ludlow properties of the Hon. G. F. Hamilton Russell, Viscount Boyne, of Burwarton Hall. The south Shropshire properties had come through his marriage in 1796 to Harriott Baugh, heiress of Benjamin Baugh, Ludlow’s town clerk, who had married Elizabeth Holland of Burwarton, Mary Snead later reminiscing that ‘her large fortune had been an object’.³⁰⁵ In 1828 this was dwarfed by estates in Durham acquired by marriage to the daughter of William Russell of Brancepeth Castle, from a family of Sunderland bankers enriched by local collieries.³⁰⁶ The Boynes now had wider horizons, and though they paid £1 1s church lewn regularly until 1835, an indication of occasional residence in Ludlow, their names are not listed in Directories from 1840 onwards, and

³⁰¹ Pigot’s *Commercial Directory*, 1842, p. 22: Elizabeth Cooke, Angel; William Pea, Bull; Matthew Evans, Elephant and Castle; John Williams, Golden Lion.

³⁰² Ibid; e.g. John Davies, Blue Boar; John Carter, Pheasant; Joseph Weaver, Talbot. Some of those categorised as innkeepers were the executors of deceased persons, such as John Harley (d.1829), formerly of The Crown and Horseshoes, who had owned a block of properties in Lower Broad Street (Pigot, *Commercial Directory*, 1828, p. 682); HRO, AA/20, will of John Harley, dyer (and innkeeper), 30th Dec., 1829.

³⁰³ Lloyd et al, *Victorian Ludlow*, p. 71

³⁰⁴ Charity board, Lady Chapel, St Laurence’s Parish Church.

³⁰⁵ LPR., p. 1220, marriage, 4th. Aug., 1796; Oman, *Ayot Rectory*, p. 28.

³⁰⁶ Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, III, pp. 500-06.

when Lady Boyne died in 1854 her residence was in Belgrave Square.³⁰⁷ Other rural gentry, including the Herberts of Powis Castle, still had Ludlow properties in the 1840s but as shown in chapter 3 (pp. 76-77), their residential presence had diminished compared to earlier periods.

The professional class owning land in Ludlow, fourth by number of properties and values, contained several lawyers and medical men of substance, and also officers from the armed services, including Captain Harris, R.N., of Kington, who had a £600 mortgage on 35 to 40 Bull Ring.³⁰⁸ The one with the most highly valued properties was Thomas Edwards, schoolmaster, who operated a private school at The College from 1789, teaching some Latin, but also a range of commercial subjects, including 'Rebate, Equities of Payment, Barter, Loss, Gain and Exchange'.³⁰⁹ He seems to have retired by 1812, but was able to speculate in property, dividing The College into a number of residences, adding the leases of 1 and 2 College Street, and 1 to 5 Linney.³¹⁰ In 1807 the Linney property was 'a garden', but by 1828 it had 'four newly erected messuages', to which another was later added. In 1843 Edwards had 15 Ludlow properties, valued at £158 10s.

Builders and craftsmen, most of them living in the town, owned 117 Ludlow properties, with a value of £911. They will be considered in detail in chapter 6 (pp.333-342). The next most numerous were those in agriculture, with 19 farmers from outside the town owning Ludlow property. Some were mortgagees, for example John Wellings of Leystars, who inherited a £300 mortgage on 17 Corve Street.³¹¹ Others held in their own right, such as William Davenport of Downton, who owned a number of houses at the bottom of Lower Raven Lane, as well as a warehouse and five cottages in the east part of adjoining Barnaby House.³¹² There were much

³⁰⁷ DL, EB,, 1812-29, 1830-35; Robson, *Commercial Directory*, 1840, p. 64; Pigot, *Commercial Directory*, 1844, p. 22.

³⁰⁸ SA, 1141/161/16, Equity of Redemption subject to mortgage, 25th Nov., 1831.

³⁰⁹ SA, 2881/1/79, Easter Books, 1789-1800; Barfoot and Wilkes, *Universal British Directory* (London, 1794), p. 616; SA, LB, 7/46, application from Edwards to Corporation for post of usher at Grammar School, 28th Oct., 1793.

³¹⁰ DL, EB, 1804-11, 1812-29: 1811 entry, Thomas Edwards, schoolmaster; 1812 and subsequently, Mr Edwards; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, pp. 69/70, lease of College House (nine residences), 28th Oct., 1794; PRO, I.R., 24/4234, property land tax valuations, 1798, Castle Street ward; SA. LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 406, lease (1-5 Linney), 28th Oct., 1825.

³¹¹ SA, 5411/79/5, transfer of part of mortgage, 10th Feb., 1834.

³¹² Deeds of Ludlow College, mortgages, 1st June, 1831 and 30th Nov., 1832.

smaller numbers from transport, finance, labour and services, the only substantial holding being the 14 properties – mostly low value – held by the assigns of Edward Wellings, the failed banker of 1826 (pp. 127-128).

14: Synthesis, 1660-1848

In the introduction to this chapter, the balance between continuity and change was identified as a major theme. As a macrocosm, the pattern of ownership between 1660 and 1848 shows substantial continuity, but on a micro-scale the individuals and families involved showed many changes.

In spite of the increase in Ludlow's population from an estimated 2,100 to 5,064 in 1841 (Fig. 8, p. 60), the number of owners in the first decade of the 1660 to 1848 period was remarkably similar to that in the last: 268 in 1669, 269 in 1843.³¹³ The broad pattern of their places of residence was also similar, with 77.4 % of owners living in Ludlow in 1669, compared to 75.3% in 1843.³¹⁴ There are similarities, too, in the occupational and social status groupings, as shown in Figs. 89 and 100 (pp. 248, 302). In 1669 and in 1843, and indeed over the whole period, manufacturers were about a third of all owners, the gentry were about a sixth, the professions accounted for just over a tenth and builders and agriculturalists for about one sixteenth each. However, there was a substantial change in the numbers of owners who were dealers: 18.26% in 1669, 20.45% over the whole period and 25.88% in 1843. These figures are a reflection of the even greater increase in the number of dealers as proportion of the population over the same period, from 12.9% in 1669 to 29.94% in 1843. This is an increase which shows the developing role of Ludlow over the 1660 to 1848 period as a centre for dealing, a town that was, in Borsay's phrase, an engine 'of the commercial system, pumping goods to and fro along the arteries of trade'.³¹⁵

These broad brush comparisons conceal significant differences. By 1843, for example, gentry had only 28 of the 919 Ludlow properties owned by Ludlow residents, but 133 properties belonged to gentry living outside Ludlow, bringing the proportion of all gentry owners to 13.19%. This reflects a fundamental change in the character of Ludlow, as will be shown in chapter 7. Even more fundamentally, the

³¹³ See p. 244, Fig. 88; Appendix 5.

³¹⁴ See pp. 248, 302, Figs. 89 and 100.

³¹⁵ Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, p. 23.

- comparisons do not reveal the great turnover in individual and family ownerships, the pattern of which is reflected in the many micro-studies presented in this chapter, including the four dynastic studies.³¹⁶ It is indicative of a wider pattern that of those dynasties, only one – the Actons – held property in Ludlow throughout the whole 1660 to 1848 period. As shown by the case studies of ‘two immigrant entrepreneurs’ (pp. 266-270), William Pryce, mercer, and John Stead, physician, change was the dominant and persistent mode of post-Renaissance Ludlow, and it is only with the luxury of hindsight that broad patterns of continuity can be detected.

³¹⁶ Figs. 95 to 98, pp. 291, 293, 295, 297.

Chapter 6

Improvement

This chapter reviews some of the ways in which Ludlow altered during the 1660 to 1848 period, constrained, to a large degree, by the property arrangements described in Chapter 4 and financed, in various ways, by the owners considered in Chapter 5. Nearly all the changes made were perceived to be improvements by those who made them, both aesthetically or in terms of the potential they gave for the creation of wealth or the pursuit of pleasure. The focus will be on buildings, the renewal or extension of which were the most manifest sign of improvement, though what happened in Ludlow was only an echo of the 'Amazing Scene of new Foundations' observed by visitors to London in 1725.¹

Within the general ambiance of improvement, specific factors promoted new building. There was often a need to repair old properties. As population increased, especially after 1760, more accommodation was essential. New and better public facilities were sometimes required, such as the need for Assembly Rooms, or for stronger and wider bridges. Many householders wished to emulate architectural and social fashions, desiring symmetrical frontages or central entrance halls. Professional or business success brought opportunities for larger residences. In some cases, large houses needed to be divided, with rebuilding of some parts. Declining woodlands as well as current tastes encouraged the use of brick as Ludlow's prime building material. Economic change promoted specific kinds of industrial buildings, including many malt-houses. The growth of non-conformity heralded a number of chapels.

1: Chronology of Building

In order to establish a sequence of buildings, and to identify phases of high or low building activity, it is necessary to give dates to buildings. These are rarely precise, however. As shown on Fig. 101 (p. 309), building dates have been identified for 64 Ludlow buildings between 1660 and 1848, but the construction process often took more than a single year. Work at 54 to 56 Mill Street, for example, had started by 1739, when the Window Tax assessment is 'Mr Karver's new house, VOID', but the date on the drain head is 1741. Nevertheless, each of the dates used to compile

¹ Beeton M.M. and Chancellor, E.B., *A Tour Thro' London about the Year 1725* (London, 1929), p. 97.

Fig. 101: Known construction dates of Ludlow buildings

half decades	total number of buildings per half decade										elite residences built 1720 to 1779		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	property	commissioner	
											[1]		
1660-1664	1										1721 7 Mill Street	Richard Baldwin	ironmaster
1665-1669	2										1722 9 Mill Street	Caesar Hawkins	surgeon
1670-1674	1										1723 16 Brand Lane	George Walcot	Esq.
1675-1679											1725 4 Brand Lane	Francis Charlton	Esq.
1680-1684											1728 14 Castle St.	Edward Baugh	lawyer
1690-1694											1738 18 Broad Street	Richard Salwey	Esq.
1695-1699											1739 19 Broad Street	John Holland	lawyer
1700-1704	3										1739 9 Corve Street	Richard Powell	Gent.
1705-1709											1741 54-56 Mill St.	Henry Karver	lawyer
1710-1714	2										1741 37-45 Old Street	John Norris	joiner
1715-1719											1742 20-22 Castle St.	Abel Kettleby	lawyer
1720-1724	4										1744 52 Broad Street	Richard Salwey	Esq.
1725-1729	3										1748 5-7 Castle Street	Henry Davies	apothecary
1730-1734	1										1748 Dinham House	Richard Knight	Gent.
1735-1739	3										1750 13 Corve Street	Walter Griffiths	glover
1740-1744	6										1750 5 Mill Street	William Waring	joiner
1745-1749	4										1755 37 Broad Street	Thomas Dunne	Esq.
1750-1754	3										1755 35-36 Broad St.	Thomas Dunne	Esq.
1755-1759	3										1764 3 Brand Lane	William Pearce	Esq.
1760-1764	5										1768 38 Broad Street	William Toldervy	lawyer
1765-1769	3										1769 Meth. Ch. site	Robert Pardoe	lawyer
1770-1774	4										1770 54 Broad Street	uncertain	
1775-1779	2										1771 14-15 Corve St.	Thos. Cadwallader	innkeeper
1780-1784											1774 44 Mill Street	Thomas Hammonds	baker
1785-1789											1775 11-12 Dinham	Duncan Campbell	builder
1790-1794	1										1777 9 Old Street	Jos. Eggington	ironmonger
1795-1799	1												
1780-1804	1										[1]	italics denote buildings no longer standing	
1805-1809	2												
1810-1814													
1815-1819													
1820-1824	2												
1825-1829	1												
1830-1834	1												
1835-1839	2												
1840-1844	2												

Fig. 101 was a year when work on the building in question was taking place, though construction may have taken longer.

Eleven inscribed dates are available, several of them on drain heads between 1721, at 7 Mill Street, and 1741, as cited above.² There are some firm documentary dates, as for 21 Bull Ring, described as 'in building' on the Window Tax return for 1747; or for the first Primitive Methodist Chapel in Old Street, opened in 1836.³ In other cases the documentary evidence is circumstantial but strong enough for a date to be affirmed. On the freehold site F102 on the east side of Old Street (where the second Primitive Methodist chapel was built in 1871, see Fig. 56, p. 182), Window Tax returns give nine for 1766, 'void' for 1769 and 1770 and 17 for 1771, a strong indication that a major or total rebuilding was under way by 1769 or earlier, leading to an inhabited dwelling by 1771. The general pattern of building revealed on Fig.101 shows a concentrated period of building activity in Ludlow from 1720 to 1779, before and after which building appears to be less in quantity and intermittent in occurrence. Many of the buildings erected between 1720 and 1779 were elite residences, commissioned by gentry, members of the professions and a few manufacturers and dealers. Architectural styles suggest that many other elite residences, such 27 Broad Street and High Hall, were erected during this sixty year period, which has a claim to be a golden age of Georgian building in Ludlow.

If, however, building dates that can be reasonably inferred from a range of documentary sources are included, then a fuller picture emerges. The kind of inference made can be illustrated by 7 Corve Street, an amalgam of two former properties which had been destroyed in the Civil War.⁴ In 1686 'two several messplaces' on the west side of Corve Street' were leased to Bernard Hammond, apothecary, the term messplace being a firm indication that there were then no houses on the site.⁵ A house was on the site by 1694, when licence was issued to 'Mr Bernard Hammond', a Corporation member, 'to continue the posts in Corve Street

² Also 14 Castle Street, 1728; 18 Broad Street, 1738; 9 Corve Street, 1739; 41 Mill Street (rear), 41 Mill Street..

³ *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (1837), pp. 69-70.

⁴ Shropshire Archives (SA), Ludlow Borough (LB), 4/2/2, Register of Leases, 1637-1728, p. 191.

⁵ SA, LB 4/2/2, p. 223.

before his house', evidence that a house had been built.⁶ The suggested inferred date is 1690, half way between the two known dates. Another example is 135 Corve Street, where examination of the building shows that an older timber framed structure was rebuilt in brick in the Georgian period. The Corporation lease of an adjoining property, 134, issued in 1749, refers to 135 as 'the new erected messuage of James Holland, maltster', while Window Tax assessments for 135 rose from 14 in 1747 to 18 in 1750.⁷ Rebuilding between 1747 and 1749 is therefore inferred, though the window tax evidence alone would not be sufficient for such an inference. When the period of inferred building is longer, a median date has to be used, as at 37 to 45 Old Street. Described as 'one messuage' in 1810, back building had made this 'six messuages' by 1820, so 1815 has been postulated as the inferred date.⁸ The grounds for error are wide, but for detecting general trends the method has some merit.

The 222 inferred dates resulting from this process have been added to the 64 known dates to give a total of 286 dates, which have been plotted on Fig. 102 (p. 312). These confirm that the amount of building activity in Ludlow before 1700 was limited, but they show a pattern of substantial building from 1700 through to 1844. Within this prolonged building period, a number of peak half decades can be seen, especially the 1720 to 1724 period, with 17 buildings with known or inferred dates. Many of the inferred building dates after 1770 refer to the processes of back building and courtyard development, already considered in chapter 4 (pp. 226-231).

2: Phases and Cycles of Building

The first twenty five years of the period seems to have been a time of modest building activity in Ludlow. Although much rebuilding after Civil war destruction in the suburbs occurred before 1660, some of the building dates after that year refer to this process. In 1664 the lease of 81 Corve Street, for example, was renewed to James Turford, glover without fine 'in consideration of great charge laid out in building of the premises being burnt in time of war'.⁹ The early post-Restoration

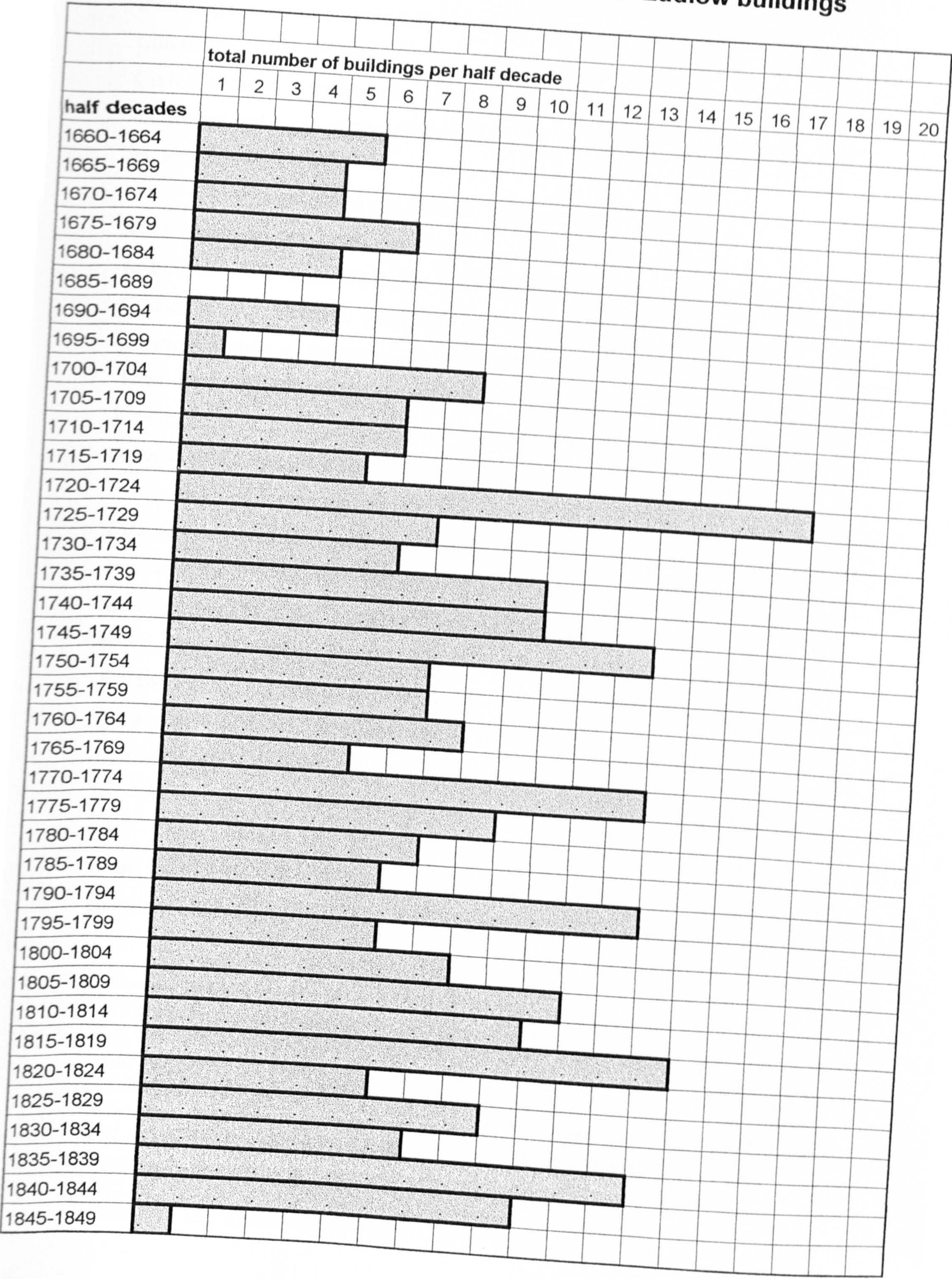
⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1746, p. 52d, licence to erect posts, 9th June, 1694.

⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p.16d, lease of 134 Corve Street, 13th Oct., 1749; SA, LB, 8/3/119-122, Window Tax assessments, 1747-50.

⁸ SA, Clark & Co. collection, 1141/2, assignment, 24th Dec., 1810; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 335, lease, 28th Oct., 1820.

⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 227d, lease, 8th Oct., 1664.

Fig.102 Known and inferred building dates of Ludlow buildings



years also saw some building by persons associated with the Council of the Marches, including the large mansion erected on the site of High Hall by Sir Timothy Littleton, Chief Justice of North Wales.¹⁰ The first known example of the division of large pre-Civil War premises into smaller units also occurred at this time, with 29 Broad Street, the former hall range of 'the Anker Inn', becoming a single house that was described as 'newly built' in 1677.¹¹

There are no known or inferred building dates for the period 1685 to 1689. These years, contentious locally as well as nationally, were not conducive to building in Ludlow. The imposition of a new Borough charter, with more authority to the Council of the Marches, caused widespread dissatisfaction. 'Several of the old attorneys withdrew themselves' in 1685; and six constables were presented at the Town Court in 1686 'for not attending on the Mayor and Justices at their monthly meetings and for not putting in presentments'.¹² In 1689 a letter in the Harley papers reports 'cabals and threats of Papists' in Ludlow, with 'mischief brewing'.¹³

Building resumed from 1690, Fig. 102 (p. 312) showing consistent building each half decade to 1709, with the greatest activity after 1700. There is some overlap here with the first of eight 'building cycles' postulated by Lewis.¹⁴ His indicators were imports of timber, and returns from taxes on brick production, glass and wall paper, though he admits that the statistical evidence, which is nation-wide, must be reviewed in the light of local circumstances. Though the evidence used by Lewis is not available until 1698, he points out that there had been 'a boom in house building' nationally in the mid-1690s.¹⁵ Ludlow seems to have shared in this, even though harvests were generally poor, with a series of adverse seasons for farmers from 1692-93.¹⁶ These were the early years of activity by William Price, mercer, and John Stead, apothecary, whose roles in providing elite residences in Ludlow have been considered above (pp. 266-270). Both enhanced existing buildings in Broad Street,

¹⁰ Weyman, H.T., *Ludlow in Bye-Gone Days* (Ludlow, 1913), pp. 49-50.

¹¹ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 313, lease, 28th July, 1677.

¹² SA, LB, 11/111, petition of George Larkin to be a Town Court attorney, 1685 (month and day not given); *ibid*, 112, presentment to the Grand Jury, 15th July, 1686.

¹³ Historical Monuments Commission, *Report on the MSS of the Dukes of Portland*, 14, (London, 1931), letter from Robert Harley, 5th March, 1688/89.

¹⁴ Lewis, J.P., *Building Cycles and Britain's Growth* (London, 1965).

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 15,16.

¹⁶ Stratton, J.M., *Agricultural Records* (London, 1969), pp. 60-63.

Stead at the Broad Gate in 1696, Price at 40 Broad Street, a house with a medieval core where he was said to 1697 to have been 'in great charge in building'.¹⁷

Nationally, Lewis detected 'a great deal of building locally' in the years around 1705, though this became less after 1708, when the government was seeking loans on such attractive terms 'that there was little incentive to put one's money into bricks and mortar'.¹⁸ A run of seven good or abundant harvests in eight years from 1700 may have encouraged building in Ludlow, some of those involved drawing income from the land. These included John Salwey of Richard's Castle, who contracted with three Ludlow craftsmen in 1703 to build 17 Broad Street.¹⁹ This and other houses built in Broad Street during this decade must have caught the eye of John Macky as he rode into town from the south in 1714, for he noted 'Handsome houses, Sash-windowed'.²⁰ A major development was the restructuring of Quality Square, planned in 1705, when 'Bailiff Price' was given liberty by his Corporation colleagues 'to make a passage through the Town Wall for carriage of his rubbish from the Great House in Castle Square into Linney, he making the passage up again'.²¹

Lewis's second cycle ranged from c.1711 to the early 1730s. Peace brought low interest rates and a renewed supply of labour, which caused 'a tide of optimism until the bubble of 1720', when 'building fell but soon recovered'.²² This was a time of quickening building activity in Ludlow, reaching a peak between 1720 and 1724, the start of what has been called above 'the golden age of Ludlow Georgian building'. (p.309). Building fever seems to have gripped the town, with 17 known or inferred dates between 1720 and 1724. Many of the new buildings resulted from extensive remodelling of older structures, as at 7 Mill Street and 15 Broad Street.²³ The process occurred at 5 to 7 Old Street, once the Red Lion Inn.²⁴ This large property came to Charles King, joiner, by a marriage settlement in 1724.²⁵ He quickly divided

¹⁷ PRO, C. 8/485/36, complaint by John Stead about work on his house '12 years ago', 11th Dec., 1708; SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 78d, lease, 26th Aug., 1697.

¹⁸ Lewis, *Building Cycles*, p. 16.

¹⁹ SA, 2705/14, building contract, 3rd Feb., 1703.

²⁰ Macky, John, *A Journey through England* (London, 1722), p. 154.

²¹ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 129d.

²² Lewis, *Building Cycles*, p. 16.

²³ 7 Mill St., inscribed drain-head, 1721; 15 Broad St., SA, LB, 8/3/95-96, Window Tax assessments, two houses 1721, one house with 27 panes, 1722.

²⁴ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 22.

²⁵ SA, Morgan collection, 5411/132.

it into two, and rebuilt the lower part (now 9), advertising it in 1726 in *The Gloucester Journal* as ‘a good new dwelling house with a large malthouse, a new kiln and other conveniences’.²⁶ Elsewhere in the town, barns were converted to houses, as by Thomas Wellings, carrier, at 138 Corve Street, and ruined shops were renewed, with upper storeys added, as at 1 to 2 Tower Street.²⁷

In 1727 Benjamin Tipton, innholder, was so eager to rebuilt 28 Old Street, that he sought to evict a long standing lodger, Martha Lewis.²⁸ She complained to the Town Court in 1727 that ‘he intends to pull down that part of the house where she lives, having pulled down the part next the street over the house of John Griffiths, tailor.’ What today would be called ‘serious money’ was now being invested in Ludlow, with the Charltons of Park Hall, Whittington, rebuilding 4 Brand Lane between 1722 and 1729;²⁹ and Richard Knight of Downton, ironmaster, making a generous marriage settlement with his son in law, Edward Baugh, attorney, which led to the building of 14 Castle Street in 1728.³⁰

Lewis’s third phase, from the 1730s to 1744, was a time of ‘comparative quiet’.³¹ As affirmed by Langford, there was ‘a series of abundant harvests(that) drove prices far below what most contemporaries could recall’, causing ‘hardship for landowners’.³² At Ludlow, the recoverable dates do confirm a slight fall in building after 1730, but the years 1735 to 1744 saw considerable activity. Several of the houses with inscribed drain heads were built in these years, including 18 Broad Street in 1738, 9 Corve Street in 1739 and 41 Mill Street in 1741. The early 1740s saw the

²⁶ SA|, LB, 8/3/98-104, Window Tax assessments from 1724; *Gloucester Journal*, 23rd Aug., 1726, p. 3, col. 3.

²⁷ SA, LB, 8/3/169, Land Tax assessment, ‘barn’, 1719; SA, LB, 8/3/98, Window Tax assessment, 1724; SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 50, licence to alien ‘two old ruined shops’, 15th Oct., 1717; SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 82, lease, 3rd Aug., 1720.

²⁸ SA, LB, 11/4/155/1, deposition of Martha Lewis, 7th March, 1727.

²⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 91, lease, ‘two small messuages’, 7th Feb., 1720; *ibid*, 8/3/94-102, Window Tax assessments, 1720-30.

³⁰ HRO, T74, Knight papers, 258, marriage agreement, 29th May, 1716; South Shropshire District Council (SSDC), deeds, lease and release, Richard Knight, Esq. to Edward Baugh, Gent., 24th/25th Feb., 1723; drain-head inscription, 1728.

³¹ Lewis, *Building Cycles*, pp. 17-18.

³² Langford, P., *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727-83* (Oxford, 1989; paperback edn. 1992), p. 163.

building of a new Salwey house at 52 Broad Street³³, and a new Charlton house at 27 Broad Street.³⁴ Less grand houses were also built in industrial parts of the town, such as 67 to 68 lower Corve Street, acquired in 1734 by Samuel Lloyd, tanner, and described as 'in building' in 1735.³⁵

A fourth cycle, from 1744 to 1762, was 'a time of activity throughout the country, much of it coming in the nature of improvements'.³⁶ A prime property enhanced at this time was Dinham House, owned by Richard Knight, junior, which was enlarged between 1747 and 1749, following the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Thomas Johns of Croft Castle in 1745, Dinham House serving as the town house of the Castle for the next forty years.³⁷ Another quality development was the demolition of the Elizabethan 'faire house' in the mid-1750s by the new owner, Thomas Dunne, Esq., of Gatley Park, of Leinthall Earls in north Herefordshire, and the building of 35 to 37 Broad Street.³⁸ Not all development was by the gentry. John Aingell, currier, acquired 31 Broad Street in 1736 and completely rebuilt it, probably between 1748 and 1753;³⁹ while Thomas Sheward, mason, bought 39 Broad Street in 1755, refronting it later, probably in 1758.⁴⁰ About this time, also, there was considerable rebuilding of houses in Corve Street, as by John Hosier, glover, at 30, built in 1749,⁴¹ and Walter Griffiths, glover, at 13, built in 1750.⁴²

Lewis's fifth cycle, from 1762 to 1781, was a time 'when the whole economy seemed to change', with 'an upsurge that could only have come with abundant

³³ SA, LB, 8/3/117, Window Tax assessments, 1745, 'Richard Salwey's new house'; SA, Mead collection (2705), 7, plan by Richard Baker, 1743.

³⁴ SA, LB, 8/3/98-119, Window Tax assessments, 1724-47: 1724, 30 panes; 1742-44, void; 1747, 51 panes. The dating of this house is considered further in Lloyd, D., 27 *Broad Street: A Short History* (Ludlow, 2000), pp. 11-12.

³⁵ SA, LB, 8/3/107, Window Tax assessments, 1735.

³⁶ Lewis, *Building Cycles*, p. 19.

³⁷ SA, LB, 8/3/119-20, Window Tax assessments, 1747, 40 panes; 1748, 51 panes; Beesly, P., *A Brief History of The Knight Family* (Ludlow, c. 1960), p. 3.

³⁸ SA, LB, 8/3/125-29, Window Tax assessments, 1753-60, 1757, 'Mr Dunne's houses'; 1760, three tenants named; HRO, F76, introduction to calendar of Dunne collection.

³⁹ SCM, deeds of 31 Broad Street, conveyance, 1736; SA, LB, 8/3/120-25, Window Tax assessments, 1748-53.

⁴⁰ Deeds of 39 Broad Street, conveyance, 4th Aug., 1755; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 59d, licence to 'pull down porch of his house in Broad Street', 15th Feb., 1758 (suggests date of re-fronting).

⁴¹ SA, LB, 8/3/120-122, Window Tax assessments, 1748-50.

⁴² Ibid, 8/3/122, Window Tax assessment, 1750: 'in building'.

credit'.⁴³ At Ludlow, the period 1765 to 1769 has fewer building dates than any five year period since 1719, though the pace quickened again after 1770. Developments were varied, with four elite houses, two double houses built as investments, two smaller houses, seven houses with shops or other commercial premises built for business purposes, and seven 'back-plot' infillings of the kind described in chapter 4 (pp. 229-231). The rebuilding of High Hall by the Pooles of Stretton Grandison showed that Ludlow could still attract investment from county families;⁴⁴ but the growth of back building is an expression of the rising population and the need to house labourers, artisans and other low income group. Conversion of agricultural buildings occurred, as at what became St Leonard's House in Linney. Described as 'a stable and garden' in 1758, this had become a messuage by 1775, and was a 'new erected house adjoining Linney Gate' in 1786.⁴⁵

Nationally, the next cycle, starting in 1781, reached a peak in the early 1790s, when the production of bricks was nationally higher than ever.⁴⁶ The 13 known or inferred building dates at Ludlow between 1790 and 1794 may be a reflection of this, though many of the bricks were consumed in the expanding coalfield industrial areas. Credit became increasingly important, the opening of a Ludlow bank in 1787 (p. 124) being a small part of this process. The erection of Dinham Hall before 1790, by Richard Nash, a relative and agent of the Knights of Downton, was a major building project,⁴⁷ but most of the developments were industrial or retail, or more back and lateral development of low status housing.. Nationally, the rapid expansion caused strain, aggravated by the war in Europe, leading to 'an economic trough' in 1802.⁴⁸ These may have been factors in the apparent slackening of building in Ludlow, with only seven dates known for the 1795 to 1799 period.

From 1799 building picked up again in Ludlow, with continued back development in several places, and the construction of a number of medium sized

⁴³ Lewis, *Building Cycles*, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁴ Weyman, *Ludlow in Bye-Gone Days*, p. 52; HRO, C. 95/B/4/X11, pedigree of the Pooles.

⁴⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 61, lease, 13th May, 1758; *ibid*, p. 201, lease, 20th July, 1775; *ibid*, p. 322, lease, 13th Oct., 1786.

⁴⁶ Lewis, *Building Cycles*, pp. 22-23.

⁴⁷ SA, 1121, box 24, assignment to Mr Richard Nash by his father, Samuel Nash, 24th March, 1789.

⁴⁸ Lewis, *Building Cycles*, p.23.

houses, such as 22 Mill Street, built before 1805 by Richard Ingrams, mercer.⁴⁹ Some town centre properties were rebuilt, including 5 to 7 Castle Street, perhaps in 1803 by William Russell, mercer, with the aid of a £300 mortgage from Thomas Edwards, schoolmaster.⁵⁰ Nationally, this was a time of successful harvests and good credit, but building 'was coloured more by working class housing and less by luxurious architecture' than at other periods.⁵¹ The cycle finished with the post Napoleonic War depression in 1816.

At Ludlow the depression was accentuated by the decline of glove manufacturing, a survey showing that several hundred people were unemployed.⁵² Yet there is no evidence of a reduction in building, the five years from 1815 to 1819 having more building dates than any other five year period except 1720 to 1724. Again, most of the developments were for low status housing, but enhancement of a number of town centre shops began after 1820, reflecting 'the enormous boom' in the economy which Lewis detected of the early 1820s.⁵³ Many substantial town centre properties are the Ludlow legacy of this period, 1 King Street, built in 1829 by Thomas Hotchkiss, saddler, being a dated example.⁵⁴ These years saw a final flourish within the 1660 to 1848 period of elite residences, with an ostentatious example at 113 Corve Street (Stone House), perhaps built before 1827.⁵⁵ Lewis's research stops at 1831, but building at Ludlow continued steadily through the 1830s, with a flurry of politically inspired building around 1840 (pp. 287-290). There was then a hiatus, the almost complete lack of building dates after 1844 being probably a reflection of the Great Law suit (pp. 110-113).

⁴⁹ Deeds, conveyance by Ingrams to William Adams, Gent., 25th March, 1805.

⁵⁰ Deeds (held by Mr A. Brown, Cherry Wood, Henley Road, Ludlow), mortgage, 25th March, 1803.

⁵¹ Lewis, *Building Cycles*, pp. 27-28.

⁵² DL (in custody of David Lloyd), Midgely (transcriptions of Ludlow Borough Archives, c.1940-50), 'Minutes of Enquiries as to the Distress of the Persons employed in the Glove Trade', 17th Nov., 1816.

⁵³ Lewis, *Building Cycles*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ Inscribed.

⁵⁵ Hodges papers, pedigree and notes; deeds, documents re. chancery case, Richard Johnstone & others v. Edward Barber and others, 1817. The most likely person to have commissioned the building is the Revd. Thomas Henry Hodges, Curate of Bromfield, 1791-1828, who acquired the property in 1817 and died in 1828.

3: Those who commissioned buildings

This section again takes the 286 buildings with known or inferred dates as a sample of all buildings. The owners of these buildings are compared in Fig. 103 with all owners, using the same occupational and social status as are used elsewhere in this thesis. The numbers in each class are shown in columns C and E, and in columns D and F these are expressed as percentages of their totals. The plus or minus differences between the figures in columns D and E are shown in column G.

Fig.103 Comparison of builder owners with all builders

	Grouping	All owners	%		Builder owners	%		Comparison of
		[1]			[2]			builder owners
								with all owners
A	B	C	D		E	F		G
1	Agriculture	225	7.31		13	4.78		-2.53
4	Building	207	6.72		44	16.2		9.48
5	Manufacturing	920	29.87		79	29		0.83
6	Transport	35	1.14		4	1.47		0.33
7	Dealing	630	20.45		59	21.7		1.24
8	Finance	34	1.1		0	0		-1.1
9	Labour	31	1.01		1	0.37		-0.64
10	Professional	442	14.35		37	13.6		-0.75
11a	Services	14	0.45		0	0		-0.45
11b	Domestic	13	0.42		0	0		-0.42
12	Gentry	529	17.17		29	10.7		-6.51
13	Dependent	0	0					
14	Unspecified[3]		0		6	2.21		
		3080			272			
	Institutions				13			
[1]	From Fig.92, p.256.							
[2]	From Appendix 5							
[3]	Building date known but not certain who owner was at that time.							

For most classes, the column G differences are slight. In some cases, such as transport and labour, numbers are so low that the differences in column G are of no significance. Of the larger classes, dealers were slightly more active in commissioning buildings than their numbers as owners might have suggested, and

agriculturalists and manufacturers were marginally less active. For builders and gentry, however, the differences are greater.

Predictably, the builders were proportionately the most active group, accounting for a sixth of all buildings in this sample, though themselves less than seven percent of the total number of owners. Several builders erected houses for themselves and their families. In the early 1750s Walter Hattam, joiner, altered and refronted the family property at 137 Corve Street, with refined panelling in the residential rooms.⁵⁶ The house was just a few feet away from his workshop, built with upper crucks, a method of construction which was 'practical and versatile' and which probably dates from the 1670s, when the Hattams migrated to Ludlow.⁵⁷ Almost contemporaneously in the 1750s Thomas Sheward, mason, bought 39 Broad Street, and refronted it three years later, indulging in eight Venetian windows – famously described by Alec Clifton Taylor as 'over egging the pudding'.⁵⁸ A later builder's house is 16 Castle Street, erected in 1838 by Samuel Stead, mason, to replace the former half timbered cross wing of what had once been 'the house with the leaden porch', one of Ludlow's finest medieval residences.⁵⁹ The unusually wide door, under a moulded stone hood on columns, was perhaps to allow access to back premises for wheeled vehicles.

Craftsmen of various kinds put up speculative buildings, which they later sold for profit. Examples include John Cheshire, carpenter, who rebuilt 143-44 Corve Street before 1679, though himself a tenant next door at 145;⁶⁰ William Whittell, glazier, who built a group of houses in St Mary's Lane after 1768;⁶¹ and John Harper, joiner, who rebuilt the front of 7 Dinham in an elegant Regency style after 1814, taking a mortgage from Richard Millichamp of Bitterley, farmer, in that same year.⁶² The builders were also active in back building, as shown in chapter 4 (pp. 226-231), further examples being the six small houses at 132 Corve Street, built by Richard

⁵⁶ SA, LB, 8/3/121-29, Window Tax assessments, 1749-60: 1747, 9 panes; 1756, 12 panes; 1760, 13 panes.

⁵⁷ Moran, M., *Vernacular Buildings of Shropshire* (Almeley, 2003), pp. 73-75; *Ludlow Parish Registers (LPR)*, p. 469, baptism, 3rd Dec., 1676.

⁵⁸ Deeds, release, 5th Aug., 1755; see p. 340, n. 40; Alec Clifton Taylor, *Six English Towns* (London, 1978), p. 162.

⁵⁹ Inscribed date and initials; Weyman, *Ludlow in Bye-Gone Days*, p. 48.

⁶⁰ DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 4d., 'place he hath lately built'.

⁶¹ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 125, lease, 1768; *ibid*, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1787-1830, p. 99, lease, 28th May, 1797.

⁶² SA, 5411/88/12 & 13, conveyance, 4th May, 1814 & mortgage, 5th May, 1814.

Hammonds, mason, after 1806;⁶³ and those at 31 to 39 Mill Street, built by Francis Maund, joiner, after 1803: there were five houses by 1814, eight by 1843.⁶⁴

Paradoxically, although the 29 houses in the sample built by gentry included some of the finest in Ludlow, the proportion of these houses was only 10.66%, 6.71% less than that of the gentry among all owners. As shown in chapter 3 (pp. 90-91), many gentry were lodgers. Some were content to buy houses built by others, among them Philip Lutley, Gent., of Lawton, Diddlebury, who bought 51 Broad Street for £250 from Edward Robinson, bookseller, by whom it had been substantially rebuilt before 1709.⁶⁵ Yet those gentry who did build often did so, by Ludlow standards, on a grand scale.

This grandness is exemplified by houses in block Q. The western part of what is now 2 Brand Lane was probably rebuilt by Humphrey Cornewall, Esq. of Berrington, who bought it in 1669.⁶⁶ The whole site of 2 Brand Lane later came into the possession of George Walcot, Esq., and was then held by Sir Francis Charlton and his heirs; but the property was given its present shape after 1764 by William Pearce Hall, Esq., of Downton Hall, who also owned 3 Brand Lane.⁶⁷ Descended from the Pearces of Lower Hayton, Stanton Lacy, the family had enhanced their status by success in the law and marriage, and had carried out extensive work at Downton Hall.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, Sir Job Charlton had been active at 27 Broad Street, and was almost certainly responsible for its rebuilding in 1742 to 1744.⁶⁹

The most prolific gentry builders were the Salweys of Richard's Castle. John Salwey Esq. rebuilt 17 Broad Street in 1703.⁷⁰ His son Richard Salwey, who had succeeded to the Richard's Castle estates in 1714, acquired the lease of 18 Broad

⁶³ Deeds, mortgage, 15th April, 1806; HRO, AA/20, will of Richard Hammond, 7th Oct., 1818.

⁶⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 156, licence to alien, 13th Oct., 1803; *ibid*, p.278, lease, 13th Oct., 1814; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843, entries 158-165.

⁶⁵ SA, Morgan (5246), 51, conveyance, 4th June, 1709; see also p. 265.

⁶⁶ PRO, Feet of Fines (FF), CP(2(713), grant of 'one messuage, one garden' in Ludlow, 1669.

⁶⁷ Beesly, P., *Ludlow Houses: 27 Broad Street, 3 and 4 Brand Lane* (Ludlow, 1960).

⁶⁸ SA, 6001, 4360, Purton, Rev. R.C., Folio volume of Shropshire pedigrees, p. 344. Tipping, H.A., 'Downton Hall, Shropshire', *Country Life*, 21st July, 1917, pp. 60-66.

⁶⁹ See p.314, fn. 34. Sir Job Charlton, of Park Hall in north Shropshire, was a member of Ludlow Borough Corporation from 1732, becoming Low Bailiff in 1742 and High Bailiff in 1745 and 1752.

⁷⁰ SA, 2705/14, building contract, 3rd Feb., 1703.

Street in March 1736, and built a new house there, having the date 1738 inscribed on a drain-head.⁷¹ Within four years, however, that property had been assigned for £1,000 to his younger brother, Dr Thomas Salwey, D. D., Rector of Richard's Castle, the indenture stating specifically that the premises 'had been taken down and rebuilt by Richard Salwey'.⁷² Richard now commissioned a larger house again, No.52 on the opposite side of Broad Street, employing the architect William Baker as described below.⁷³ This was an unusually wide property, the front of the building embracing a side passage to the rear of the premises.

4: The Borough Corporation: a regulating and planning authority

A prime concern of the Corporation in the years after the Restoration was to encourage rebuilding and repair of properties burnt or damaged in the Civil War. Recovery had started under the Commonwealth, but proceeded slowly in some places. On the upper part of the east side of Corve Street, for example, only five of 16 properties are known to have had houses by 1660, though there may have been some very small houses elsewhere.⁷⁴ Between 1660 and 1684, 26 building leases were issued, for example that for 42-44 Old Street on 21 April, 1662.⁷⁵ This was to John Ricards, haberdasher, with the condition that he 'sufficiently repair and build the same with speed'. Conditions were often more specific, as on the lease of a Tower Street 'messplace' in 1663 to George Wright, nailer, by which he was obliged 'to sufficiently build thereof within three years in manner as Bailiffs appoint'.⁷⁶ Not all the conditions could be enforced. In 1677 a lease of a messplace at 12 Corve Street was issued to Philip Cole, butcher, 'to build with handsome front to street and cover with tiles within three years'.⁷⁷ Yet no building occurred and two more leases had to

⁷¹ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p.294d, lease, 10th March, 1736.

⁷² Ibid, p. 322d, licence to alien, 10th April, 1742; SA, 5411/35/2, assignment, 10th April, 1742, 'premises taken down and rebuilt by Richard Salwey'.

⁷³ See p. 313, fn. 33.

⁷⁴ SA, LB, 8/3/23a, Assessment for Maintaining the Army and Navy, 24th June, 1660.

⁷⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 205.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.222, lease, 19th Dec., 1663.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.340, lease, 22nd Jan., 1677.

be issued, in 1680 and 1689, with the same condition.⁷⁸ No house has been traced until 1717, when a small messuage was leased to Elizabeth Cole, Philip's daughter.⁷⁹

Practices which later became common had their roots in these years. In 1679 the Corporation gave permission to Thomas Watson 'to rayse clay to make bricks' which accompanied the lease of what was later called Brick Close in Upper Galdeford.⁸⁰ This was the first of series of such leases for this and other properties along what is now Gravel Hill. There are early examples of what later became a fashion: the erection of posts, railings or palisades in front of houses, to give some protection from the dirt and confusion of a market town. As these protruded onto the street, which was part of the Corporation's demesne, licence to erect was necessary. The first two were issued in 1678 to John Bright, Esq., a relative of the Charltons, and Edward Smallman, lawyer, who had adjoining houses on the south side of Castle Street.⁸¹ Another kind of early improvement was the erection of summer houses, often on the town walls, where there were rural vistas to be enjoyed. The first recorded example was that of Humphrey Cornewall, Esq., in Brand Lane, who was given licence in 1685 'to build part of a summer house on the Town Wall adjoining to his garden', the rent being one penny a year 'if demanded'.⁸²

No such developments are recorded in Ludlow during the troubled reign of James II, but after 1690 the pace picked up again, when there were a number of measures to enhance the environment, an echo of the enthusiasm for town improvement which was spreading from London, and found scope at places like Warwick, where the fire of 1694 gave a rare opportunity for planning.⁸³ More building leases were issued in 1691, one of them to Thomas Wynde, glover, 'to build

⁷⁸ SA, LB, 2/1/2, Corporation Minute Book, 1648-80, p. 340, lease, 13th May, 1680; SA, LB, 2/1/3, Corporation Minute Book, 1680-90, p. 69d, lease, 22nd Jan., 1689.

⁷⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 51, lease, 5th Oct., 1717; *LPR*, p. 541, bap. 12th Sept., 1689.

⁸⁰ SA, LB 2/1/2, p. 338, lease, 28th Feb., 1679.

⁸¹ PRO, C.5/108/7, complaint of Richard Bishop of Newtown, Gent., about John Bright of Ludlow, Gent., ref. to his relative Henry Charlton, Gent.; SA, LB, 2/1/2, p. 338d, licences to John Bright, Gent. and Edward Smallman, Gent., to erect 'a poyle or Rayle before their houses' in Castle Street, 28th Aug., 1678; SA, LB, 8/3/42, Poll Tax assessment, 1689.

⁸² SA, LB, 2/1/3, p. 35, 19th May, 1685.

⁸³ Borsay, P., *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 85-97.

a substantial house within three years' at 82 Corve Street.⁸⁴ 'Posts and rails' were erected in front of two Broad Street houses while Mr Edward Kettleby was licensed to erect them in front of his house at High Hall 'from the White Lion to Castle ditch'.⁸⁵ Great emphasis was placed on maintaining the street line, Caesar Hawkins, surgeon, being instructed in 1722 to 'front his house (9 Mill Street) and range ye same with Baldwin's new house'(7 Mill Street).⁸⁶ Permission to build on the town walls and to alter them was sometimes given, as to Mr Richard Davies at Dinham House, who was allowed in 1700 'to take down part of the wall' – no doubt to improve the view – and 'to make the same uniform', presumably by removing the crenellations.⁸⁷ Moves to modernise buildings were widespread, as in 1702 when Humphrey Morely was allowed to build on town land 'under the Getty' of his tenement in Barnes Row (now Market Street).⁸⁸ Some encroachments were removed, Jacob Davies, who had taken down his cobbler's stall in the Bull Ring, and Rowland Earsley, who had removed his smith's trevis in Upper Galdeford, both being 'acquitted of rent'.⁸⁹

There are indications that the Corporation, as well as supporting these initiatives, was beginning to take an active role in enhancing the town. In 1692, when granting a lease of the Tolsey to Katherine Earsley, they reserved liberty 'to take down the house and place the same on some other of the Corporation's lands', a bold contribution to the aim of removing encroachments and infill.⁹⁰ The Shambles, two parallel rows of butchers' stalls at the top of Mill Street, had long been perceived as a public nuisance, as in 1713, when John Tongue, butcher, 'and other inhabitants of the Shambles' were presented to the Town Court 'for keeping and using an offensive privy house and making a common dunghill open to the street....to the great annoyance of the neighbourhood'.⁹¹ In 1739 it was arranged that Mr Henry Karver, who had inherited The Greyhound Inn at 54 to 56 Mill Street, should 'be at liberty to

⁸⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 12, lease, 21st May, 1691.

⁸⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/14, p. 76d, leave to Mr Valentine Dawes and Mr Robinson, jun. 'to place posts and rayles before their houses', 12th June, 1697; *ibid*, p. 76, licence to Mr Kettleby, 29th May, 1697.

⁸⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 105, licence, 3rd Feb., 1721.

⁸⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/4, p. 96d, lease, 30th July, 1700.

⁸⁸ SA, LB, 2/1/4, p. 109, lease, 27th March, 1702.

⁸⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/4, p. 109d, rent acquittals, 17th May, 1702.

⁹⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/4, p. 23, lease, 8th July, 1692.

⁹¹ SA, LB, 11/4/141 (file 1), presentment, 19th Jan., 1713.

take down the Shambles and convert the materials to his own use'.⁹² Simultaneously, he was replacing The Greyhound with the elegant terrace of three storey houses described above (pp. 232, 233, Fig. 87A), advertising them in Birmingham's *Aris's Gazette* in 1742 as 'desirable for a Gentleman's family'.⁹³ The agreement and its aftermath epitomise the urge and motivation for urban improvement at this time.

The Corporation continued to regulate and initiate development during the second half of the 18th century. In 1755 the Town Clerk was instructed to write to Richard Davies, landlord of The Seven Stars in Broad Street, a freehold building, asking him 'what he was going to do', the inn being 'very ruinous'.⁹⁴ In 1757 Mr Marsh, a writing master, was ordered 'to pull down the encroachment made by enlarging a bow window' at his house, also in Broad Street;⁹⁵ and in 1789 action was resolved 'against Dyke and Harris for a chimney encroachment near Corve Bridge'.⁹⁶ Other encroachments were allowed, however, as in 1788, when John Anthony, barber, was charged 6d a year 'for an incroachment of his house near the Bull Ring'.⁹⁷

5: Public Buildings erected by the Corporation from 1702

New public buildings became emblems of the 'urban renaissance', symbolising civic pride. Reflecting its medieval and Tudor importance, Ludlow already had several buildings of this kind, sited in an east to west band across the top of the town.⁹⁸ In the east, just inside Galdeford Gate, was the Tower, a medieval structure long used as a prison. Next, in the Bull Ring, was the fifteenth century Tolsey, with an upper court room. Then, on the site of the Butter Cross, stood the timber framed New House, with shops below and a chamber above where the Corporation met and where civic hospitality was dispensed. Close to it was the High Cross, described by William Stukeley in 1721 as 'an exagonal cistern or conduit like a cross'.⁹⁹ The Market House, a single storied structure, was an island in Castle

⁹² SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 306d, confirmation of agreement, 14th April, 1739.

⁹³ *Aris's Gazette*, 18th Oct. 1742, p. 4, col. 2.

⁹⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 45, order, 14th July, 1755.

⁹⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/6, p. 48d, order, 19th May, 1756.

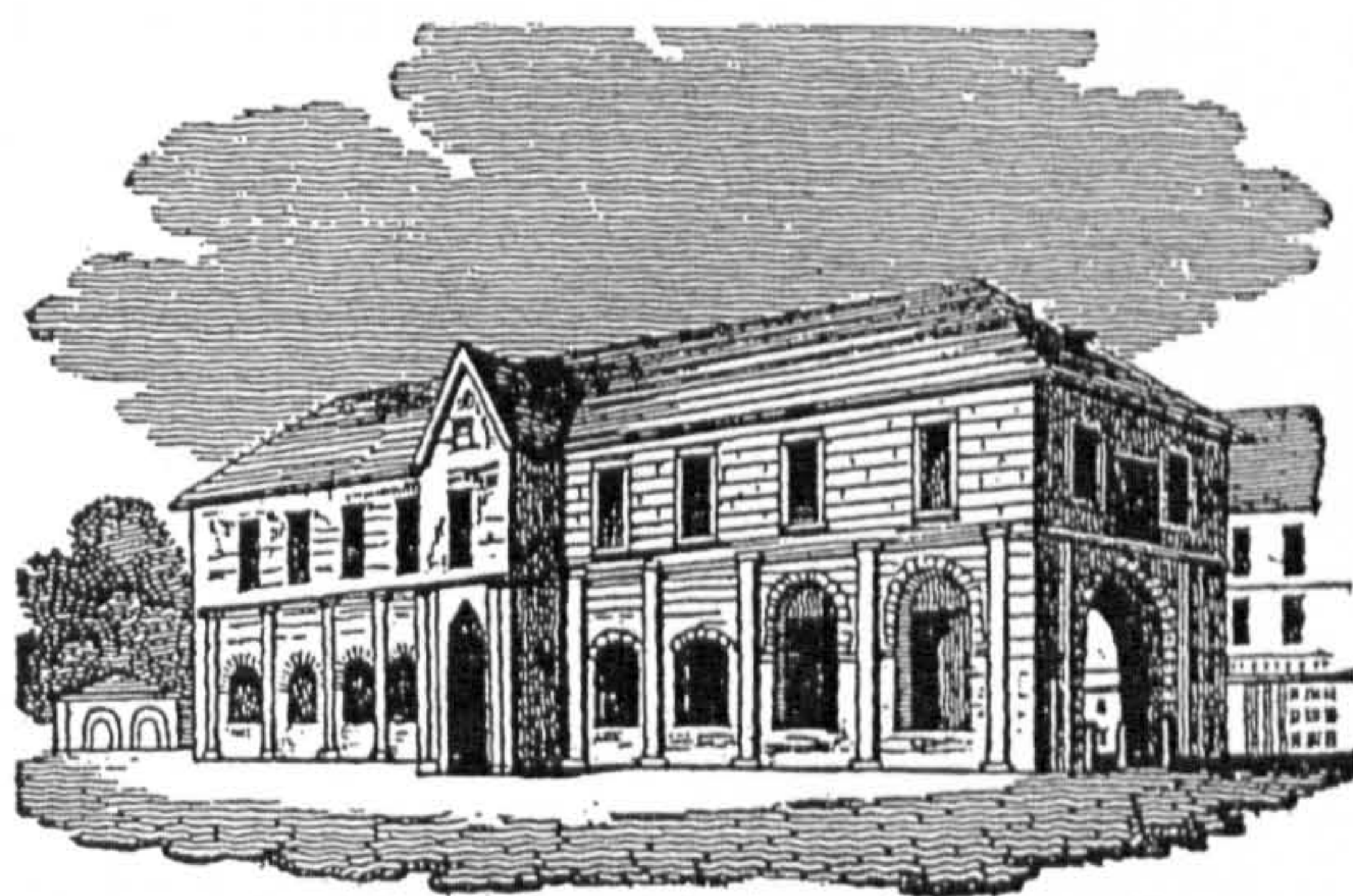
⁹⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation M. Book, 1788-1830, p. 182, resolution, 13th Oct., 1789.

⁹⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/7, p.13, order, 28th Oct., 1788.

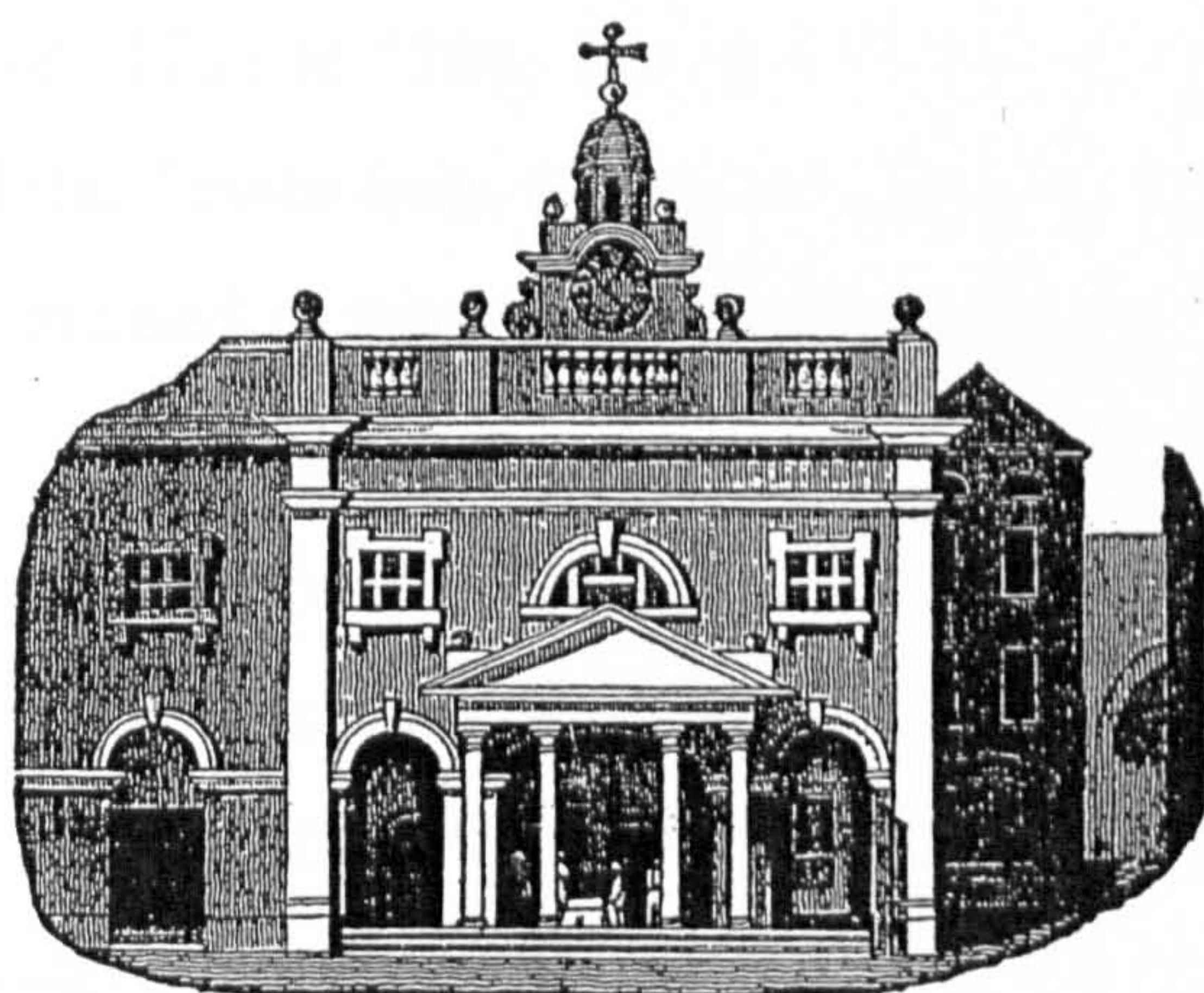
⁹⁸ Weyman, *Ludow in Bye-Gone Days*, pp. 14, 29, 35, 60, 62.

⁹⁹ Cited in Lloyd, D. J. and Klein, P., *Ludlow: A Historic Town in Words and Pictures* (Chichester, 1984), p.58.

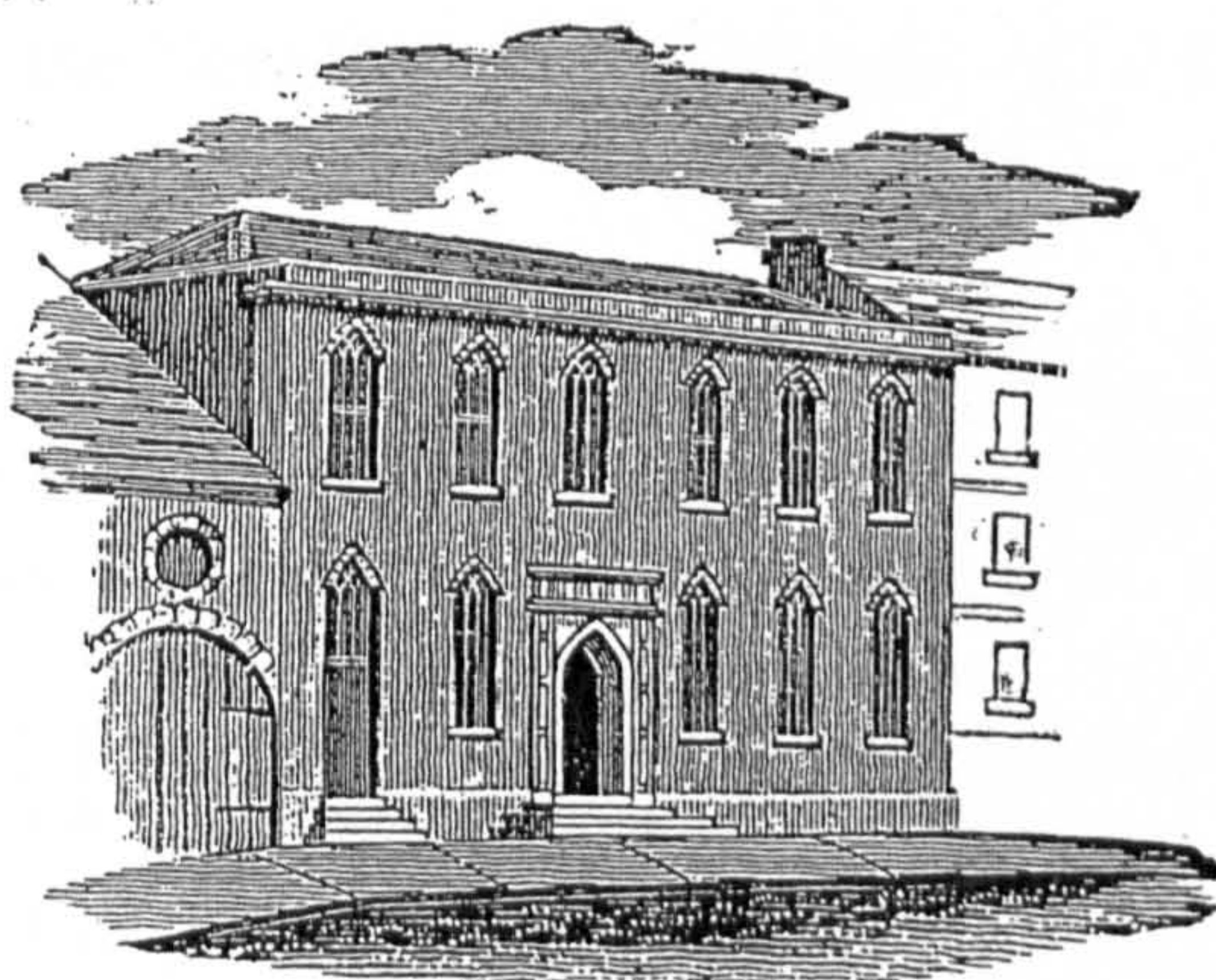
Fig. 104 Early illustrations of Public Buildings



a) The Market House, 1826 (1)



b) The Butter Cross, 1826 (2)



c) The Guildhall, date of sketch unknown (3)

- 1) Wright, T., *History and Antiquities of Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1826) p.185.
- 2) Ibid, p.186.
- 3) Partridge, C.A., *Handbook to Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1886), p.85.

Square, and the medieval Guildhall was a short distance away in Mill Street.¹⁰⁰ Another public building was *Hosier's Almshouses*, built in College Street in the 15th century, with 34 chambers and a hall round three sides of a rectangular courtyard opening to Church Street.¹⁰¹

These buildings were old and seemed antiquated in design compared to the new public buildings which now graced several towns (see pp. 24-25), a clear manifestation of 'Urban Renaissance'. At Ludlow the Corporation, damaged in reputation by the changes of the mid-1680s, sought ways of enhancing its image. In 1692 members had agreed, when attending the parish church, to occupy 'the pews and seates erected for the late Justices in the Marches', and resolved that all members should 'procure gowns on payne of 10s every person offending'.¹⁰² The provision of new public buildings was another way of proclaiming authority and prestige. The Market Hall from 1702 to 1706, the New House from 1743 to 1746, the Almshouses from 1758 and the Tower from 1764 were all completely rebuilt, while from 1768 the Guildhall was encased in brick and altered internally.¹⁰³ Three of these buildings are shown on 19th century sketches reproduced as Fig. 104 (p.326). All the buildings replaced were in need of renovation, the petition from nine inmates of the Almshouses in 1732 pointing out that, owing to the collapse of partitions between the chambers and the poor condition of the floors, they were in 'manifest danger of their lives'.¹⁰⁴

The building programme was phased, and much of it was planned well in advance. The replacement of the New House, for example, which took place from 1743 to 1746, must have been in mind as early as 1717, when the Corporation, leasing 'a shop under the New House', reserved the right to 'take it into their hands' in case

¹⁰⁰ SA, LB, 8/1/45, Chamberlain's accounts, 1556-57. These suggest that the Market Hall may have been built in these years, but there are no references to stairs or windows, either in these accounts or in later ones..

¹⁰¹ See p. 163.

¹⁰² SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 19d, 20th Jan., 1691; *ibid*, p. 24d., 11th July, 1692.

¹⁰³ SA, LB, 2/1/4, p. 109, licence to Bailiffs 'to take down so much of the old Market House as they can make new', 27th March, 1702; *ibid*, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 334, 'approval of articles between Corporation and William Baker in relation to putting down and rebuilding the Cross', 29th March, 1744; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 60, 'Committee appointed to consider and agree upon taking down the Almshouse', 15th Feb., 1758'; Wright, T., *History and Antiquities of the Town of Ludlow*, 2nd Edn. (Ludlow, 1826), pp. 174, 183.

¹⁰⁴ Cited in *Victoria County History, Shropshire*, II (London, 1973), p. 109.

‘this Corporation shall think to rebuild’ on the site.¹⁰⁵ In 1731 Richard Monger, mercer, was allowed to build a chimney at the New House ‘on condition that when the New House be taken or pulled down, then Richard Monger shall be subject to such order as this Chamber shall make’.¹⁰⁶ By 1737 plans for that part of the town included demolition of the most easterly house in Shoemakers’ Row, the tenant, Thomas Winde, glover, agreeing to ‘pull down the house at the Cross’ and to ‘filling up the cellar and making good the pitching’, the Corporation renter paying him £20, ‘he to have the materials’.¹⁰⁷ The High Cross was later demolished, ‘the cisterne’ there being moved to the north side of Church Street.¹⁰⁸

Once the Corporation had resolved on a project, a supervising committee was appointed. On 27th March, 1702, for example, the Corporation gave licence to the Bailiffs to demolish the old Market House; on 17th May the Bailiffs and eight others were appointed as ‘supervisors for the new building’, one of whom was to ‘regularly attend the workmen Employed in the said Building to see the same perfectly effected’.¹⁰⁹ This committee, of the Bailiffs and eight others, was composed entirely of Ludlow residents, nearly all of them manufacturers and dealers. The committee for replacing the New House, in contrast, established on 31st December, 1743, was dominated by landed gentry and Ludlow professional men, including Richard Salwey, Esq., and Sir Job Charlton.¹¹⁰ Another member was the Recorder, Abel Kettleby, a man of many distinctions who was himself engaged on rebuilding 20 to 22 Castle Street at this time.¹¹¹ This committee had a wider brief than that of 1702, their first task being ‘to treat with any proper persons’ and to receive ‘proposals for ye building’.¹¹² The committee set up in 1758 ‘to consider and agree upon taking down and rebuilding the Almshouses’, consisted of three lawyers, two leading glove manufacturers, James Wilde bookseller, and three gentlemen, one of them Thomas

¹⁰⁵ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 50, lease, 5th Oct., 1717.

¹⁰⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 269, lease, 27th April, 1733.

¹⁰⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 274, order, 20th Feb., 1733.

¹⁰⁸ SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 332, resolution, 12th Jan., 1743.

¹⁰⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 109, licence to demolish Market Hall; *ibid*, p. 111, 17th May, 1702, committee appointed.

¹¹⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 331d, 31st Dec., 1743.

¹¹¹ Weyman, H.T., ‘The Members of Parliament for Ludlow’, *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society (TSAS)*, ser. 2, vii (1895), p. 40; SA, LB, 2/1/5, p.324, ‘liberty to build eight feet into the street at house called the White Lion’, 7th June, 1742.

¹¹² SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 331d, order, 31st Dec., 1743.

Johnes, Esq. of Croft Castle, whose social circle included the Earl of Oxford and Viscount Bateman.¹¹³ A committee was also formed, in 1767, to oversee work on the Guildhall, but its names were not recorded.¹¹⁴

Illustrations and later descriptions show that the new Market House started in 1702 was 'a plain brick building', with 'large and convenient rooms above' and 'an open space for the corn market below'.¹¹⁵ It followed the traditional pattern of most public halls erected at this time, with 'a large room or rooms raised on columns above an open arcade', but lacked the sophistication employed, for example, at Abingdon some twenty years earlier, where the 'undertaker 'of the work' was one of Wren's City masons.¹¹⁶ The names of those who worked on Ludlow's Market house are unknown, but they are likely to have been the same groups of craftsmen who were employed elsewhere in the town at this time, both by the Corporation and by private developers. They are considered below (333-339).

The wording of their brief to the committee suggests that by 1743 the Corporation had wider horizons. They sought the advice of three builder architects, all of them from outside Ludlow: William Baker, then probably living in Bridgnorth; Thomas Symonds, probably of Hereford, where he later became a Freeman and surveyor to the Dean and Chapter; and Thomas Farnolls Pritchard of Shrewsbury, who was aged only 20 in 1743.¹¹⁷ Though relatively unknown at the time, all three became prominent builder architects. While not of the same standing as nationally known architects such as Nicholas Hawksmoor and James Gibbs, such men, builders who had architectural skills, became established in the provinces in the early 18th century, Francis Smith of Warwick being a well known example.¹¹⁸ Twelve days after the committee was formed, Baker produced 'a plan for the Building of a New Cross which was approved', and he was invited 'to deliver an estimate of the expenses as soon as possible'.¹¹⁹ A contract was signed with Baker on 2nd March

¹¹³ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 60, 15th Feb., 1758. Inglis-Jones, E., *Peacocks in Paradise* (Aberystwyth, 1960), p. 13.

¹¹⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p.115, 29th April, 1767.

¹¹⁵ Wright, *History and Antiquities of Ludlow*, 2nd. edn., pp. 185-86.

¹¹⁶ Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, p.105; Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England: Berkshire* (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 56.

¹¹⁷ SA, LB 2/1/5, p.333d; Colvin, H., *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1660-1840*, 3rd. edn (Yale, 1995), pp. 93-95; 782-86; 945.

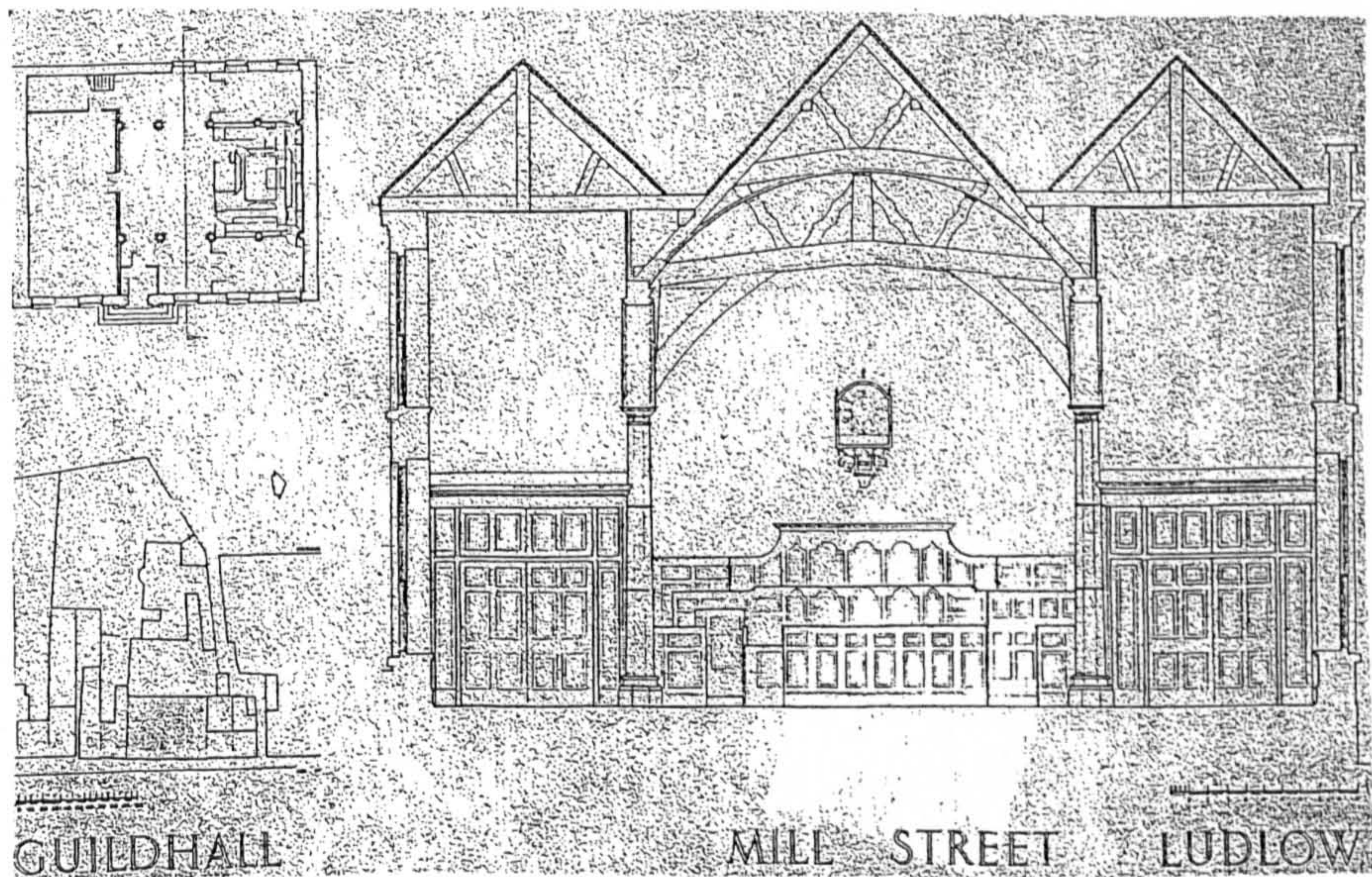
¹¹⁸ Goome, A., *Smith of Warwick* (Stamford, 2000), pp. 1-6.

¹¹⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 332, order, 12th Jan., 1743.

Fig. 105: Eighteenth century Architects' Drawings



A: South elevation of the New Cross, Ludlow, by William Baker (1)



B: Cross section of court room fittings for the Guildhall, perhaps by T.F.Pritchard, 1773.(2)

1) Ludlow Museum.
2) Reproduced by Ionides, op. cit.

1743, and on the same day the Town Renter was instructed to pay ‘Mr Symonds two guineas for his trouble in drawing a plan’ and Mr Pritchard ‘one guinea for the same’.¹²⁰ Builder architects were involved in the remaining projects. In 1756 William Baker submitted proposals for completely rebuilding the Almshouses, but he was not engaged, perhaps because his costs were perceived as too high.¹²¹ When the committee ‘for taking down and rebuilding the Almshouses’ was set up in February 1758, they were instructed to ‘advise with Mr Pritchard of Shrewsbury about the same or such other experienced workman as they shall see fit’.¹²² It may be, however, that Baker’s plan was followed in essentials, for a surviving fragment of his proposals specifies that the ‘back wall and back end’ should be built with old stone, with the rest of the walls of brick – as did in fact occur.¹²³ The gaol in the Tower was also needing repair, the Corporation resolving in 1757 that ‘the Gaol be repaired and altered according to the plan now produced’.¹²⁴ A later, undated plan by Baker was ‘delivered to Mr Pritchard’ in March 1763, but various proposals were also made by teams of local craftsmen, one of these, Walter Hattam, carpenter, including a small sketch plan.¹²⁵ It is not clear which plan was implemented, but a new building was eventually erected in 1764, a plaque noting that it replaced Gaolford’s Tower, ‘an ancient Prison and Gate, by length of time become ruinous’.¹²⁶

There was less confusion over the Guildhall, the Corporation resolving in November 1766 that ‘Mr Pritchard be employed to survey the Guildhall’.¹²⁷ The brief, interestingly, was specifically ‘to repair the Guildhall and deliver an Estimate of the Expense of Repairing the same according to the present form of the Building’. Accounts, submitted in 1774, show that the total cost was over £1,000 and that some items of the work, such as joinery and carpentry of Walter Hattam, which cost £233 17s 6d, were ‘measured and valued by Mr Pritchard’.¹²⁸

The financing of these projects was challenging. In 1702 Thomas Powys, Esq., of Henley Hall and Francis Herbert of Oakly Park, two of those who contested

¹²⁰ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 333.

¹²¹ Cited in Ionides, J., *Thomas Farnolls Pritchard* (Ludlow, 1999), p. 62.

¹²² SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 60. 15th Feb., 1758.

¹²³ Ionides, *Thomas Farnolls Pritchard*, p. 62.

¹²⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/5, p. 54.

¹²⁵ SA, LB, 7/1132-33, Hattam’s scheme to prepare Gaol, and plan, 1764.

¹²⁶ Wright, *History and Antiquities of Ludlow*, p. 174.

¹²⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, 17th Nov., 1766, p. 112.

¹²⁸ SA, LB, 8/1/306, Chamberlain’s Accounts, 1774-75.

Ludlow's Parliamentary seats during these years, each gave £100 to the new Market House.¹²⁹ The upper room was further enhanced in 1725, when Henry Arthur Herbert, Esq., son of Francis, eager for goodwill and votes from Ludlow burgesses, was given leave to 'ceile ye Market House, new lay ye boards and glaze ye windows thereof at his own costs and charges'.¹³⁰ The agreement by Henry Arthur Herbert, now Lord Herbert of Chirbury, to subscribe 100 guineas to 'a New Crosse' and of the two sitting Members of Parliament, Richard Herbert and Sir William Corbett of Adderley, to give 50 guineas each, was recorded in the Corporation minutes on 31st December 1743.¹³¹ Patronage of this kind, bringing in capital from the countryside, was common for such projects, and allowed the project to proceed. The cost of the new Butter Cross was agreed at £860, the balance having to be found from other sources, especially from property fines due in about that time, such as £150 from Mrs Mary Hill, widow, for lands at Huntingdon, another influx from the countryside.¹³² Borrowing was sometimes necessary, as in 1759, when a bond was agreed with Somerset Davies, Esq., to secure £300 for building the Almshouses at 4%.¹³³ Costs could sometimes be reduced by using home grown materials, as in 1702, when the committee inspected 'what lumbering be held at Hopton Wafers or any other of this Corporation's lands', with power 'to fell the same for the use of the new Market House'.¹³⁴ The timber for the Almshouses, from '22 Oak Trees of the Corporation Estates at Halton', remarkably cost only 16s!¹³⁵

The quality of the buildings that resulted was high. Most praise has been lavished on the Butter Cross, as the new building came to be known, and on its Baroque style, details of which were a prominent feature on Baker's original drawing, reproduced as Fig. 105 (p.330). Its ground floor was used for selling dairy produce and poultry, but the upper rooms, surprisingly, did not become the Corporation chamber, in place of the New House, but were used first for storing records, then for

¹²⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p. 104, return of thanks, 17th May, 1702.

¹³⁰ SA, LB 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 160, 20th July, 1725.

¹³¹ Weyman, 'Members of Parliament for Ludlow', p. 42; *VCH Shropshire*, III, p. 288; SA, LB 2/1/5, p. 331, return of thanks, 31st Dec., 1743.

¹³² SA, LB, 2/1/5, pp. 333/333d, Draft of Articles between Corporation and William Baker, builder, 29th March, 1743; SA, LB, 8/1/274, Bailiffs' Accounts, 1742-43.

¹³³ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-88, p. 68, resolution to give bond, 13th Oct., 1759.

¹³⁴ SA, LB 2/1/4, p. 111, 9th Dec, 1702.

¹³⁵ Ionides, *Thomas Farnolls Pritchard*, p. 64.

the Blue Coat Charity School.¹³⁶ Assessing its architectural quality, Pevsner wrote of its 'attractive robustness', while Alec Clifton Taylor called it 'not a subtle building but a great ornament to the town'; but the most perceptive comments came from Christopher Hussey, who wrote of its 'equality of scale' with adjoining buildings.¹³⁷ The Corporation, and subsequently the Borough Council, met in the smaller room on the upper floor of the Market House, while for the adjoining long room, where Assemblies were held, 'three elegant chandeliers' costing £47 5s., were hung in 1775.¹³⁸

The Guildhall, given a 'Gothick' exterior by Pritchard, was equipped as a courtroom in 1773, when the Corporation sought 'an estimate for fitting up the Guildhall and furnishing the same for holding Courts'.¹³⁹ Ionides speculates why this style was used, concluding that 'mindful of the ancient history of the building (as the hall of the medieval Palmers' Guild) he (Pritchard) probably used what he considered a suitable style'.¹⁴⁰ The remaining two buildings, both institutional, had imposing pediments, that of the Almshouses being much the grander, but these were the two buildings to which the Corporation attached their insignia. At the Tower a plaque proclaimed that 'This building was erected at the Charge of the Corporation, MDCCLIV', whereas at the Almshouses the Borough Arms were proudly displayed, with a Latin inscription praising the founder, John Hosier, and the restoration of the building by the 'Ballivi, Burgenses et Communitas'.¹⁴¹

6: Craftsmen and Architects

The number of craftsmen living in Ludlow at four times during the 1660 to 1848 period is shown in Fig. 13 (p.77). There were 52 in 1724, a time of much building, but this had dropped to 41 in 1763, where there was a little less activity.

¹³⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 3d, records 'over the Cross' to be inspected and put in order; Felton, W, *A New Guide to the Town of Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1822), p. 5.

¹³⁷ Pevsner, N., *Buildings of England: Shropshire* (London, 1958), pp.184; Clifton Taylor, *Six English Towns* (London, 1978), p. 165; Hussey, C., 'Old Towns Revisited, XVI: Ludlow, Shropshire, III', *Country Life*, 8th Feb., 1946, p. 257.

¹³⁸ SA, LB, 2/1/6, p. 202, resolution, 20th July, 1775.

¹³⁹ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 186, resolution, 28th Oct., 1773.

¹⁴⁰ Ionides, *Thomas Farnolls Pritchard*, p. 68.

¹⁴¹ Wright, *History and Antiquities of Ludlow*, p. 174.

The number was considerably less, 21, in 1669, but as high as 182 in 1841, when the town was much bigger, and the building slump of the late 1840s had not occurred.

Fig.106 **Ludlow builders, 1724**

	craftsmen	journeymen	apprentices	servants	families:	families:
					name	number in
carpenters	5	2	0	0	Woodall	2
joiners	7	3	2	2	Cook	2
					Waring	1
masons	12	6	1	2	Hattam	4
tilers	4	2	0	0	Roberts	2
thatchers	2	0	1	0	Rickards	2
glaziers	3	0	0	0	Newth	2
plasterers	2	0	0	0		

Details of the 1724 builders are shown on Fig.106. The largest group were the masons, most of whom, in Ludlow, seem also to have been bricklayers. Described in 1747 by Richard Campbell in *The London Tradesman* as having ‘an ingenious genteel Craft’, masons competed with carpenters for leadership in the building industry, though later general purpose master builders often assumed this role.¹⁴² It was expected that masons should be ‘acquainted with the Orders of Architecture’ and possess ‘Skill in Drawing’, attributes which gave prestige to the practitioners.¹⁴³

The Hattams of 137 Corve Street were leading masons and bricklayers, Walter Hattam I purchasing a ‘messplace’ there in 1676 for £10 2s, after moving from Claverley, a rural parish in east Shropshire.¹⁴⁴ His inventory, exhibited in 1700, was worth only £18 12s 6d, but his tools and other business assets may have already passed to his eldest son, Thomas, described as ‘bricklayer’ in the administration.¹⁴⁵ Three other sons were described as masons, one of whom Walter II, lived at 143-144

¹⁴² Richard Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), pp.158-59.
¹⁴³ Ayres, J., *Building the Georgian City* (Yale, 1998), p.76.
¹⁴⁴ Deeds of 137 Corve St., conveyance, 30th Sept., 1676, Richard Cupper to Walter Hattam, bricklayer.
¹⁴⁵ HRO, AA/20, admin and inventory, 25th Feb.1700.

Corve Street, which he probably rebuilt after leasing it from the Corporation in 1716.¹⁴⁶ In the next generation, Walter III was a prominent joiner.

A later dynasty of masons were the Steads, who came from Eye in Herefordshire, where Matthew Stead I married Elizabeth Watkins in 1783.¹⁴⁷ His sons, Matthew and Samuel both baptised in Eye, later became masons, Samuel for some years working for the eminent architect C. R. Cockerell, both at Oakly Park for Robert Clive Esq., and elsewhere. Cockerell, a fastidious employer, gave Samuel Stead a rare encomium when recommending him in 1838 to a correspondent:

‘As an artist mason he is the best I ever met with. He is worthy of Royal and Princely employment. His work is such that you cannot refrain from passing your hand over its surface & mouldings as perfect & really lovely – he is the only mason I ever met who worked in the true sense of the word ‘con amore’ – he has consequently always been distressed, loving his work more than himself; & such a quality cannot be appreciated in a provincial Town.’¹⁴⁸

When not working for Cockerell, Samuel Stead was a builder in Ludlow, the Assembly Rooms in 1840 being his best known work, while his brother Matthew II was also a builder, based in Lower Broad Street.¹⁴⁹ The sons of both Samuel Stead and of Matthew III entered building trades, Matthew III specialising as an architect.¹⁵⁰

The carpenters, concerned primarily with large scale structures, and the joiners, who had ‘smaller scale finesse’, were the next largest building groups. Again, there were dynasties, including the Woodalls, based for several generations at the corner of Bell Lane and Lower Raven Lane;¹⁵¹ and the Cooks, who were established in Lower Broad Street for three generations.¹⁵² There were also craftsmen in business for only one generation, about one of whom, Richard Rickards, some details are known. The only builder to be a member of the Corporation,

¹⁴⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p. 42.

¹⁴⁷ HRO, Eye Parish Registers, 25th Feb., 1783.

¹⁴⁸ Watkin, D., *The Life and Work of C.R.Cockerell* (London, 1974), p.180.

¹⁴⁹ Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1835), p. 362.

¹⁵⁰ I am grateful to Mr R.Stead of Southport for information on the Stead family.

¹⁵¹ SA, LB, 4/2/34, Burgage Rental, 1669, p. 5; SA, Clark & Co. collection (1141), 19, 21st June, 1805, conveyance to Thomas Smith by heirs of Thomas Woodall.

¹⁵² SA, LB, 8/3/91a-154, Window Tax assessments, 1713-74, showing that George Cooke, joiner, and his heirs lived at 71 Lower Broad between these dates; deeds, mortgage, 7th March, 1768, record that Thomas Hollingsworth, joiner, son-in-law of George Cooke, junior, mortgaged the property, 5th Dec., 1769, and sold it on 17th Oct., 1780.

though just for six years, Rickards lived on the west side of the Bull Ring, just above Corve Gate, though it is not known if he owned the property.¹⁵³ His inventory exhibited in 1735, was valued at £886 5s 5d, of which £200 was 'ready money in his house', and another £450 debts of various kinds, including a bond for £108 16s. from the Corporation.¹⁵⁴ It may have been his financial resources that led to his election to that body. Rickards had a large amount of oak and poplar on his premises, and smaller amounts of ash and elm, and he also had a coffin lid and a hearse, the latter suggesting that he may have been an undertaker as well as a joiner.

Details are known about many craftsmen. The Roberts family, for example, were tilers and also plasters, living in modest circumstances in Raven Lane.¹⁵⁵ The best documented plasterer is William Piper, who was employed by John Stead at the Broad Gate in 1696 at 10d a day 'to sile walls and plaster with lime and mortar'.¹⁵⁶ Something is known, also, about the stock of Willaim Whittell, glazier, who had 'half a case of Stourbridghe Glass' in his shop in 1748.¹⁵⁷

The most significant feature of the Ludlow builders is the way they worked together in teams, apparently headed by two or more master craftsmen. This is illustrated by a building contract for 17 Broad Street, dated 3rd February, 1704, between John Salwey, Esq., of Richard's Castle and three Ludlow craftsmen: Charles Woodall, carpenter; Thomas Hattam, mason; and John Watties, mason.¹⁵⁸ The builders agreed to 'carefully take down to the ground all that old house.....and in the room and stead thereof sett up and build upon....another substantial edifice'. Receipts and notes on the back of the contract show that the house was built in six months and that the labour charges were £59 15s, the materials apparently being paid for separately by John Salwey.

The Corporation's Chamberlain's accounts, which survive intermittently across the period, show how master craftsmen such as Charles Woodall and Thomas Hattam would each employ their own teams of workers, sometimes on a casual, day by day basis. Such details, as well as being of interest to architectural historians, are

¹⁵³ There are no deeds for this period, and no abuttal references.

¹⁵⁴ HRO, AA/20, 3rd June, 1735.

¹⁵⁵ SA, Lloyd's Bank, Shrewsbury, deposit (3453), 1 & 2, conveyance to Peter Littleton Roberts, tiller, 28th/29th July, 1737; 3 & 4, mortgaged, 18th/19th Jan., 1775; SA, LB, 8/3/109-155, Window Tax assessments, 1737-75.

¹⁵⁶ PRO, C.8/485/36, complaint of John Stead, 11th Dec., 1708.

¹⁵⁷ HRO, AA/20, invent., 31st Jan., 1748.

¹⁵⁸ SA, 2705/14, Building Contract.

relevant to this study, as they lead to an understanding of how the work was done by which Ludlow was maintained and improved. In 1722-23, for example, Stephen Vale, mason, was paid £10 13s for pitching work on Ludlow streets.¹⁵⁹ He himself and one other man, John Davies, labourer, were employed for 52 days. Another mason, Thomas Child, worked 21 days, and five labourers worked between nine and 15 days each. The rates of pay varied. Vale himself and Thomas Child, the two masons, received 1s 4d a day, John Davies and John Morgan, labourer, received 1s 2d each, and the other labourers 1s each. The labourers worked for all or many of the craftsmen, John Davies and John Morgan both working in 1722-23 for Thomas Hattam, mason, again on pitching work.

The details of John Salwey's contract show that the details of most buildings were worked out and agreed by the craftsmen and their clients. The door of the Broad Street house, for example, was to be 'in the middle of the said front....and four feet wide', while 'there must be good and sufficient Timber laid in the Parlour for the boarding thereof'.¹⁶⁰ The emergence of builder architects gradually altered procedures for the larger buildings, though at Ludlow, certainly, the pace of change was slow. It probably began with William Baker, who had trained as a carpenter and joiner under Francis Smith of Warwick, first appearing in accounts at Ditchley in Oxfordshire in 1726 to 1727, when he was only twenty.¹⁶¹ For replacing the New House at Ludlow, Baker acted as contractor, i.e. he was builder as well as architect, engaging the workmen at every stage, though the accounts have not survived, so there is no knowledge of the craftsmen involved.¹⁶² In contrast, full accounts have survived for the rebuilding of the Almshouses.¹⁶³ Though the Almshouses had some distinctive features, such as the display of the Borough Arms, the accounts illustrate many features of the organisation of building projects at this time. The number of local craftsmen principally involved was eight, earning between them about £300, over a quarter of the total expenditure. Other craftsmen had minor roles, such as 'painting numbers on the doors and on the keys' by George Paine. However, over

¹⁵⁹ SA, LB, 8/1/254, Chamberlain's Accounts.

¹⁶⁰ SA: 2705/14, Building Contract, 3rd Feb., 1704.

¹⁶¹ Goome, A., *Smith of Warwick* (Stamford, 2000), p. 49.

¹⁶² SA, LB. box 546, Book of Precedents, pp. 82-83 (not numbered after 76), Articles of Agreement, 2nd March, 1743.

¹⁶³ SA, LB, 8/1/290, 'An Account of money expended by the Corporation of Ludlow in pulling down an Old Almshouse and in rebuilding the New Almshouse, Anno Domini, 1758'.

£80 went to specialist craftsmen from outside the town, one of them John Yates, a mason who regularly worked with Pritchard.¹⁶⁴ Much of the rest of the expenditure was on raw materials, the largest items being £180 for bricks fired by Paul Hand, brickmaker, on the field in Upper Galdeford he leased from the Corporation;¹⁶⁵ and £61 9s for lime from Clee Hill. The stone for the tablet came 'from Stretton' but the stone for the cornice came from Clee Hill. The most notable feature of the accounts, however, is that the payment to Pritchard 'for planning and surveying', was the comparatively modest sum of £21. His role was a supervisory one, exercised in part through an employee, Jonathan Reynolds, described on one occasion as 'A Person sent to look over the Work'.¹⁶⁶ The Tower and Guildhall accounts are more fragmentary than those of the Almshouses, but there is nothing to indicate that Pritchard was paid proportionately more than he was at the Almshouses. At the Guildhall he received just £3 3s in 1769 'for drawing a plan of the Guildhall and attendance',¹⁶⁷ and there were further payments to Pritchard in the mid-1770s for supervision during the alterations and for his valuation of the work done by Walter Hattam and other craftsmen.¹⁶⁸

Such evidence as there is, therefore, suggests that much of the designing of Ludlow's Georgian houses was done by the master craftsmen working in conjunction with often well informed clients, though with architects from outside the town having some involvement on a few major buildings. In spite of the vigilance of the Corporation, much of the decision making that led to the reshaping of Ludlow in the Georgian period was by individual owners and their employed craftsmen. In Ludlow and its region, the period saw a number of erudite individuals, some of whom, such as Henry Salwey of Elton and Robert Clive of Oakly Park, had strong and often innovative opinions on architecture (see pp.101-102). These helped to create a climate of local opinion which fostered good taste. The craftsmen complied with such thinking, as affirmed by the architectural historian Christopher Hussey.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ Ionides, *Thomas Farnolls Pritchard*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁵ SA, LB, 4/2/59, Corporation Rental, 1756.

¹⁶⁶ Ioniders, *Thomas Farnolls Pritchard*, p. 63.

¹⁶⁷ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minutes, 1746-87, p. 135, order, 19th April, 1769.

¹⁶⁸ Ionides, *Thomas Farnoll Pritchard*, pp. 67-69. Listing of papers in the Bailiffs' and Chamberlain's Accounts is currently (March, 2005) giving more data about the rebuilding of the Guildhall.

¹⁶⁹ Hussey, C., 'Old Towns Revisited XVI: Ludlow, Shropshire, III', *Country Life*, 8th Feb. 1946, 256-59 (p. 259).

Writing of the effect of 'continuous horizontality' given by rectangular houses climbing up the west side of Broad Street, he points out that 'as far as possible, eaves, lintel and sill levels are carried through by the nearest corresponding feature on the next house above', done, he believes 'consciously' by the builders.

Much of that good taste carried forward into the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Hussey affirming: 'The architectural distinction maintained is remarkable, well into the nineteenth century'.¹⁷⁰ For major public works, an architect or engineer was usually consulted from outside the town, but the work was then carried out by local men. In 1787 the Corporation committee appointed for the rebuilding of Corve Bridge recommended that three guineas should be paid to Thomas Symonds, now well established at Hereford, 'for drawing plans'.¹⁷¹ The bridge, with three elliptical arches, was built for £350 by William Atkins, stone mason, with one of the committee, Edward Acton, maltster, 'superintending' the work and paying the workmen.¹⁷² In 1794 another committee, composed entirely of members resident in Ludlow, reported that 'Mr Telford of Shrewsbury had delivered a plan 'for widening the New Bridge' at Dinham, the purpose being to make the bridge usable by wheeled vehicles. and that William Atkins, for the masonry, and John Lewis, joiner, had been engaged to do the work'.¹⁷³

These 'makeshift alterations' lasted until 1822, when the bridge was considered 'insufficient, inconvenient and dangerous', and another Corporation committee was formed.¹⁷⁴ In contrast to the 1794 committee this one consisted largely of members from outside Ludlow, including R.H.Clive, Esq., of Oakly Park, and R.P.Knight, Esq., of Downton Castle, both men of considerable artistic knowledge and judgement (p. 102). They recommended in October 1823 that a new bridge should be built for £600, as proposed by Thomas Cook, stone mason, of Lower Broad Street, but added that 'the plans had been submitted' to John Straphen of Shrewsbury, who had 'inspected and settled the plans and specifications'.¹⁷⁵ This

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 336, 13th Oct., 1787.

¹⁷² SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 330, Report of Committee for rebuilding Corve Bridge, 13th Oct., 1787, Report of Committee for widening the New Bridge, 20th Oct., 1794.

¹⁷³ SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, pp. 73/74.

¹⁷⁴ SA, LB, 2/1/7, p. 361, 28th Oct., 1822.

¹⁷⁵ LB 2/1/7, p.374, 28th Oct., 1823, committee report; Pigot, J, *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory, Shropshire* (Manchester, 1822) p. 368.

suggests strongly that the plans were Cook's, based, probably, on the ideas of committee members.

By 1830 Matthew Stead III, son of Matthew Stead II, builder, and nephew of Samuel Stead I, mason, had become Ludlow's first resident architect, though as he was baptised (at Ludlow) on 11th August, 1809, his training, whatever form it took, must have been limited.¹⁷⁶ On 11th January 1830 he contracted with the Borough Corporation to implement a plan 'furnished by Mr Telford for the improvement of the Town', which involved alterations to Broad Street, both above and below Broad Gate, and the installation of a sewer.¹⁷⁷ In 1836 he tendered successfully for the design of the projected Ludlow Union Workhouse, with what one local historian has called 'the curious proviso' that his father, Matthew Stead II, would agree to superintend construction.¹⁷⁸ The project, however, was plagued with difficulties, including badly inaccurate costing by Stead, and a late decision to replace the planned central heating in favour of coal fires. Stead, however, was exonerated by the Shrewsbury architect Edward Haycock, called in to report on what had gone wrong, who claimed that the technical problems could not have been anticipated but were handled wisely when they arose.¹⁷⁹

Haycock, who had 'an extensive practice in Shropshire', had himself worked in Ludlow a few years earlier, designing the rebuilt Headmaster's house at Ludlow Grammar School.¹⁸⁰ A less certain input by a distinguished architect, is that by C.R.Cockerell, who may have designed 113 Corve Street whilst he was in the neighbourhood from 1819, working at Oakly Park.¹⁸¹ From 1817 the building was owned by the Revd. Thomas Hodges, Vicar of Bromfield, who would have been on familiar terms with the Clives. Though there are no exact parallels in any of the Cockerell's works, the exuberance of classical detail on 113 Corve Street is consistent with his style. It is unique in Ludlow, Alec Clifton Taylor stigmatising it as 'out of scale and decidedly pompous'.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁶ *LPR*, p. 1153.

¹⁷⁷ SA, LB, 7/1/1138, Draft Agreement to improve Broad Street, 11th Jan., 1830.

¹⁷⁸ Williams, D., 'Building the Ludlow Union Workhouse', *Ludlow Heritage News*, 27, Spring 1997, p. 1.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 2.

¹⁸⁰ Lloyd, D. J., *Country Grammar School: A History of Ludlow Grammar School through Eight Centuries against its Local Background* (Ludlow, 1977), p. 94.

¹⁸¹ Watkin, C.R. *Cockerell*, pp. 158-64.

¹⁸² Clifton Taylor, *Six English Towns*, p. 166.

Fig. 107: Persons from the Building Trades listed in Pigot's Trade Directory, 1844.

			builders	joiners	stone-	painters	cabinet
					masons	plumbers	makers
						glaziers	
Atkins	Robert	Corve Street			*		
Bennitt	Richard	Lower Galdeford		*			
Bowen	John	Broad Street				*	
Collier	James	Raven Lane				*	
Collings	Sarah	Old Street				*	
Cook	Thomas	Lower Broad Street				*	
Crundell	Edward	Lower Galdeford	*	*			
Davies	Samuel	Raven Lane		*			
Greenhouse	John	Lower Broad Street			*		
Grosvenor	John	Broad Street	*	*			*
Gwynn	William	Corve Street				*	
Hammond	Andrew	Corve Street			*		
Harper	Joseph	Broad Street	*				*
James	John	Lower Broad Street			*		
Jones	Edward	Broad Street	*				
Maund	Francis	Mill Street		*			
Osborn	John	Old Street				*	
Page	Robert	Broad Street				*	
Pool	John	High Street		*			
Powell	Edward (junior)	Castle Street				*	
Powell	Samuel	Bell Lane				*	
Reynolds	Henry	Lower Galdeford			*		
Russell	John	Old Street			*		
Sawyer	Charles	Lower Galdeford			*		
Smith	Edward Blakeway	Corve Street	*				
Stead	Matthew	Lower Broad Street			*		
Stead	Samuel	Castle Street			*		
Ward	James	Hand and Bell Lane				*	
Watkins	Alexander	Lower Broad Street	*	*			
Watkins	James	Galdeford			*		
Wayne	Philip	Corve Street				*	
Williams	Mary ann	Brand Lane				*	

The 32 master tradesmen known to be in business in Ludlow in 1844 are listed on Fig. 107 (p. 341). The total number employed was of course much greater, similar, probably, to the 182 recorded in the 1841 census, which included journeymen, building labourers, apprentices and others (Fig.13, p.77). Taken together, the Directory and census figures suggest a healthy building industry at this time, an impression that is borne out by the many early Victorian buildings still standing in the town.

Some builders advertised themselves as joiners also, but no builders were also stone masons. The scale of the businesses varied greatly, as shown by entries in the 1851 Census, when John Grosvenor, for example, employed 17 men but Henry Reynolds only one.¹⁸³ A few had specialities not shown on Fig.107, for example John Poole was a trunk maker as well as a joiner, and both John Grosvenor and Harper were listed among the six cabinet makers. Two widows, Mary Williams in Brand Lane and Sarah Collins in Old Street, maintained what had previously been their husband's businesses.

¹⁸³ 1851 census, enumerators' notebooks.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This chapter summarises the findings of the thesis and assesses their value as a contribution to the understanding of the history of small towns in the long eighteenth century. It begins in Section 1 with a review of the methodology employed, itself a distinctive contribution to urban studies. A chronological synthesis is offered in Section 2, concluding that though the town evolved progressively in a number of ways, a fundamental change in its character occurred about 1770. The economic factors that underlay these developments are then reviewed in Section 3. An assessment of the Borough Corporation follows in Section 4, while in Section 5 the importance of individuals and individual decisions is highlighted. Finally, in Sections 6 and 7, the ways in which the thesis has added to the historical understanding of urbanism are considered, with reference to the work of other scholars, and to further work that could be done in this field.

1: Review of methodology, an inter-disciplinary approach

This study has brought together two areas of academic interest and expertise. It is firmly rooted in that school of urban history which can trace its origins to the early 1970s, with Clark and Slack's *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700* (1972) an early publication.¹ Successive issues of *Urban History Year Book* and *Urban History*, books and articles by Borsay, Chalklin, Clark, Corfield and others and the three volumes of *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (2000) are among the results of this tradition.² The second tradition is that headed by M. R. G. Conzen, a historical geographer, which focuses on town plans, beginning with Conzen's own *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town-Plan Analysis*, published in 1960.³

¹ Clark, P. and Slack, P., *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700* (London, 1972).

² Borsay, P., *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989); Chalklin, C. W., *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A study of the building process 1740-1820* (London, 1974); Clark, P.(ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns* (London, 1984); Corfield, P., *The Impact of English Towns, 1700-1800* (Oxford, 1982); *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vols. I, II and III (Cambridge, 2000).

³ Conzen, M. R. G., *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town Plan Analysis* (Institute of British Geographers, London, 1960).

Works by Bond, Slater and Whitehead have resulted.⁴ There has been some reference, also, to the tradition of architectural history, which embraces publications such as *The Buildings of England* series, *The Georgian Group Journal* and *Vernacular Architecture*, with contributions by scholars as diverse as Ayres, Cruickshank and Girouard.⁵

These traditions, though distinct, are not exclusive. The first two were represented at the international round table conference of what was then called 'the Urban History Group' at Leicester University in 1966, followed by the publication of *The Study of Urban History* (1968), edited by H. J. Dyos.⁶ *The History of Maidstone* (1996), by Clark and Murfin, incorporates maps of 'medieval Maidstone' by Slater, and acknowledges 'heavy indebtedness' for his advice on the town's early development.⁷ Descriptions of buildings and the building process have often been integrated with other studies. For example, articles on the buildings of Burford and Totnes by Laithwaite, an architectural historian, appear respectively in Everitt's *Perspectives in English Urban History* (1973) and Clark's *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800* (1984).⁸

In this study, the two main disciplines have been integrated by means of tenurial reconstructions, taking as their units the burgages which are at the heart of Conzenian analysis. Each plot is a microcosm, the history of which contributes to the macrocosm of the whole town. No.40/40A Broad Street provides a convenient example. The techniques of Conzen and Slater establish that this is a historic burgage, two and a half perches wide, which was demarcated out of block U (Fig.68,

⁴ Bond, C. J., 'Central place and medieval new town: the origin of Thame, Oxfordshire, in Slater, T. (ed.), *The Built Form of Western Cities* (Leicester, 1990), pp. 83-108; Slater, T. R., *The Analysis of Burgage Patterns in Medieval Towns*, Department of Geography, University of Birmingham Working Paper, 4 (Birmingham, 1980); Whitehead, J. W. R., *The Urban Landscape: Historical Development and Management, Papers by M. R. G. Conzen*, Institute of British Geographers Special Publication, 13 (London, 1981).

⁵ Ayres, J., *Building the Georgian City* (Yale, 1998); Cruickshank, D. and Burton, N., *Life in the Georgian City* (London, 1990); Girouard, M., *The English Town* (Yale, 1990).

⁶ Dyos, H. J. (ed.), *Study of Urban History* (London, 1968).

⁷ Clark, P. and Murfin, L., *The History of Maidstone: the Making of a Modern Country Town* (Gloucester, 1995), pp. 22-24.

⁸ Laithwaite, M., 'The Buildings of Burford: A Cotswold Town in the Fourteenth to Nineteenth Centuries', in Everitt, A. (ed.), *Perspectives in English Urban History* (London, 1973), pp. 60-90; *ibid*, 'Totnes Houses, 1500-1800', in Clark, *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800*, pp. 62-98.

p. 200), a planned unit which probably had a series of sub-units at the outset, as explained in chapter 4 (pp. 149-151). The plot, abutting onto Broad Street, may have once been six perches deep, stretching just over half way to Lower Raven Lane, but before 1660, probably before 1439, it had been extended further, reaching to Lower Raven Lane itself for part of its width. Documentary research, working back from existing title deeds, shows that this was a Corporation property, rented for 13s 4d in 1439, the highest rent of any Broad Street property.⁹ Using leases, registers of leases, tax assessments and other sources, a detailed sequence of leaseholders and occupiers – a tenorial history - can be constructed.¹⁰ This shows that the building was leased, at various times, by William Pryce, mercer, James Long, ironmonger; Thomas Whittington, schoolmaster; Benjamin Baugh, Town Clerk; and Lord Boyne of Burwarton. One of the leases, that of 26th August, 1697, records that William Pryce had ‘been of great charge in building’, but an architectural survey of the building has established that this was in fact a re-fronting of a much older building.¹¹ A reconstruction of that early building, dated as 15th century, is included in Moran’s authoritative *Vernacular Buildings of Shropshire*.¹² Parts of this structure can be detected inside the present building, in spite of its overtly late 17th character. The bricks on the front elevation are darker than those fired later and rather more crudely shaped, but the façade rests on an earlier structure. The windows, with their slim glazing bars, and the round-headed door-case, however, with a moulded flat hood on fluted consoles, and an ornamental fanlight, date from a later period, perhaps from the time of Benjamin Baugh, leaseholder and occupier from 1791.

The method employed has been to feed evidence from this and other micro-studies into the statistical data presented in Appendices 3, 4 and 5. These, and many of the tables in previous chapters, were used to determine the main conclusions of the thesis, which are summarised below. Much of the detail from the case studies is not suitable for statistical processing, but it has been widely utilised throughout the thesis,

⁹ Shropshire Archives (SA), Ludlow Borough (LB), 5/3/66, Palmers’ Guild rental, 1439.

¹⁰ e.g. SA, LB, 5/3/71, Palmers Guild rental, 1546; Custody of D. J. Lloyd (DL), Corporation Rental, 1592; SA, LB, 4/2/29, Corporation Rental, 1619; DL, Corporation Rental, 1679, p. 10d; SA, LB, 4/1/1548, lease, 28th Oct., 1791; SA, LB, 8/3/91-155, Window Tax assessments, 1708-75.

¹¹ SA, LB, 2/1/4, Corporation Minute Book, 1690-1712, p.78d, lease, 26th Aug., 1697.

¹² Moran, M., *Vernacular Buildings of Shropshire* (Almeley, Herefordshire, 2003), p. 164.

- to give flesh to the statistical bones. It also allows motives to be assessed, as for example, in the case of William Pryce, mercer, one of the innovators of late Stuart and Hanoverian Ludlow, as described in chapter 5 (pp. 266-70).

2: Ludlow's history, 1660 to 1848: an elemental synthesis

- Previous chapters, especially 4,5 and 6, have been thematic in approach and rich in detail. It is now appropriate to present a broader picture, postulating the main phases of Ludlow's growth.. Leaving aside property, ownership and improvement, which will be considered separately, it is useful to think in terms of a framework of five main historical periods: 1660 to 1689; 1689 to 1727; 1727 to 1770; 1770 to 1832; and 1832 to 1848. The picture presented here is largely descriptive and does not consider the economic base, hence the use of the word 'elemental' in the sub-heading. The economic base follows in Section 3 (pp. 348-50).

The presence of the Council of the Marches at Ludlow from 1661 until 1689 gave a unique character to Ludlow.¹³ The jurisdiction of the Council was less far reaching than in the pre-Civil War period and the business it did was much reduced, but the number of large houses, the high percentage of professional men and the residence of land owning gentry, some of them from distant places, gave the town a distinctive flavour, which to some degree influenced later development. The population was a little over 2,000.¹⁴ Rebuilding after Civil war damage began during the Commonwealth period, but the number of known building dates suggests modest rather than frenzied activity.

- The abolition of the Council in 1689 was potentially a cataclysmic event for Ludlow. There are indications of a slight fall in population, but the number of gentry and others with courtesy titles living in Ludlow in 1692 was greater than that in 1689 and soon grew further, suggesting that the Council, in its twilight years, may have been a break on development rather than a spur. The town quickly assumed its role as a fashionable social centre, attracting gentry and others from its region and beyond. The informative Poll Taxes and Easter Books show that gentry residents rose from 53 in 1692 to 77 in 1724, the number of gentry lodgers being 29 in the latter year.¹⁵ Locally as well as nationally, these were years of political contention, with

¹³ Thesis, pp. 64-68.

¹⁴ Thesis, pp. 59-61.

- ¹⁵ Thesis, Fig.17, p.83.

gentry families from south Shropshire and north Herefordshire competing vigorously for Ludlow's Parliamentary seats, the Herberts of Bromfield eventually taking control in 1727.¹⁶ The town's vitality found expression in almost continuous building, reaching a peak after 1720.

The period 1724 to 1770 was the high noon of Georgian Ludlow. The population total was stable for most of the period, though baptisms began to rise in the 1760s.¹⁷ Building continued steadily, with many elite residences in the town centre being rebuilt or re-fronted. Many of Ludlow's best known Georgian houses and public buildings date from this period, and many street and other improvements were instigated.¹⁸ Politically, it was a time of Herbert dominance, but the setting up of Turnpike Trusts in 1751 and 1756, and the start of a coach service to and from London by 1763, facilitated movement in and out of the town and region.¹⁹

The next period, from 1770 to 1832, was one of change and growth, reflecting what was happening in the nation as a whole. The population rose steadily to reach over 5,000 by 1832.²⁰ A few elite residences were erected, but the main thrust of building was to provide low status houses, many of them along the back of burgages.²¹ Communications continued to improve, and capital flowed more freely, with the first Ludlow bank appearing in 1787.²² The gentry remained a presence in Ludlow, but their number in 1798 was less than half what it had been in 1763; and the number of gentry lodgers dramatically declined.²³ Politically, radical ideas began to appear, and the continuing influence of the Herberts was occasionally challenged while the oligarchic rule of the Corporation became unpopular.²⁴

The passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 began a period of intense political activity, with hotly contested parliamentary elections, and increasing Government control of local processes.²⁵ It was followed in 1835 by the Municipal Reform Act, which caused the Corporation to be replaced by an elected Borough Council. Disagreement about the division of the Corporation's charity estates led to 'the Great

¹⁶ Thesis. pp. 47-50, Fig. 6.

¹⁷ Thesis, pp. 60-62.

¹⁸ Thesis, pp. 329-32.

¹⁹ Thesis, pp. 55-58.

²⁰ Thesis, pp. 61-63.

²¹ Thesis, pp. 226-31.

²² Thesis, pp. 56-58, 121-28.

²³ Thesis, Fig. 17, p.83.

²⁴ Thesis, pp. 108-10.

²⁵ Thesis, pp. 110-13.

Law Suit', an acrimonious dispute which dominated the town for much of the 1840s. Though widely regarded as pleasant place in which to live, Ludlow had now lost much of its social cachet, though as Henry James remarked when he visited the town some years later, it was a place on which 'a provincial gentry' had left 'a sensible stamp.'²⁶

Reviewing these postulated periods, it is arguable that the most significant change came about 1770, associated with the rapid increase of population that began in the 1760s. Between 1660 and 1770, Ludlow, like most towns, had its noxious manufacturing zones, such as lower Corve Street, its shops and workplaces, and a high proportion of residents who were classed as poor, e.g. the 111 persons in Corve Street ward, 35% of the total, who were exempt the Poll Tax in 1667.²⁷ However, the prevailing ambiance was one of gentility, causing a visitor in 1747 to describe the town as 'neat and very polite', where 'the gentry dress fine, live easily, visit much and do things very grand'.²⁸ After 1770, in contrast, the character of the town, began to change, with an increasing population, fewer resident gentry and gentry lodgers, and growing areas of poverty and hardship, with a great expansion in low status housing.²⁹ Aristocratic control over the town became more marked and was perceived as less benign, while the Corporation incurred much public criticism.³⁰ The remark by the sophisticated London based architect, cited in chapter 6 (p. 335) that the quality of work by the talented Ludlow mason Samuel Stead, 'cannot be appreciated in a provincial Town', adds weight to the view that some of its early Georgian gloss had gone from Ludlow by the nineteenth century.³¹

3: Economic foundations

Much of the wealth which underlay the transformation of Ludlow in the 1660 to 1848 period came from the surrounding countryside. The main sources of that wealth have been considered in chapter 2.³² Farming was the mainstay of the economy and it was the agricultural produce of the region which largely sustained

²⁶ James, H., *Portraits of Place* (London, 1883), p. 285.

²⁷ Thesis, pp. 60 & fn.1, 167-68.

²⁸ Evans, J., *Handbook to Ludlow*, 4th. edn. (Ludlow, 1869), p. 87.

²⁹ Thesis, pp. 83 (Fig.17), 94-95, 142, 198.

³⁰ Thesis, pp. 108-09.

³¹ Watkin, D., *The Life and Work of C. R. Cockerell* (London, 1974), p. 180.

³² Thesis, pp. 38-44.

Ludlow's markets and fairs. A weekly market was held throughout and the number of fairs increased from four in 1665 to seven from 1822.³³ Timber and coal were other products but the most significant activity was iron-making, particularly at Bringewood and on Clee Hill.³⁴ The effect this had on property development and building in Ludlow has been demonstrated.³⁵ A further form of rural wealth to benefit Ludlow came through the gentry, who drew rents and other forms of income from their rural estates, invested in property or spent their money in pursuit of a leisured urban lifestyle as tenants or lodgers.³⁶ Improved communications, described in the last section of chapter 2 (pp. 55-58), were another promotional influence. Better transport made fuller use of the town's nodal position on major route ways, benefiting the markets and improving access from all parts of the Ludlow region and from further away.

The economy of the town itself can be perceived through the proportions of people in occupational and social status groupings at different times, as presented in Chapter 3 (pp. 76-78, Figs. 13 and 14).³⁷ There was a wide industrial base, with about a quarter of those listed engaged in manufacturing throughout the period, though the numbers employed rose considerably, from 228 in 1724 to 623 in 1841. Glove making was the town's speciality for much of the period, though decline followed a severe depression in 1816. Malting, paper making and many kinds of consumer production, from furniture to watches, also boosted the economy. The rise in the proportion of dealers, from about 10% in the 18th century to nearly 30% in 1841, illustrates the town's developing role as a centre of exchange. As well as the markets and fairs, shops and inns provided a growing range of retail services, as set out on Fig. 16 (p. 81) in chapter three.³⁸ Labourers are probably under-represented in the 1669 figures, but at other times they accounted for 8%-9% of those listed. The numbers in the building trades were susceptible to building cycles. For example, 52 men were employed in 1724, a boom period, compared to 41 in 1763, in one of what Lewis called 'troughs'.³⁹ In the 18th century those engaged in the professions were small in number though great in influence. There had been more under the Council of the Marches, and there were more again in 1841, as new services such as banking

³³ Thesis, pp. 68-69.

³⁴ Thesis, pp. 42-44.

³⁵ Thesis, pp. 280-82.

³⁶ Thesis, pp. 275-78.

³⁷ Thesis, pp. 77-78.

³⁸ Thesis, p. 81.

³⁹ Lewis, J.P., *Building Cycles and Britain's Growth* (London, 1965), p.20.

and surveying developed. The changes in gentry numbers – under 4% in 1669, 9% or 10% in the 18th century, but only 1.5% in 1841 – reflect the rise and relative decline of Ludlow as a fashionable social centre, and thereby the rise and fall of spending by gentry families.⁴⁰ Those in service, 30% to 35% for much of the period, were the largest group, but though numbers doubled between 1763 and 1841, the proportion in the latter year was down to 20%, reflecting the large number of households then in Ludlow which did not employ residential servants.

Attention has been paid in Chapter 3 (pp. 116-21) to individual finances, and to the prevalence of credit.⁴¹ Adequate financing and facilities for borrowing capital were needed in a changing town. This part of the thesis rests heavily on the great resource of 1,498 wills and the 542 probate inventories of Ludlow residents which have been analysed. It has been shown that credit played an important part in the economy, supporting the conclusions of Spufford and others.⁴² The development of banking has also been reviewed in chapter 3 (pp. 121-28), with a particular focus on the financial services offered by John Baldwin, attorney, as revealed by his inventory exhibited in 1732.⁴³ It has been shown that banking oiled the wheels of the economy and promoted development in a number of ways, while the failure of banks, as in Ludlow in 1824 and 1826, caused a redistribution of ownership by putting many properties on the market simultaneously.

4. The Borough Corporation, an assessment

The membership and modus operandi of the oligarchic and self-electing Corporation have been presented in chapter 3 (pp. 95-108) and chapter 5 (pp. 322-25). The findings agree to some extent with recent research, which has modified considerably the ‘generally gloomy verdict’ of the Webbs and others on local authorities of this kind.⁴⁴ There was a contrast between the first half of the period,

⁴⁰ Thesis, Fig.17, p. 83.

⁴¹ Thesis, pp. 116-21.

⁴² Spufford, M., ‘The limitations of the probate inventory’, in Chartres, J. and Hey, D., *English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 139-74; Holdeness, D., ‘Credit in a Rural Community, 1660-1800: some neglected aspects of probate inventories, *Midland History* (1975), 3, pp. 94-115.

⁴³ Thesis, p. 123.

⁴⁴ Webb, S. and B., *The Manor and the Borough: English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act, 1 & 2* (London, 1908); McIntyre, S., ‘Towns as Health and Pleasure Resorts: Bath, Scarborough and Weymouth, 1700-

when the Corporation met several times a year, with Ludlow residents in a majority, and the period after 1750, when meetings were rarer, work was delegated to committees and most members lived out of town.⁴⁵ Owning about a third of the town, the Corporation, as shown in chapter 3 (pp. 102-08), was able to 'live comfortably off its estate'. As with other authorities 'the multitude of accounts' makes it difficult to assess financial matters, but the financial management of the Ludlow Corporation seems to have been comparable to that found in other towns by McIntyre and Dawson: competent, but with sometimes defective accounting.⁴⁶ However, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries the Corporation aroused much local criticism: for the unpopular levy of market tolls, for the sale of parts of Whitcliffe Common and for the scandal of St Leonard's chapel, and for dominance by members of the Clive family, the heads of which became Earls of Powis.⁴⁷ In the later part of the 1660-1848 period, certainly, the public perception of the Ludlow Corporation deteriorated, and Triffit's assessment of Corporations as 'undoubtedly not spotless but in general *respectable and efficient*' would seem over generous for Ludlow in its final decades.

The Corporation often showed care and *compassion for at least some of its* tenants, and attendance records, available from 1753, show that some members were regular and hard-working.⁴⁸ The intellectual calibre of many gentry and professional members was very high⁴⁹, and some of their attitudes and perceptions are perhaps reflected in the Corporation's role as a regulating and planning authority, as considered in detail in chapter 6 (pp. 322-25), and have their legacy in the streetscapes of to-day.⁵⁰ The Corporation's erection of a series of civic buildings and amenities, between 1702 and 1822 (pp. 325-33), is another lasting memorial, in

1815', unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1973, p. 410; Dawson, E. J., 'Finance and the Unreformed Borough: a Critical Appraisal of Corporation Finance 1660-1835, with special reference to the Boroughs of Nottingham, York and Boston', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1978, p.98; Triffit, M. J., 'Politics and the Urban Community: Parliamentary Boroughs in the South West of England, 1710-1730', unpublished D. Phil., University of Oxford, 1985.

⁴⁵ Thesis, pp. 99, Fig. 21.

⁴⁶ McIntyre, 'Towns as Health and Pleasure Resorts', p. 410; Dawson, 'Finance and the Unreformed Borough,' p. 98.

⁴⁷ Thesis, pp. 108-10.

⁴⁸ Thesis, pp. 100, 107-08.

⁴⁹ Thesis, pp. 101

⁵⁰ Thesis, pp. 322-25.

line with the achievements of other local authorities, as recognised, for example, by Grady in his study of twelve Yorkshire towns.⁵¹

5: 'A multitude of small men' ⁵²(and women)

This phrase by Dyos, though first used derogatively, sums up a major theme of this study. It has been the task of this thesis to take the mass of human data, derived from title deeds, tax assessments, probates and other records, and to organise it into meaningful patterns. This has been done largely through the use of occupational and social status groupings, the use of which has been explained in chapter 3.⁵³

Within the parameters set by the Corporation, nearly all the decisions that shaped Georgian Ludlow were taken by individuals. Humphrey Cornewall, Esq., of Berrington, 'an unrepentant cavalier', decided in 1669 to purchase 2 Brand Lane, and in 1683 to buy an adjoining orchard, thereby beginning the creation of one of Ludlow's largest properties.⁵⁴ A few years later Richard Rogers, carrier, bought 111 Corve Street, and when the house was 'burnt down' in 1701, he 'laid out a large sum to have it rebuilt in a much better manner than it had been before'.⁵⁵ When Richard Brown, a bachelor attorney, made his will before his death in 1753, he left his house at 40 Mill Street to his servant, Mary Owen, who later decided to marry Henry Hill, gardener, of Maeslough, Radnordshire, his heir retaining ownership until 1794.⁵⁶ Such examples could be multiplied many times.

The influence of many individuals in shaping the townscape has been demonstrated. There were men of drive and vision, such as William Pryce and John

⁵¹ Thesis, pp. 325-33; Grady, K. 'The Provision of Public Buildings in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1600-1840', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1980, pp. 96-7. .

⁵² Dyos, H. J., 'Agenda for Urban Historians', in Dyos, H. J, (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968), 1-46 (p. 40).

⁵³ Thesis, pp. 76-81, Figs. 13, 14 & 15.

⁵⁴ Henning, B. (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1660—1690*, II (London. 1983), p. 46; Beesly, P., *Ludlow House: 27 Broad Street, 3 and 4 Brand Lane* (Ludlow, 1960), p. 11.

⁵⁵ PRO, C. 8/626/9, complaint of Richard Rogers, 26th Oct., 1708.

⁵⁶ SA, LB, 2/1/5, Corporation Minute Book, 1712-46, p.167, lease, 26th Oct., 1725; HRO, AA/20, will of Richard Brown, 12th Nov., 1753; SA, LB, 2/1/6, Corporation Minute Book, 1746-87, p. 236, lease, 28th Oct., 1777; SA, LB, 2/1/7, Corporation Minute Book, 1788-1830, p. 1, licence to alien, 28th Oct., 1794.

Stead, who created fine residences for themselves out of older properties.⁵⁷ There were speculators, such as William Pugh, landlord of The Half Moon in Lower Galdeford, who accumulated a small estate of six properties, which was developed with some rebuilding by his son in law, William Hotchkiss, saddler.⁵⁸ There were successful lawyers, such as Benjamin Karver, who improved his derelict property at the top of Mill Street to create a short terrace of three storey houses.⁵⁹ There were gentry such as of James Poole, Esq., of Stretton Grandison and Sir Francis Charlton of Park, who have left fine residences as their legacy.⁶⁰

The thesis has demonstrated, also, the role of ‘foreigners’, including local farmers, many of whom invested money in the town through mortgages. Some gentry families accumulated property in Ludlow, including the Dunnes of Gatley Park.⁶¹ Some people from further away had a stake in the town, including members of Ludlow families who had migrated, many of them to London.⁶² There were others, such as William Backhouse, Gent., of the Tower of London, whose interests were purely financial.⁶³

6: The study of Ludlow 1660-1848 and its contribution to the historical understanding of urbanism

The most significant contributions of this thesis, covering ‘the long 18th century’, are to the understanding of property, ownership and improvement. These have been the themes of chapters 4, 5 and 6, studied within the context of what has been presented in earlier chapters: on scholarly work done elsewhere (chapter 1), on the Ludlow region (chapter 2), and on the town itself (chapter 3). The findings on these three major themes will now be reviewed in turn, followed by an assessment of the importance of the thesis as a whole.

The historical introduction to chapter 4 showed that the arrangement of **properties** in the town plan of 1660 was the legacy of five centuries of adaptation to

⁵⁷ Thesis, pp. 266-70.

⁵⁸ Thesis, pp. 271-72.

⁵⁹ Thesis, pp. 232-33.

⁶⁰ Thesis, pp. 277-78.

⁶¹ Thesis, p. 277.

⁶² Thesis, p. 285.

⁶³ Thesis, pp. 286- 87.

the original Norman plan.⁶⁴ The town had ‘an underlying regularity’, which gave shape and scale to later development.⁶⁵ Ancient boundaries continued to influence developments in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, though a number of amalgamations and divisions occurred.⁶⁶ The processes by which the tenorial histories of Ludlow properties can be worked out were explained.⁶⁷

The core of the chapter consisted of a detailed description of ‘streets, plots and buildings’, belonging to the 27 blocks of property that had been demarcated for research purposes.⁶⁸ No other published or unpublished study presents properties in this way, though elements of what has been presented here occurs in the work of Conzen, Slater, and Scrace.⁶⁹ The castle (A), ‘the pre-urban nucleus’ of the town, is described first, with its changes of role highlighted.⁷⁰ Elsewhere, a pattern of long burgages with buildings at the front and yards or gardens behind was noted in many places, as on the north side of Castle Street (B), the west side of Corve Street (D) and the west side of Dinham (Z).⁷¹ Elsewhere, short burgages became very congested, as on the west side of lower Corve Street (E), in the Bull Ring (C and G) and in Tower Street (G and L),⁷² while other kinds of tight development occurred in the Rows (S) and in Dinham west of St Thomas’s Lane (Z).⁷³ In the blocks south of the historic High Street (T, U, W, X; Conzen’s ‘central and southern plan unit’), the pattern tended to be one of elite houses facing the main residential streets – Broad Street and Mill Street - with smaller houses, stables and other buildings abutting onto Raven Lane.⁷⁴

Some burgages attracted commercial and industrial development. The long burgages on the east side of Corve Street (F), for example, had abundant space, and

⁶⁴ Thesis, pp. 135-40.

⁶⁵ Thesis, pp. 144-51.

⁶⁶ Thesis, pp. 151-55.

⁶⁷ Thesis, pp. 140-44.

⁶⁸ Thesis, pp. 158-216.

⁶⁹ Conzen, *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town Plan Analysis*; Slater, ‘Medieval New Town and Port: a Plan Analysis of Hedon, East Yorkshire’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 57 (1985), pp. 23-51; Scrace, A. J., Wells, *A Study of Town Origins and Early Development*, University of the West of England (Bristol, n.d.)

⁷⁰ Conzen, ‘The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History’, in Dyos, H. J. (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968), 113-30 (p.124).

⁷¹ Thesis, pp.161-63, 169-72, 211-13.

⁷² Thesis, pp. 163-65, 172-74, 181-84.

⁷³ Thesis, pp. 196-97, 211-12.

⁷⁴ Thesis, pp. 197-99, 199-201, 204-05, 206-07.

some of them could be reached by a back access lane.⁷⁵ Burgages of all kinds were used for back building after 1770, especially those in Upper and Lower Galdeford (H and J), on the east side of Old Street (L) and on both sides of Lower Broad Street (P and V).⁷⁶ In some areas towards the edge of the town development was less dense, with rows or small groups of houses at the front of plots and long gardens behind, for example in Frog Lane (O) and along Temeside (N).⁷⁷ Other plots on the peripheries had merged before 1660 to form very large properties or small enclosed fields, as off Lower Mill Street (AA) and in Linney (AB).⁷⁸ Two macro-studies, of inns and gentry houses, seek to give a sense of the shape of the commercial/social axis of the town, indicating changes over time, among them the 'spread' of gentry into the southern part of Corve Street, apparent by 1763 and more pronounced by 1843.⁷⁹

The third section of Chapter 4 considered some of the distinctive uses to which many historic plots were put in the 1660 to 1848 period. Property boundaries restricted some economic developments and limited the building of terraces, and also shaped much low status housing.⁸⁰ The acquisition of adjacent plots to create more space or access for elite residences occurred in some blocks, especially Q, R and Y.⁸¹ Two plans for large scale property development were reviewed, which show that people in Ludlow had aspiration and vision, even though neither scheme materialised.⁸²

Finally, the socio-economic layout of the town was reconstructed and changes over time noted.⁸³ A number of distinct zones were recognised, such as a main shopping area – 'the economic spine of the town – along the line of the medieval High Street, and high status residential districts in parts of Broad Street, Mill Street and Dinham. A number of changes over time were also noted, such as a cluster of gentry residing in the upper part of Corve Street by 1843, some of them occupying houses which formerly belonged to manufacturers.⁸⁴

⁷⁵ Thesis, pp. 169-72.

⁷⁶ Thesis, pp. 174-76, 176-79, 181-84, 188-190, 203-04.

⁷⁷ pp.186-87, 185.

⁷⁸ pp. 213-15, 215-16.

⁷⁹ pp. 217-222.

⁸⁰ pp. 223-26, 226-34.

⁸¹ pp. 190-92, 192-95, 208-10.

⁸² pp. 236-38.

⁸³ pp. 238-42.

⁸⁴ pp. 217-22.

The findings on **ownership** are another key part of the research, which, it is felt, makes a significant contribution to understanding how towns evolved in the 1660 to 1848 period. In 1669 and 1843, the years when all owners have been identified, it has been shown that there were many owners in Ludlow but no big urban estates, so that the town falls into the third of the three categories of town recognised by Beckett: 'those that had no substantial landlord'.⁸⁵ At Ludlow, the ownership pattern is comparable to that, for example, at Banbury, described by Trinder as 'a town of small land-owners whose property was minutely sub-divided'.⁸⁶ These and other studies, as listed in Chapter 1, section 5, have produced data on property ownership, but the writer is not aware of any which have analysed ownership over a substantial period by zones of residence and by occupational and social status groups.⁸⁷ Through this area of study, this thesis thus makes a significant contribution to urban history.

The data has been interpreted in various ways in the text of chapter 5. The first significant finding is the fact that 75% of owners lived in the town itself, and the other 25% elsewhere.⁸⁸ Of those from out of Ludlow, 37% came from the inner region, 27% from the outer region, and the remainder, 36%, from more distant places, many of them from London. As shown on Fig. 92, the second method of analysis is by occupational and social status groups.⁸⁹ Among owners resident in Ludlow, 35% were manufacturers and 24% dealers, followed by 15% professional and 9% gentry. These proportions are roughly comparable with the numbers in each grouping shown on Fig.13, chapter 3, except that 15% for professional is much higher, showing that members of that group were especially active in the property market.⁹⁰ In the ownership ratings, gentry had 10% and builders 8%, but it is notable that there were representatives from nearly all the groups, including 30 labourers and twelve in domestic service. Of the owners from outside Ludlow, much the highest number of properties was owned by gentry, with 37.5% , and by those in agriculture, with 23%, many of the latter, in particular, acting as mortgagees. No other study yielding this

⁸⁵ Beckett, J. V., *The Aristocracy of England, 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986), p. 263.

⁸⁶ Trinder, B., *Victorian Banbury* (Chichester, 1982), p. 9.

⁸⁷ pp. 17-21.

⁸⁸ pp. 255-56, 275-86.

⁸⁹ pp. 257-75, Fig. 92, p. 256.

⁹⁰ pp. 77-78, Figs. 13 and 14.

kind of information, over a period of nearly 200 years, has yet been published, though as indicated below, there is considerable potential for such research.

The greater part of chapter five is devoted to case studies of people who owned single properties, and citing examples of those who acquired small or medium sized urban estates.⁹¹ Two immigrant entrepreneurs, who developed comparatively large estates in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, were given particular attention, though in size these never matched the two large estates at Wareham in 1762.⁹² Specific sections are given to 'foreign' owners, including those living in the county towns nearest to Ludlow, and in London.⁹³ Four dynasties of owners are examined in some detail, showing how small and medium sized estates were accumulated and dispersed by split inheritance, sale or other processes.⁹⁴

The role of women as property owners was considered, with sufficient data for a short study of the kind published in *Women and Urban Life in Eighteenth-Century England*, published in 2003.⁹⁵ Another contribution to a wider picture comes with an account of property acquisition for political purposes, adding a new dimension to the literature on post-1832 parliamentary elections in Shropshire.⁹⁶ The Clee Hill coal miner and manufacturer, Thomas Botfield, accumulated a small urban estate which was utilized by his son Beriah in parliamentary campaigns in 1840 and 1841 and afterwards, while the Whigs sought to match this by hasty purchases of property from 1840, seeking thereby to secure votes.

The penultimate section of the chapter is a detailed analysis of property ownership in Ludlow in 1843, based on the Borough's first rate book.⁹⁷ The information yielded is correlated with that of earlier sections in a final synthesis. This shows that while there was much continuity of groupings in the pattern of ownership in Ludlow between 1660 and 1848, there were many changes of individual and family owners. Work in other towns, e.g. Cheltenham and Earl's Coln, has revealed

⁹¹ pp. 257-61.

⁹² pp. 266-70; Turner, M, 'The nature of urban renewal in seven English towns, c.1675-1801', unpublished Ph. D., University of Exeter, 1985.

⁹³ pp. 283-87.

⁹⁴ pp. 290-97.

⁹⁵ pp. 296-306; Sweet, R. and Lane, P., *Women and Urban Life in Eighteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 2003).

⁹⁶ pp. 287-90.

⁹⁷ pp. 301-06; SA, LB, 15/2/245, Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843.

ownership patterns but these have not been analysed in the way pioneered in this thesis.⁹⁸

Improvement is the third major theme of the thesis. The chronology of building in Ludlow between 1660 and 1848, using 286 known or inferred dates, is another important finding.⁹⁹ After intermittent activity in the late 17th century, a pattern of generally continuous building in Ludlow was established going up to 1844, with some peak five year periods, such as 1720 to 1724. An attempt to match this information with the building cycles postulated by Lewis has met with some success and has helped to put what happened in Ludlow within a wider context.¹⁰⁰ There is clear evidence that most elite houses had been built by 1770, though adaptations of windows, door-cases and other details continued. From 1770 the main thrust was in lower status housing, including back building. A comparison of builder owners with all owners shows that manufacturers and dealers were again the leading classes, accounting for 28% and 21% of the total.¹⁰¹ The third group, however, were the builders themselves, on 17%, many of them acting as speculators. The professions came next, with the gentry, on 11%, in fifth place, compared with their 17% for all owners. There is some evidence that gentry bought houses that others had built. All of this shows the opportunities for speculative building at all social levels in Georgian Ludlow. The kind of detail presented in this thesis on the people who commissioned new buildings during the long 18th century is lacking even in such thorough studies as those of Ayres and Guillery and is again a significant contribution to the wider picture of rebuilding and improvement.¹⁰²

The chapter continues with a review of the building process in Ludlow, itemising the work of a range of craftsmen, and identifying several dynasties of builders.¹⁰³ The influence of architects was limited for much of the period, with teams of craftsmen and their clients being the chief arbiters of taste and fashion. The role of the Borough Corporation as a regulating authority and as a patron of public

⁹⁸ MacFarlane, A, *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 47, 136; Blake, S., *Pittville, 1824-1860: A Scene of Georgian Magnificence* (Cheltenham, 1988).

⁹⁹ pp. 308-11.

¹⁰⁰ pp. 311-18; Lewis, *Building Cycles and England's Growth*.

¹⁰¹ pp. 319-22.

¹⁰² Ayres, *Building the Georgian City*; Guillery, P., *The Small House in Eighteenth Century London* (Yale, 2004).

¹⁰³ pp. 325-41.

buildings was very positive, though many amenities and facilities were provided by patrons, especially Henry Arthur Herbert.

7: A summary of what this thesis has added to the historical understanding of urbanism and how it might promote further research

This thesis began with the statement that its aim 'is to contribute to the developing understanding of the growth of small towns in the two centuries after the Restoration'.¹⁰⁴ This has been achieved through studies of property, ownership and improvement, which have been analysed in detail in chapters 4, 5 and 6, within the context provided by earlier chapters. The findings on each have been reviewed above, and the information provided on other issues has been noted, but like the theological trinity, property, ownership and improvement are also part of a greater whole, which is the history of one particular town. This thesis constitutes, surely, one of the 'more detailed studies' and 'monographs' sought by Clark and Noble.¹⁰⁵

However, the ultimate importance of such a study lies in its contribution to a wider understanding of urban history. The largely unaltered town plan, the wealth of standing buildings and the profuse archives available have allowed this history of Ludlow to be one of great detail, but through that detail has come illumination of what Daunton has called 'the subtlety of the historical process'.¹⁰⁶ For example, as well as revealing broad patterns, such as the ownership of properties by occupational and social status groupings, the processes of property acquisition have been explored, through a very large number of rentals, leases, conveyances and mortgages. This and other procedures can be applied to other towns where such records survive. .

Arguably, the most significant contribution of the thesis to urban history has been the analysis of the abundant documentary and cartographic detail by means of tenurial reconstruction, the techniques of which are explained in chapter 4.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Clark, P., review of Patten, J., *English Towns 1500-1700* (Folkstone, 1978), in *Urban History Year Book* (UHYB), 1980, p. 119; Noble, M., 'Growth and Development of a Regional Urban System: the Country Towns of Eastern Yorkshire, 1700-1850', *UHYB*, 1987, p.1.

¹⁰⁶ Daunton, M., review of Cannadine, D., *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967* (Leicester, 1980), *UHYB*, 1982, p. 182.

¹⁰⁷ pp. 140-44.

Keene's assertion, cited in chapter 1, that 'one way of making sense' of a 'forbidding mass of information' is to 'reconstitute it in the form of histories of the properties to which it relates' has been the guiding star.¹⁰⁸ Such histories have been composed for larger towns, as by Urry at Canterbury and by Salter at Oxford.¹⁰⁹ However, in these places analysis of ownership and buildings has not yet been carried out in a way that will allow the kind of categorisation of ownership achieved in this thesis for Ludlow. On smaller towns tenorial reconstruction has been more limited, though Hinstock and Scrase have published work on Ashbourne and Wells respectively, the latter, in particular, having much common methodology with what has done in this thesis for Ludlow..¹¹⁰

The author is familiar with work that has been started along these lines at some other small towns, including. Bewdley¹¹¹ and Stratford on Avon¹¹², and though the techniques differ in detail from town to town, comparative studies would give further insights into the ways in which towns evolve. Work on some towns is already in part published, e.g. that of Wells.¹¹³ Several sources of information are already in print, which would be key documents for tenorial studies in other towns, for example, three of the North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications on Malton, Richmond and Settle.¹¹⁴ For such work, it is hoped that this study on Ludlow will point a way forward.

¹⁰⁸ Keene, D., 'A New Study of London before the Great Fire', *UHYB* (1984), p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ Urry, W., *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1967); Pantin, W. A. (ed.), *Survey of Oxford by the late Rev. H. E. Salter*, 1, Oxford Hist. Soc., new ser., 14 (1960).

¹¹⁰ Hinstock, A., *A Georgian Country Town: Ashbourne, 1725-1825*, 2, *Architecture* (Ashbourne, c.1989); Scrase, Wells, *A Study of Town Origins and Early Development*.

¹¹¹ Work at Bewdley began as a Birmingham University Extra-Mural Class in 1990, under the author's direction, using manor court rolls as its principal source.

¹¹² Personal communication, Robert Bearman, Senior Archivist, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust.

¹¹³ Scrase, A. J., '1835 Municipal Reform, Wells Corporation and its Estates', *Southern History*, 10 (1988), pp.129-41.

¹¹⁴ Hill, A. M., *Settle in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century: The Tithe Apportionment, 1844, the Census Returns, 1851*, North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications, 14 (1977); Wenham, L. P. (ed.), *Richmond Burgage Houses, North Yorkshire, Surveys of 1679, 1773 and 1820*, North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications, 16 (1978); Salmon, D. J. (ed.), *Malton in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Copperthwaite's Statistical Survey, 1841, North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications. 26 (1981).

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A: Manuscript Sources

1: Public Record Office

B 3	Bankruptcy proceedings
C 1-11	Chancery proceedings
E 133	Exchequer papers
E 179/119/49	Herefordshire Hearth Tax, Michaelmas, 1671
E 179/168/216	Shropshire Hearth Tax, Michaelmas, 1672
E 179/260/10	Worcestershire Hearth Tax, Lady Day 1674
FF	Feet of Fines
HO 67	Survey of crops, 1801
HO 107/0924	1841 census enumerators' books for Ludlow
HO 129/352/2	1851 Ecclesiastical Census, Ludlow deanery
IR 23/71	Land Tax assessments, 1798
IR 29/14/1-237	Tithe maps and apportionments, Herefordshire, 1838-49
IR 29/29/1-341	Tithe maps and apportionments, Shropshire, 1838-48 (copies in SA & HRO)
KB 27	King's Bench
MR	Map Room, various
PROB 3	Probate inventories
PROB 4 and 11	Wills and administrations
T47/3	Carriage duties
T 47/5	Silver plate duties
T 47/8	Male servants duty
WO 30/48	Census of inns, 1686

2: British Library

Add MSS 21,236-37 Williams, Revd. Edward, drawings of monuments, etc. in Shropshire, 1792-1803
Cotton Mss Nero, A4 Liber Landavensis (The Book of Landaff)

3: College of Arms

LM 8/1663	Notes for visitation of Shropshire, 1663
RR 19/E/E	Visitation of Herefordshire, 1663
RR 19/B/G	Visitation of Shropshire, 1663
RR 19/E/E	Visitation of Worcestershire, 1683

4: Shropshire Archives

Ludlow Borough Collection

LB 21/1-8	Minute books
LB 4/605-1769	Corporation leases
LB 4/2/1-117	Rentals and rent registers (selected)
LB 4/2/185-296	Renters accounts (selected)
LB 4/3/177-2238	Petitions for leases (selected)
LB 4/4	Miscellaneous estate papers
LB 5	Palmer's Guilds records (mostly not relevant)
LB 7	Various administrative papers
LB 7/706	Invitations to Bailiffs' feast and balls
LB 7/968-1066	Markets and fairs

LB 7/1067-1159	Public works
LB 7/1787-1922	Parliamentary elections
LB 7/2231-2234	Enclosure of Whitcliffe Common
LB 8/1/180-	Bailiffs' and Chamberlains' Accounts, not yet all numbered
LB 8/3//23-51	Tax assessments, including Poll Taxes
LB 8/3/85-155	Window Tax assessments
LB 8/3/156-239	Land Tax assessments
LB 9	Records of the Borough Court (sampled)
LB 10	Records of the Court Leet and View of Frankpledge (sampled)
LB 11/4	Quarter Sessions papers
LB 15/1/52-208	Church Wardens accounts
LB 15/2	Overseers of the Poor accounts and papers (sampled)
LB 15/2/245	Borough Poor Rate book, 1843
LB 15/2/818-898:	Settlement examinations
LB MT 1-1444	Muniments of Title
Other collections	
SA 11	Ludford collection
SA 20	Oakly Park collection
SA 151	Walcot collection
SA 154	Dunne collection
SA 552	Earl of Powis collection
SA 768	Morgan, Ludlow (1)
SA 802	Salt collection
SA 1066	Journals of Miss Katherine Plymley, 1792-1814
SA 1141	Clark & Co, Ludlow.
SA 2030	Salwey and Rickards, Ludlow
SA, 2216	Park Hall (Whittington) collection
SA 2705	Mead collection
SA 3385	Bishop of Shipton papers
SA 3452	Gas Works deposit
SA 3924	Currys' deposit
SA 4134	More collection
SA 5411	Morgan, Ludlow (2)
SA 5755	Morgan, Ludlow (3)
SA 6001	Manuscripts formerly in Shrewsbury Free Library
	24: George Morris, Collections for a History of Ludlow
	2075: George Morris, Folio volume, Shropshire pedigrees
	4084: Joseph Morris, Genealogical Manuscripts connected with the County of Salop and the Principality of Wales
	4360: Purton, Revd. R. C., Folio volume of Shropshire pedigrees
SA Cardiff deeds	from Cardiff Library

5: Herefordshire County Record Office

AA/20	Wills, administrations and probate inventories
AK/49	Court of Noke Estate, Pembridge
B56/3	Note book of Philips, B., genealogist
C. 95/13/4/XII	Pedigree of the Poole family
F 76	Gatley Park estate records (Dunne family)
HD 5/4/36	Episcopal Visitation Book, 1759-77

HD 7/1668	Presentations to the Diocesan Consistory Court, 1668
HD 7/25/17-30	Papers of John Pearce, Ludlow ironmonger
IR 29/14/7-237	Tithe maps and apportionments
MSS 4415	Notes on Stedman family
Parish Registers	Eye
T74	Knights of Downton Castle: papers

6: Hereford Public Library

H/Bram/BFWD	Inventory of the Earl of Oxford, 1724
H/BRAM/BFX10	Statement of Accountant to the Earl of Oxford of Brampton estates, 16 th Sept.,1740 to 10 th Oct.,1741

7: Staffordshire County Record Office

MSS 35040	Papers of William Hardwicke
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8: Worcestershire County Record Office

BA, 3585	Wills and probate inventories
IR 29/39/1-105	Tithe maps and apportionments
Parish registers	Rochford, Vol. 1, 1561-1714

9: National Library of Wales

Powis Castle collection

16,928	List of books from Robinson, bookseller, 1684-86
17,883	Estimate of stock at Bringewood forge and furnaces, 1695
20,573-91	Ludlow Castle
21,191	Disbursements for Mrs F. Herbert, 7 June, 1682

10: University of Birmingham

Special Collections	MYT (Mytton Papers)
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11: David Lloyd (will eventually be deposited at Shropshire Archives)

DL, 1549	Palmers' Guild rental, 1549
DL, 1679	Corporation rental, 1679
DL, 1828 map	Corporation map of Ludlow and its fields, 1828
DL, 1835	Account of the votes, 26 th Dec., 1835.
DL, 1840	Revised list of voters in the Borough of Ludlow, 3 rd Oct., 1840
DL, EB	Easter Books of parish church, 1717-24, 1763-71, 1785-88, 1804-11, 1812-29
DL, PM	<i>Primitive Methodist Magazine</i> , 1842
Midgely	Transcriptions of Ludlow Borough archives, c.1940-150
Morley E.L.	unpublished papers, c.1960-c.1970

12: Shropshire County Museum at Ludlow Resource Centre

Deeds	Title deeds of 31 Broad Street
Globe Insurance	Insurance Book, 1826-40
Griffiths	Scrapbook of sale notices and other ephemera by the Ludlow printer and stationer, Thomas Griffiths, 1816-26
Ludlow, 1835:	John Wood map of Ludlow, 1835
Ludlow 1885:	O.S. 1; 500 series

Norton *Papers and books of the late John Norton, Curator*
Various collections of pictures of Ludlow

13: South Shropshire District Council

SSDC deeds Title deeds of Ludlow properties (in numbered packages)

• **14: Ludlow Town Council**

Ledger book of Ludlow Corporation, 1498-1699

15: Holders of manuscript letters

Hodges Letters and papers of Hodges family, 1757-77, held by General Toler of Grantham

Underhill Letters to lawyers and bankers in Ludlow, 1780-1850, held by C. W. Underhill of Ambergate, Derbyshire

16: Miscellaneous

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Marsh, P. 'A New Song in Praise of Ludlow', MS in possession of T.Nash of Wrexham

MI Monumental inscriptions in St Laurence's parish church

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Property, ownership and improvement in Ludlow, a fashionable country town, 1660 to 1848

David James Lloyd, M.A., M.Ed.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

University of Wolverhampton

Appendices

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fashionable country town, 1660 to 1848**

David James Lloyd

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the
University of Wolverhampton for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

May 2005

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Appendix 1

Ludlow Corporation 1660 to 1836

A list of Corporation members, arranged alphabetically

- Column headings:
 - no.: reference number ascribed by researcher
 - surname:
 - first name:
 - cls: occupational class (see page 53)
 - year elected
 - total years: years as member
 - phases:
 - 1: 1660 (elected from 1630)
 - 2: 1661-1727
 - 3: 1727-1828
 - 4: 1828-1836
 - LB: number of times member was Low Bailiff
 - HB: number of times member was High Bailiff
 - residence
 - notes: additional information
 - references

Note:

- 1: all dates taken from the Borough Corporation Minute Books (LB 2/1/1-8)
- 2: Corporation members who served as Members of Parliament for Ludlow in bold

Appendix 1:

Ludlow Corporation 1660 to 1836, sorted by phases, then year of election

no.	surname	first name	occ/status	cls	year	total	phase	LB	HB	residence	notes	notes	reference(s)
					elected	years							
1	Wilkes	Richard	glover	5	1630	49	1	1	2	Ludlow			LB 17/2.p.66d
2	Aston	John	lawyer	10	1631	30	1	1	1	Ludlow	1661 off		Weyman, 1895,p.29
3	Clarke	Philip	skinner	5	1631	37	1	1	1	Ludlow			LB 17/2,p.66d
4	Colbach	William	corviser	5	1632	39	1	1	1	Ludlow			LB 11/4/91: security for Nath.Grubb, 3 May 1665
5	Davies	Richard	apothecary	10	1636	47	1	1	4	Ludlow			PT 1667
6	Turford	Edward	glover	5	1636	39	1	1	1	Ludlow			ibid
7	Botterell	William	Gent	12	1638	23	1	1	2	Aston Bot.	1661 off		Weyman, 1927, p.176
8	Weaver	Samuel	haberdasher	7	1638	37	1	1	2	Ludlow			HRO will, 5 Oct 1675
9	Baldwin	Charles	Gent	12	1640	34	1	1	1	Diddlebury			Weyman, 1897, p.26
10	Cole	Robert	saddler	5	1640	21	1	1	2	Ludlow	1661 off		PT 1667
11	Baldwin	Edward	Gent	12	1642	22	1	0	0	Diddlebury			C.of A., LM/8/1663, p.79
12	Munkland	Richard	dyer	5	1643	19	1	0	0	Ludlow			PT 1667
13	Reynolds	John	innkeeper	7	1643	32	1	1	2	Ludlow			HRO inventory, 2 May 1676
14	Reynolds	Samuel	innkeeper	7	1644	32	1	1	1	Ludlow			HRO inventory, 6 Sept.1676
15	Williams	Rowland	merc	7	1644	27	1	1	2	Ludlow			LB Town Court Plea Book, 16 Feb.1657
16	Cleobury	John	corviser	5	1645	33	1	1	0	Ludlow			PT 1667
17	Cole	Richard I	merc	7	1646	31	1	1	1	Ludlow			LHRG: undated inventory, pre-1680
18	Earsley	Rowland	corviser	5	1646	23	1	1	0	Ludlow			HRO will, 7 Nov.1704
19	Griffiths	William	merc	7	1646	32	1	1	3	Ludlow	Bromfield		PT 1641; C.of A, RR 19/BG, p.29d
20	Powis	Thomas	tanner	5	1646	46	1	1	2	Ludlow			1667 PT
21	Rickards	John	lawyer	10	1646	23	1	0	0	Ludlow			LB 2/1/2, p.269d
22	Jenks	Edmund	clothier	7	1649	12	1	0	0	Ludlow	1661 off		ibid
23	Acton	John	glover	5	1650	11	1	1	0	Ludlow	1661 off		PRO will, 15 May 1686
24	Jones	Walter	merc	7	1650	11	1	1	0	Ludlow			HRO will, 13 May 1662
25	Lea	Walter	yeoman	1	1650	42	1	1	1	Ludlow			HRO will, 29 Jan.1694
26	Cupper	Richard	corviser	5	1653	40	1	1	1	Ludlow			HRO will 3 Sept.1693
27	Bowdler	Samuel	haberdasher	7	1658	11	1	1	0	Ludlow			ibid
28	Earsley	Richard	tanner	5	1658	22	1	0	0	Ludlow			1667 PT
29	Sharret	Ralph	baker	5	1658	19	1	1	1	Ludlow			ibid
30	Bowdler	John	merc	7	1659	27	1	1	1	Ludlow	1684 off		1667 PT
31	Cole	Richard II	saddler	5	1659	32	1	1	2	Ludlow	1691 off		LB 2/1/4, p.8 (disenfranchised)
32	Pearce	John	ironmonger	7	1659	26	1	1	1	Ludlow			HRO will, 21 Jan 1687
33	Robinson	Edward	bookseller	7	1659	42	1	1	2	Ludlow			ibid
34	Davies	Tamberlaine	merc	7	1660	34	1	1	1	Ludlow	1684 off		HRO will, 23 Nov 1685

Appendix 1: Ludlow Corporation 1660 to 1836, sorted by phases, then year of election

35	Bishop	Henry	merc	7	1661	6	2	0	0	Ludlow			ibid
36	Carr	Nicholas	physician	10	1661	23	2	0	0	Ludlow	1684 off		ibid
37	Crump	Thomas	lawyer	10	1661	18	2	0	0	Ludlow			C.S.P.D., 1675-76. P.117
38	Hall	Somerset	Gent	12	1661	6	2	0	0	Ludlow			Bromfield
39	Jones	Thomas	lawyer	10	1661	13	2	1	1	Ludford			LB 2/1/2, p.269d
40	Scott	Richard	innkeeper	7	1661	24	2	1	0	Ludlow			PT 1667
41	Bowdler	William	Gent.	12	1662	17	2	0	0	Ludlow			C.of A.,
42	Lane	Thomas	sec(CM)	10	1663	13	2	1	0	Ludlow			PRO will, 28 Sept.1676
43	Weigham	Richard	tanner	5	1664	12	2	1	0	Ludlow			1667 PT
44	Vernalls	Thomas	merc	7	1667	29	2	0	0	Ludlow	1684off/1690on		1667 PT
45	Archer	William	clerk(CM)	10	1668	26	2	1	1	Ludlow/As.B			P.R.O.C.8/201356
46	Cam	Richard	clerk(CM)	10	1668	38	2	1	2	Ludlow			C.S.P.D., 1667, p.139
47	Stedman	Edward	clerk(CM)	10	1668	14	2	1	0	Ludlow			1667 PT; HRO will,
48	Davies	Richard	ironmonger	7	1669	32	2	1	1	Ludlow			P.R.O.will, 13 Aug.1701
49	Davies	Edward	apothecary	10	1669	12	2	1	0	Ludlow			P.R.O.will, 7 Feb.1682
50	Colbach	John	clothier	7	1670	28	2	1	2	Ludlow	1684off/1690on		C.W.. 1666: :LB 15/1/1
51	Powys	Roger	tanner	5	1671	16	2	1	0	Ludlow			1667 PT
52	Fox	Somerset	Esq.	12	1672	16	2	0	0	Cainham			Weyman, 1897, p. 32
53	Long	George	vintnr	7	1672	40	2	1	2	Ludlow	1684off/1690on		HRO will, 16 June 1718
54	Agborough	Edward	Esq,	5	1675	5	2	0	0	Ludlow			PRO will, 23 May 1680
55	Cole	Philip	saddler	5	1675	50	2	1	3	Ludlow			Memoranda Book, p.23d, LB 2/1/16
56	Herbert	Richard	Esq.	12	1675	1	2	0	0	Bromfield			Smith
57	Porter	Richard	distiller	5	1675	4	2	0	0	Ludlow			1667 PT
58	Charlton	William	Gent/lawyer	12	1676	9	2	0	0	Ludford			Town Clerk 1679-80)
59	Cole	Richard III	merc	7	1676	30	2	0	0	Ludlow			LB 2/1/3.p/58
60	Earsley	Rowland	corviser	5	1676	28	2	1	1	Ludlow			1667 PT
61	Griffiths	Richard	Gent/draper	12	1676	9	2	0	0	Shrewsbury	1684off/1690on		C.of Arms, PR 19/B/G, p.29d
62	Lea	Thomas	yeoman	1	1677	37	2	1	3	Ludlow			Corve Street leases
63	Haughton	George	merc	7	1678	6	2	1	0	Ludlow	1684off/1690on		PRO will, 8 Sept.1682
64	Bright	John	Gent	12	1679	13	2	0	M	Ludlow			C.5/108/7
65	Smallman	John	lawyer	10	1679	29	2	0	0	Ludlow			Town Clerk 1680-84
66	Charlton	Francis	Gent	12	1680	49	2	0	M	Ludford			Weyman, 1897,p.
67	Hammond	Bernard	apothecary	10	1680	29	2	0	0	Ludlow	1709off		C.8/538/100; [" non-attendance for many years"]
68	Jordan	Samuel	merc	7	1680	51	2	1	2	Ludlow			LB 2/1/3.p.313d
69	Senex	John	maltster	5	1680	9	2	0	0	Ludlow	1684off/1690c	1695off	C.10/408/12; LB 2/1/4,p.66d.deafness,non-subscription
70	Sharrett	John	baker	5	1680	35	2	1	2	Ludlow			HRO will, 13 June 1716

Appendix 1:

Ludlow Corporation 1660 to 1836, sorted by phases, then year of election

71	Baldwin	Charles	Gent/lawyer	12	1681	20	2	0	0	Ludlow			Weyman, 1895,p.34; Martin, 1912, p.327
72	Stead	John	doctor	10	1682	14	2	0	0	Ludlow			C.7/333/27
73	Attkinson	John	doctor	10	1684	6	2	0	0	Ludlow	1690off		will of Mary Davies, 1689
74	Beeston	John	lawyer	7	1684	27	2	1	1	Ludlow			LB 8/3/42: 1689 Poll Tax
75	Cornewall	Edmund	Esq.	12	1684	6	2	0	0	Eastham	1690off		Reid, p.234.
76	Cornewall	Humphrey	Esq.	12	1684	4	2	0	0	M Ludlow/Ber.			Henning, II, p.46
77	Edwards	Edmund		?	1684	6	2	0	0	?	1690off		
78	Haughton	Thomas	Gent	12	1684	6	2	0	0	Ludlow	1690off		ibid
79	Haughton	James	Gent((castle)	12	1684	6	2	0	0	Ludlow	1690off		C.of Arms, 1663: 4th son John Haughton,Cheshire.
80	Jones	David	distiller	5	1684	4	2	0	0	Ludlow	1689off	anabaptist	1667 PT; HD7: 1668/37: Anabaptist
81	Jones	Thomas II	Gent/lawyer	12	1684	36	2	1	1	Ludford			Town Clerk 1684 to 1689
82	Porter	Richard	haberdasher	7	1684	5	2	0	0	Ludlow			HRO inventory, 1685
83	Reynolds	Samuel	lawyer	10	1684	6	2	0	0	Ludlow	1690off		LB 2/1/2,p.345
84	Sabery	Thomas	Gent	12	1684	24	2	1	1	Ludlow			C.7/648.4
85	Sherbourne	Cox	mercier	7	1684	6	2	0	0	Ludlow	1690off	disaffected	LB 11/4/117 QS 1691: "disaffected to their Maties"
86	Smith	Francis	Esq.	12	1684	6	2	0	0	Aston Muns.	1690off	recusant	HD7: 1668/38
87	Underhill	John	Gent/lawyer	12	1684	6	2	0	0	M Ludlow	1690off		LB 8/3/42: 1689 Poll Tax
88	Whitney	Richard	apothecary	10	1684	6	2	0	0	Ludlow			HRO will 1717
89	Wigley	Richard	blacksmith	5	1684	6	2	0	0	Ludlow	1690 off		1667 PT
90	Winston	Edward	barber	7	1684	6	2	0	0	Ludlow	1690off		HRO will, 1720
91	Winwood	John	clerk(CM)	10	1684	1	2	0	0	Ludlow			1667 PT
92	Bishop	Henry	Gent	12	1688	2	2	0	0	Ludlow?SSuM	1690off		admin.of Richard Williams, 16 Nov.1686
93	Acton	John II	glover	5	1690	22	2	1	0	Ludlow			LB 2/1/4,p.3
94	Bowdler	Samuel	haberdasher	7	1690	34	2	1	1	Ludlow			C.8/491/9
95	Davies	Thomas	glover	5	1690	23	2	1	0	Ludlow			LB 2/1/4,p.3
96	Dipple	John	cutler	5	1690	23	2	1	1	Ludlow			LB 2/1/4, p.3
97	Hinton	Thomas	baker	5	1690	27	2	1	1	Ludlow			C.22/337/7
98	Lloyd	Francis	Gent.	12	1690	14	2	0	0	Ludlow			<u>Dic.Welsh Biog.</u> , 1954, p.573.
99	Pearce	John	ironmonger	7	1690	6	2	0	0	Ludlow			LB 11/4/113, Q.S.1687
100	Price	William	mercier	7	1690	29	2	1	1	Ludlow	LB 2/1/3,p.9		LB 2/1/3,p.9
101	Robinson	Edward II	bookseller	7	1690	27	2	1	2	Ludlow			HRO will 1717
102	Salwey	John	Esq.	12	1690	39	2	0	0	Richards C.			Burke, 1952, pp.2237/38; Rich.C.PR, p.142
103	Waring	William	joiner	5	1690	24	2	1	0	Ludlow			HRO will 1717
104	Karver	Benjamin	lawyer	10	1691	46	2	1	2	Ludlow	LB 2/1/4,p.28d		LB 2/1/4,p.28d
105	Lea	Edward	Gent	12	1691	55	2	1	1	Ludlow			HRO will, 1747
106	Davies	Richard	glover	5	1692	18	2	0	1	Ludlow			LB 2/1/4,p.38d

Appendix 1: Ludlow Corporation 1660 to 1836, sorted by phases, then year of election

107	Hitchcott	Thomas	innholder	7	1692	2	2	0	0	Ludlow			HRO will, 7 May 1695
108	Payne	Nicholas	chandler	5	1692	41	2	1	1	Ludlow			HRO will, 1739
109	Tillotson	Thomas	barber	10	1693	31	2	1	1	Ludlow			HRO will 1724
110	Gower	William	Esq.	12	1695	15	2	0	1	Ludlow	1690 off;1710 on		Weyman, 1895, p.36; married Alderman Wm.Lamb
111	Pearce	Charles	Gent	12	1695	17	2	1	0	Stanton Lacy			Purton, Shropshire Pedigrees, 6001/4360, p.344
112	Herbert	Francis	Esq.	12	1696	24	2	0	0	Bromfield			PRO will and inventory, 1719
113	Bayley	Francis	doctor	10	1697	31	2	1	1	Ludlow			HRO will 1728
114	Pearce	Joseph	ironmonger	7	1700	32	2	1	1	Ludlow			LB 11/1, Order Book 4/1/1706
115	Davies	John	apothecary	7	1701	42	2	1	0	Stanton Lacy			LB 2/1/4,p.101d; LB 2/1/5,p.132: excused Alderman
116	Davies	Somerset	merc	7	1701	28	2	1	1	Ludlow			PRO will 1729
117	Meyrick	Thomas	merc	7	1703	21	2	1	1	Ludlow			PRO will 1724
118	Davies	Richard	Gent	12	1704	35	2	1	0	Stanton Lacy			LB 2/1/4,p.101d; LB 2/1/5,p.132: excused Alderman
119	Long	John	(vintner)	7	1705	1	2	0	0	Ludlow			LPR, p.414 (son of George Long, vintner)
120	Bowen	Richard	merc	7	1706	31	2	1	1	Ludlow			EB 1724
121	Waring	Samuel	glover	5	1706	38	2	1	2	Ludlow			Ariz Gazette, 1/10/1744,p.3, col.3
122	Wyke	James	dyer	5	1707	19	2	1	0	Ludlow			EB 1726
123	Kettleby	Abel	lawyer	10	1708	37	2	0	0	Neen Savage			Purton, Kettlebys of Steeple, TSAS. 4th.ser., ii, pp.114-17
124	Baldwin	Acton	Gent	12	1709	18	2	0	0	Stokesay			Weyman, 1895, p.39
125	Perks	Richard	lawyer	10	1711	40	2	0	0	Ludlow			Town Clerk 1750-51
126	Walcot	George	Esq.	12	1711	33	2	1	1	Lydbury N.			Purton, op.cit., p.43
127	Baugh	Rowland	Esq.	12	1712	28	2	1	1	Stokesay			
128	Salwey	Richard	Esq.	12	1712	48	2	0	0	Richard's C.			PRO will 1760
129	Pearce	Wredenhakk	Gent	12	1713	39	2	1	0	Stanton Lacy			Purton, p.344
130	Shepherd	John	Gent	12	1713	8	2	0	0	Bitterley			Bitterley PR,p.65: "a poor Esq."
131	Whitney	Corneall	apothecary	10	1713	4	2	0	0	Ludlow			HRO will 1717
132	Woolley	John	lawyer	10	1714	27	2	1	0	Ludlow			LB 2/1/5, p.17: 13 March 1713, elected Burgess
133	Botterell	Ralph	malster	5	1717	23	2	1	2	Ludlow			EB 1724
134	Brown	Richard	lawyer	10	1718	35	2	1	1	Ludlow			LB 2/1/5,p.66
135	Davies	Henry	apothecary	10	1718	38	2	1	2	Ludlow			EB 1724
136	Holland	John	lawyer	10	1718	32	2	1	0	Ludlow			LB 11/4/174,Q.S.1747: called "rogue and thief"
137	Jordan	Henry	apothecary	10	1718	28	2	0	0	Ludlow			EB 1724
138	Billingsley	Samuel	ironmonger	7	1719	27	2	0	0	Ludlow			EB 1724
139	Long	James	ironmonger	7	1719	9	2	0	0	Ludlow			HRO will 1728
140	Price	Francis	Gent	12	1720	18	2	0	0	Ludlow			EB 1724; PRO will 1737
141	Herbert	Henry Arthur	Esq.	12	1721	51	2	0	0	Bromfield			LB 2/1/5, 103
142	Vernon	Thomas	watchmaker	5	1721	19	2	1	2	Ludlow			EB 1724

Appendix 1: Ludlow Corporation 1660 to 1836, sorted by phases, then year of election

143	Knight	Richard	lawyer	10	1723	41	2	0	0	Ludlow	Recorder	Weyman, 1899, p.327
144	Hawkins	Cesar	surgeon	10	1724	26	2	1	2	Ludlow		EB 1724
145	Herbert	Francis	Esq.	12	1724	34	2	1	2	Bromfield		Bromfield PR, p.72
146	Botterell	Edward	Gent	12	1725	23	2	1	1	Stoke St.M.		Purton, p.68
147	Jones	Somerset	Gent	12	1725	28	2	1	0	Ludford		Lloyd et al., The Feathers, o.12
148	Wilde	James	bookseller	7	1726	43	2	1	2	Ludlow		EB 1724
149	Davies	Samuel	glover	5	1727	2	3	0	0	Ludlow		EB 1724
150	Baugh	Edward	lawyer	10	1728	14	3	1	1	Ludlow		LB 2/1/4, p.325
151	Jones	Thomas	innholder	7	1729	2	3	0	0	Ludlow		EB 1724
152	Richards	Richard	joiner	4	1729	6	3	0	0	Ludlow		HRO will 1735
153	Salwey	Henry	D.D.	10	1729	27	3	1	1	Elton		Garnier,
154	Smith	Thomas	Esq.	12	1729	21	3	1	0	Burford		LB 2/1/5, p.205
155	Tarbuck	Thomas	silk-thrower	5	1729	7	3	1	0	Ludlow		admin of Hum.Price, Gent., HRO 1727
156	Herbert	Richard	Esq.	12	1731	22	3	0	0	Bromfield		Bromfield LPR, p.78
157	Plumer	Richard	brazier/maltst	5	1731	17	3	1	1	Ludlow		EB 1724
158	Baldwin	Richard	Esq.	12	1732	45	3	1	2	Diddlebury		Martin, p.163; sold Diddlebury estate 1752
159	Charlton	Job	Gent	12	1732	24	3	1	2	Whittington		HRO will of Pryce Tarbuck, "to Job Charlton of Halton"
160	Bright	William	ironmonger	7	1735	31	3	1	2	Ludlow		EB 1741
161	Tarbuck	Pryce	silk-thrower	5	1736	17	3	1	1	Ludlow		HRO 1753; LPR, p.637
162	Stuart	Alexander	Esq.	12	1737	49	3	1	1	Ludlow/Dunaim		PRO will 1786; Musgrove, p.32: Gov.Ludlow Castle
163	Wynn	Rowland	tobacconist	7	1737	6	3	0	0	Ludlow		PRO will 1743
164	Baldwin	Edward	Esq.	12	1738	34	3	1	2	Munslow		Martin, 1912, p.161
165	Davies	Somerset	lawyer	10	1738	48	3	1	2	Ludlow		Climenson, Passages from Lybbe Powys, 1899, p.135
166	Corbett	Sir William	knight	12	1740	8	3	0	0	Adderley		V.C.H. IV, p.288.
167	Galloway	Robert	lawyer	10	1740	11	3	0	0	Ludlow		LB 2/1/5, p.325: admitted Steward of the Leet
168	Howton	Benjamin	saddler	5	1740	8	3	0	0	Ludlow		EB 1741
169	Waring	Samuel	glover	5	1741	21	3	1	1	Ludlow		Aris Gazette, 1 Oct.1744, p.3, col.3.
170	Child	William	glover	5	1742	20	3	1	1	Ludlow		HRO will 1762
171	Hill	Caleb	doctor	10	1742	20	3	1	0	Ludlow		LPR, p.813
172	Salwey	Edward	Esq.	12	1742	39	3	0	0	Richard's C.		Garnier, p.210; built The Lodge
173	Beale	Thomas	Esq.	12	1744	32	3	0	0	Leintwardine		Blakeway, 1831, p.183
174	Herbert	Henry	Esq.	12	1744	4	3	0	0	Bromfield		Bromfield PR, p.92
175	Walker	Francis	Esq.	12	1744	32	3	1	2	Onibury		Blakeway, p.174
176	Baugh	Thos.Folliott	Esq.	12	1745	12	3	1	0	Stokesay		churchyard memorial, aged 40
177	Charlton	Sir Francis	Esq.	12	1746	38	3	0	0	Ludford		Weyman, 1899, p.328
178	Cornewall	Frederick	Esq./RN	12	1746	42	3	1	1	Bromfield/Did.		Reid, pp.125-29

Appendix 1: Ludlow Corporation 1660 to 1836, sorted by phases, then year of election

179	Griffiths	John	baker	5	1746	16	3	1	1	1	Ludlow			LB 2/1/5, p.338
180	Herbert	Foliott	Esq	12	1746	6	3	0	0	0	Bromfield			Aris G., 8 June 1752: Customs House, Chester
181	Tasker	John	maltster	5	1746	41	3	1	0	0	Ludlow			EB 1751
182	Baugh	Benjamin	lawyer	10	1748	19	3	0	0	0	Ludlow			LB 2/1/6,p.30d.; Town Clerk 1752
183	Bridgeman	Henry	Esq.	12	1748	53	3	0	0	0	Weston			Weyman, 1897,p.42: VCH, III, p.261
184	Monger	Samuel	glover	5	1748	57	3	1	2	2	Ludlow			EB 1763
185	Fellows	William	Esq.	12	1750	54	3	0	0	0	Nacton, Nrfk			Weyman, 1897, p.43
186	Hawkins	Richard	Army Captain	10	1750	30	3	0	0	0	Bromsgrove			James. TSAS, 4th.ser., Vol.VI, pp.111-12
187	Plumer	Richard	innkeeper	7	1750	39	3	1	2	2	Shrewsbury			Aris G., 11 March 1754; to keep the Talbot, Shrewsbury
188	Cole	Herbert	surgeon	10	1751	40	3	1	3	3	Ludlow			EB 1763
189	Kettleby	Abel J.	lawyer	10	1751	5	3	0	0	0	Bitterley			Purton, 1912, p.117; Foster, 1715-1886, p.791
190	Smyth	John	Gent	12	1751	32	3	0	0	0	Burford			LB 2/1/6,p.30
191	Davies	Henry, jun.	apothecary	10	1753	48	3	1	2	2	Ludlow			EB 1763
192	Jones	Robert	Gent.	12	1753	28	3	1	2	2	Ludlow			PRO will of Somerset Jones, 1753
193	Perks	Edward	lawyer	10	1753	17	3	0	0	0	Ludlow			LB 2/1/6, p.36d: Town Clerk
194	Bishop	William	Gent.	12	1756	24	3	1	2	2	Bromfield			Bromfield PR, p.92
195	Herbert	Edward	Esq.	12	1756	14	3	0	0	0	Kerry,Ireland			Weyman, 1897, p.43
196	Wilde	Thomas	bookseller	7	1756	29	3	0	0	0	Ludlow			Aris G., 13 Dec.1756; moved from Stourbridge
197	Hill	Thos.Wootton	Gent.	12	1758	25	3	1	2	2	Eyton			PRO will 1784
198	Johnes	Thomas	Esq.	12	1758	20	3	1	1	1	Croft			Inglis Jones, 1971, p.23
199	Hill	Thomas	Esq.	12	1761	15	3	1	0	0	Burford	MP for Leominster		SC,31 Aug.1776: knowledge and integrity as merchant
200	Wood	Thomas	brazier	5	1761	16	3	1	0	0	Ludlow			EB 1763
201	Baldwin	William	apothecary	10	1762	18	3	1	1	1	Ludlow			EB 1763
202	Knight	Thomas	Esq.	12	1762	41	3	1	0	0	Bitterley			Beesley, p.17
203	Thomas	Ralph	saddler	5	1762	49	3	1	2	2	Ludlow			LB 2/1/6,p.84
204	Baugh	Thomas	Army Major	10	1764	29	3	1	1	1	Ludlow			PRO will 1793
205	Hodges	William	Gent	12	1764	11	3	1	0	0	Bromfield			Hodges letters: agent to Lord Powis
206	Jones	Thomas	Gent	12	1764	11	3	1	0	0	Ludlow			EB 1763
207	Pardoe	Robert	lawyer	10	1767	23	3	0	0	0	Ludlow			EB 1763
208	Salwey	John	Esq.	12	1767	36	3	1	1	1	Richard's C.			
209	Davies	Francis	Gent//farmer	12	1769	59	3	1	3	3	Ludlow/Newnham			Inf.ex P.Ballard, descendant
210	Baugh	Benjamin	lawyer	10	1770	38	3	0	0	0	Ludlow			LB 21/1/6,pp.30d.96; Town Clerk
211	Edwards	John	ironmonger	7	1770	7	3	1	1	1	Ludlow			EB 1770
212	Baugh	Job Walker	Gent	12	1771	46	3	1	1	1	Stokesay			Stokesay PR
213	Hodges	Richard	Gent	12	1771	26	3	1	2	2	Bromfield			Hodges letters
214	Johnes	Thomas jun.	Esq.	12	1771	33	3	1	1	1	Croft			Beesley

Appendix 1: Ludlow Corporation 1660 to 1836, sorted by phases, then year of election

215	Davies	Somerset jun	Esq	12	1774	43	3	1	1	1	Wigmore		Weyman, 1897, p.44
216	Herbert	George	Earl	12	1775	26	3	0	0	0	Bromfield		Weyman, 1899, p.328
217	Baugh	Edward	Gent.	12	1776	54	3	1	0	0	Ludlow		St.Cath.memorial, 1836; age and infirmity
218	Burton	Edward	merc	7	1776	28	3	1	1	1	Ludlow		EB 1786
219	Cornewall	Frederick	Esq.	12	1776	7	3	1	0	0	Diddlebury		Weyman, 1897, p.44
220	Clive	Edward	Lord	12	1777	59	3	1	0	0	Bromfield/Powys		<u>DNB</u>
221	Acton	Edward	maltster	5	1780	28	3	1	2	2	Ludlow		<u>UBD</u> ,p.615
222	Cornewall	Foliot H.	clergyman	10	1780	18	3	1	0	0	Diddlebury		<u>DNB</u> ; RESIGNED
223	Hodson	Richard	ironmonger	7	1780	14	3	1	1	1	Ludlow		SJ 17 Dec.1794
224	Knight	Rd Payne	Esq,	12	1780	44	3	1	0	0	Downton		<u>DNB</u> ; Weyman 1897,p.45
225	Owen	Thomas	painter	4	1780	23	3	1	2	2	Ludlow		EB 1785, 1804
226	Baugh	Richard	army major	10	1781	6	3	0	0	0	Ludlow		EB 1788
227	Brown	Thomas	army colonel	12	1783	28	3	1	1	1	Churchstoke		PRO will 1811
228	Knight	Thos.Andrew	Esq	12	1783	53	3	1	1	1	Elton/Downton		<u>DNB</u>
229	Vashon	James	Admiral RN	10	1783	40	3	0	0	0	Ludlow		<u>DNB</u>
230	Charlton	Nic.Lech.	Esq.	12	1784	23	3	0	0	0	Ludford		Weyman, 1897, p.45
231	Meyrick	Edward	had/gent	7	1784	14	3	1	0	0	London/Ludlow		LB 2/1/6,p.272: 1781 lease to EM, Holborn,haberdasher
232	Cowdel	Richard	apothecary	10	1786	12	3	1	0	0	Ludlow		<u>UBD</u> ,p.615; PRO will 1798
233	Clive	William	Esq	12	1787	38	3	1	2	2	Styche		Weyman, MPs for Bishops Castle, <u>TSAS</u> , 2nd ser., IX,p.62
234	Wellings	Edward	merc	7	1787	45	3	1	2	2	Ludlow		EB 1787,1804
235	Wollaston	Charles	glazier	4	1787	34	3	1	2	2	Ludlow		<u>UBD</u> ,p.617
236	Beale	Thomas	Esq.	12	1789	13	3	0	0	0	Leintwardine		VCH iii, p.289
237	Phipps	Samuel	Gent	12	1789	1	3	0	0	0	Onibury		LB 2/1/7,p.27
238	Clive	Robert	Esq.	12	1791	41	3	0	0	0	Bromfield		Weyman, 1897, p.45
239	Cole	Thos.Caesar	surgeon	10	1791	2	3	0	0	0	Ludlow		PRO will 1793
240	Waring	Samuel	Gent	12	1791	22	3	1	0	0	Ludlow		HRO will 1813
241	Acton	Samuel	glover	5	1792	44	3	1	4	4	Ludlow		<u>UBD</u> ,p.615
242	Russell	William	merc	7	1792	44	3	1	4	4	Ludlow		EB 1804
243	Hodson	Richard	ironmonger	7	1795	41	3	1	3	3	Ludlow		EB 1804; <u>SJ</u> 4 Dec.1839: "worthy member of the Corp."
244	Salwey	Richard	Esq.	12	1797	28	3	1	1	1	Richard's C.		Richard' Castle PRs
245	Foxton	John	surgeon	10	1798	38	3	1	1	1	Ludlow (Gloucester from 1824)		EB 1823; SJ 7 June 1837: "most highly respected"
246	Hodges	Thomas	clergyman	10	1798	30	3	1	2	2	Bromfield		Toler pedigree
247	Walcott	William	Esq.	12	1798	9	3	1	0	0	Stoke St.M.		LB 2/1/7,p.27
248	Collier	James	brazier	5	1801	8	3	1	0	0	Ludlow		LB 2/1/7,p.37
249	Herbert	Edward	Lord	12	1801	35	3	1	0	0	Powis		Weyman, 1897, p.46
250	Rogers	Charles	Esq.	12	1801	20	3	1	1	1	Stanage		Williams, 1905,pp.240/41: "commercial pursuits in City"

Appendix 1: Ludlow Corporation 1660 to 1836, sorted by phases, then year of election

251	Sprott	Samuel Yate	Gent	12	1801	3	3	0	0	0	Ashford C.				LB 2/17, p.126
252	Rogers	Edward	Esq.	12	1803	33	3	1	1	1	Stanage				Weyman, <u>TSAS</u> , 2nd.ser., x, p.66
253	Baugh	Job Walker	clergyman	10	1804	28	3	1	1	1	Diddlebury				Venn, 1752-1900, p.190
254	Baugh	Richard	clergyman	10	1804	24	3	1	1	2	Ludlow				Shepherd, 1944, p.51: RESIGNED
255	Baxter	James F.	lawyer	10	1804	25	3	0	0	0	Ludlow				SJ, 10 Feb.1830; proprietor of Sibdon Carwood
256	Johnes	Samuel	clergyman	10	1804	32	3	0	0	0	Bitterley				Beesley, pedigree; <u>SJ</u> 8 Sept.1824
257	Robinson	John	army general	10	1804	15	3	1	0	0	Suffolk				ibid,p.65
258	Green	Jonathon	Gent	12	1805	9	3	1	0	0	Ash.Bowd.				LB 2/17, p.135: Exchequer Officer, Inner Temple
259	Trudall	Thomas	malster	5	1807	18	3	1	0	0	Ludlow				Pigot, 1822
260	Vashon	James V.	clergyman	10	1807	25	3	1	1	1	Salwarpe				Foster, check details; RESIGNED
261	Beale	Thomas	Esq.	12	1809	23	3	0	0	0	Leintwardine				Burke, 1846, p.73
262	Matthews	Thomas	Gent.	12	1809	7	3	1	0	0	Clungunford				MI St Laurence's: devpted fortune to clergy widow
263	Clive	Henry	Esq.	12	1810	26	3	1	0	0	London				Weyman, 1897, p.46; Under Sec.of State for War,1818-22
264	Charlton	Edmund L.	Esq.	12	1811	25	3	1	1	1	Ludford				Weyman, 1897, pp.48/49
265	Clive	Rob.Henry	Esq.	12	1811	25	3	0	0	0	Bromfield				Weyman, 1897, p.47
266	Cornewall	Fred.H.	Esq.	12	1813	23	3	1	0	0	Diddlebury				Reid, p.130
267	Wellings	Thomas	clergyman	10	1814	20	3	1	0	0	Bromfield				Bromfield PR
268	Dalby	Jonathon	hatter	5	1815	21	3	1	0	0	Ludlow				Pigot, 1822, p.368
269	Green	Edward	clergyman	10	1815	21	3	1	0	0	Ash.Bowd.				St Andrews, Ashford Bowdler, MI
270	Hamilton	Gustavus	Viscount	12	1816	12	3	0	0	0	Burwartpn				<u>Complete Pearage</u> , Vol2, p.268
271	Moseley	William	Esq.	12	1816	16	3	1	0	0	Bobbington				SJ, 3 March 1830: RESIGNED
272	Wynn	Sir Watkins	Esq.	12	1816	20	3	1	0	0	Wynnsytay (Ruaban)				CHECK
273	Acton	John	surgeon	10	1819	9	3	1	0	0	Ludlow				Pigot, 1822, p.368
274	Prodgers	John	banker	8	1821	15	3	1	0	0	Ludlow				LB 2/7/1.p.354
275	Salwey	John	Esq.	12	1821	7	3	0	0	0	Richard's C.				LB 2/17, p.498: Court of King's Bench, election illegal
276	Knight	Thos.Andrew	Esq.	12	1823	11	3	0	0	0	Downton				Beesley
277	Lowe	Thos.Hill	clergyman	10	1825	8	3	1	0	0	Burford				Foster, p.CHECK; RESIGNED 1828; later Dean of Exeter
278	Sankey	Richard N.	glover	5	1825	11	3	1	2	2	Ludlow				Pigot 1835,p.681
279	Hodges	Richard	Gent	12	1826	10	3	1	0	0	Stanton Lacy				Stanton Lacy PR
280	Eyton	Thomas	banker	8	1827	9	3	1	0	0	Wellington				Pigot, 1828, p.681; ELECTED BY MAJORITY
281	Hodson	Edward	bookseller	7	1827	9	3	1	0	0	Ludlow				<u>LPR</u> , p.1022
282	Adams	Philip Birt	surgeon	10	1828	4	4	0	0	0	Ludlow				Pigot 1828, p.682
283	Acton	William	malster	5	1829	7	4	0	0	0	Ludlow				1832 Poll Book
284	Hodges	J.Julius	clergyman	10	1829	7	4	1	0	0	Ludlow				Onibury church memorial
285	Lloyd	Henry	lawyer	10	1830	4	4	0	0	0	Ludlow				Pigot 1822, p.367
286	Williams	John	lawyer	10	1830	6	4	0	0	0	Ludlow				LB 2/17 ,p.516: Town Clerk

Appendix 1: Ludlow Corporation 1660 to 1836, sorted by phases, then year of election

287	Baxter	James	Gent	12	1831	5	4	0	0	Ludlow			1832 Poll Book
288	Smith	Humphrey	ironmonger	7	1831	5	4	0	0	Ludlow			1832 Poll Book
289	Thomas	John	currier	5	1831	5	4	0	0	Ludlow			1832 Poll Book
290	White	Thomas	painter	4	1831	5	4	0	0	Ludlow			1832 Poll Book
291	Whittall	Henry	chemist	10	1831	5	4	0	0	Ludlow			1832 Poll Book
292	Davies	James	Gent	12	1833	3	4	0	0	Ludlow			1832 Poll Book
293	Evans	Richard	hatter	5	1833	3	4	0	0	Ludlow			1832 Poll Book
294	Lewis	David	doctor	10	1833	3	4	0	0	Ludlow			St Laurences MI; formerly Bengal, then Worcester
295	Lloyd	Thomas	doctor	10	1833	3	4	0	0	Ludlow			1832 Poll Book
296	Pardoe	George	clergyman	10	1833	3	4	0	0	Ludlow			1832 Poll Book
297	Unwick	Benjamin	tanner	5	1833	3	4	0	0	Ludlow			1832 Poll Book
298	Garret	George	surgeon	10	1834	2	4	0	0	Ludlow			Pigot 1835, p.47

Appendix 2

Two sample records of tenurial history

17 Tower Street/1 Old Street
30 Broad Street

Information for each property is entered on standardised record sheets. Yellow paper is used for Corporation properties, white paper for freehold properties. The data is then summarised on blue sheets.

The information on the blue sheets is entered as follows:

- Top line:
 - Block
 - Present postal address
 - Number on 1592 Corporation rental (C) or 1619 Burgage (F)
 - Rental, as ascribed by researcher
- Columns, from left:
 - Date of record;
 - Name of leaseholder or owner
 - Status
 - Place of residence (if not Ludlow)
 - Un-headed column: years of tenure or ownership
 - Inheritance
 - Marriage
 - Purchase
 - Name of mortgager
 - Status or occupation
 - Place of residence (if not Ludlow)
 - £: amount mortgage
 - Building: dates and other information

The information on the yellow and white sheets is entered as follows:

- Top line:
 - As on blue sheets
- Columns, from left:
 - Date of record
 - Reference
 - Further details
 - Name of leaseholder or owners
 - Property information
 - For Corporation properties only: rent and fine

Years for which no information is available are tinted in yellow.
An illustration is provided for each property, with earlier pictures when available for comparison.

Working architectural notes are added in some cases.

The summary and record sheets are in ring folders, one ring folder for each block.

The folders will be lodged in Ludlow Library and Museum Centre, and will be available for consultation.

Date	Leaseholder	Status/ occ.	Resid- ence	In	Mar	Pur	Mortgager	Status/ occ.	Resid- ence	£	Building
-1660	Thomas Evans	victualler		9+	*						inn
1668	Joan Hall	kinswoman		2	*						
1670	Richard Coney	innkeeper		7	*						6 hearths
1677	Jane Coney	daughter	bap.1671	12							9 rooms
c.1691	Nicholas Fothergill	innkeeper		26	*						
1717	heirs			17							
1734	Thomas Arnold	innkeeper	Ludford	5			Thos.Vernon	clockmaker			
1739	Edward Baugh	Mr	SL	30		*					
1769	heirs			4	*						
1773	Thomas Tomkins	innkeeper		c.25		?					
-1798	Edward Tomkins	farmer	Guildsfield	45+							
1843+											
Evans/Hall/Coney/Fothergill families well documented: several wills and inventories											



17 Tower Street
11

1 Old Street
12c.

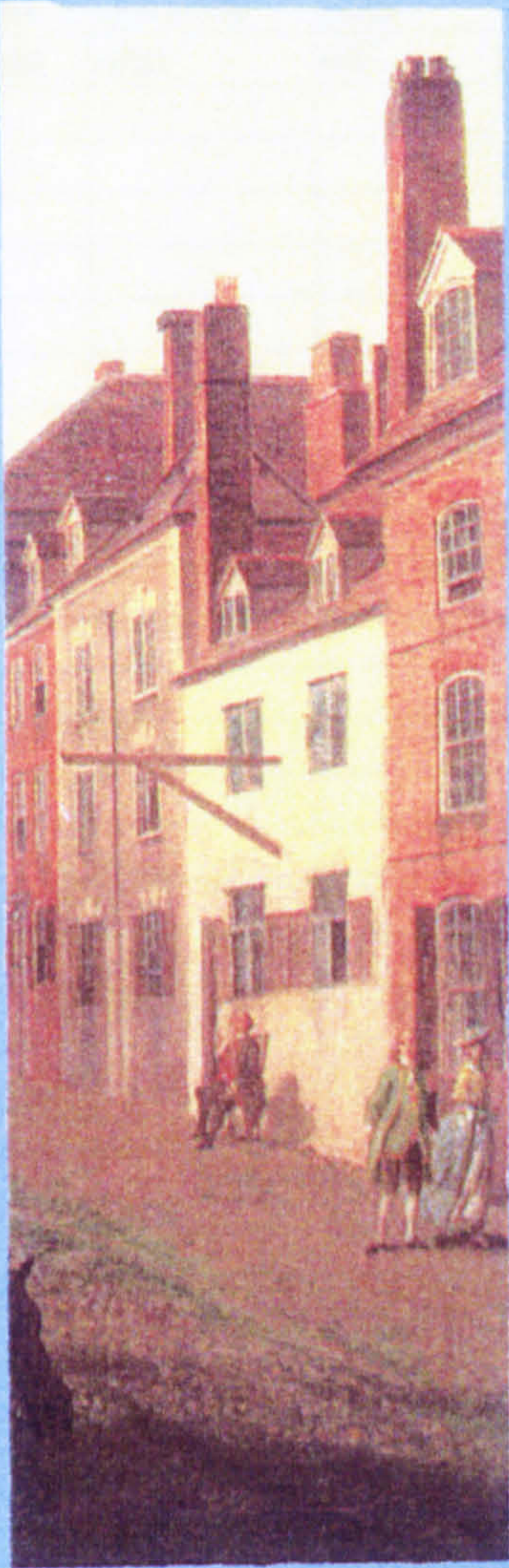
Date	Reference	C186/C187	Leaseholder	Property	Fine	Rent
Sept.1651	LB 4/2/2,p.		Thomas Evans, victualler	tenement/shop		£1
	76		ditto	tenement/backside/stable		12s
8 Sep 1664	LB 2/1/2,	lease	Thomas Evans and Jane his	two messuages plus	20 nobles	
	p.225d		wife	garden and ground belonging	£6 13s 4d	£1 13s 4d
1667	PT		Thomas Evans, victualler			
			wife			
			maid			
11 Aug 1669	LPR,p.	burial	Thomas Evans			
	487					
28 Aug 1668	HRO	will	Thomas Evans, victualler			
			wife Jane			
			to kinswoman Joan Hall			
			dau.of Humphrey Hall, £10			
		inventory	£196 13s 4d	cellar		
24 Nov.1679	LPR,p.443	marriage	Richard Coney			
			Joan Hall			
28 July 1671	LPR,p.459	baptism	Jane, daughter of Richard			
			Coney and Joan			
1672	HT		Richard Coney	6 hearths		
11 Aug 1671	LPR,p.490	burial	Joan, wife of Rd Coney			
1 Oct 1678	HRO	admin	Joan Coney			
19 Mar 1674	LPR,p.466	baptism	Richard, son of Rd Conney &			
			Marie			
22 June 1677	LPR,p.501	burial	Richard Coney			
25 June 1677	HRO	will	Richard Coney,innholder			
			all goods to daughter Jane			
			aunt-in-law Mrs Jane Evans	will of Jane Evans		
ditto		inventory	Cockloft (bed,corn,hops)			
		£126 7s 6d	Great Chamber (bed)	standing bedstead		
			Crowne Chamber (bed)			
			Talbot Chamber (beds)			
			Bell Chamber (bed)	standing bedstead		
			Square room (table)			
			Kitchen			
			Parlour (bed)	standing bedsteads		
			cellar			
15 Aug 1678	LPR,p.502	burial	Jane Evans, widow			
21 Oct 1678	HRO	will	Jane Evans, widow			
		inventory	£210 18s 00			

1679	CR,p[.7	rental	Jane Evans her executric	house and backside once Holland		12s
			ditto	ye corner house		20s
20 Mar 1690	LB 2/1/4, p.8a	lease	Jane Conway, spinster covenant for renewal after 24 years	house (William Davenport)	20 m. £13 6s 8d	33s 6d
24 July 1692	LPR,p.557	baptism	Margery, daughter of Nicholas Fothergill and Jane			
14 Jan 1701	HRO	admin inventory	Jane Fothergill to Nicholas Fothergill, innkeeper lease of house and lands in Ludlow	£14		
27 Sep 1707	LB 2/1/4, p.141d	lease	Mr Nicholas Fothergill	The Old Pheasant and the ground below Galdeford Gate Clause to restrain Mr Fothergill from alienating the premises	£10/ £15	
ditto	p.143	order	Mr Fothergill	future fien reduced to 20 marks "according to the lease formerly granted to Jane Conway, his late deceased wife".		
1717	EB: Old St ward		Nicholas Fothergill and wife, maid servant, daughter	2s 4d		
25 oct 1717	LPR,p.703	burial	Nicholas Fothergill			
12 Dec 1717	HRO	will	Nicholas Fothergill, innkeeper to daughters Jane and Elizabeth messuage in Old Street and another messuage adjoining with a garden plot in UG			
26 Sept 1734	LB 2/1/5, p.278	lease	Thomas Arnold innkeeper, Ludford 4 years surrendered	messuage/tenement called the Pheasant plus garden plock in Upper Galdeford (Samuel Easthope)	£15 plus 3 years interest	
ditto	ditto	alien	1 Thomas Arnold 2 Thomas Vernon, Alderman			
14 April 1739	LB 2/1/5. p.306d	alien	1 Thomas Vernon and Thomas Arnold 2 Mr Edward Baugh	messuage called The Pheasant and lands in Galdeford		

28 April 1762	LB 2/1/6.	lease		Mr Edward Baugh	The Pheasant Inn at the top of	£15	£1 13s 6d
	p.82				Old Street plus a small plock	plus	
ditto	LB4/1/1329				of land near a close in	£2 12s 6d	
					Galdeford		
ditto	LB4/1/1329	ditto		ditto	ditto		
1763	WT			James Harding (innkeeper)	112		
23 June 1769	LPR,p.961	burial		Mr Edward Baugh			
20 Sept 1769	HRO	will		Edward Baugh, Gent.			
				sons Edward, Benjamin,			
				William, Ann			
				to them all my hosues in			
				Ludlow freehold and			
				leasehold			
3 Jan 1768	LPR,p.956	burial		Thomas Tomkins			
12 April 1769	HRO	admin		Thomas Tomkins			
				to Elizabeth, widow			
1769	WT			Thomas Tomkins	5s		
				EB: Thomas Tomkins,, wife,			
				son and maid			
19 Mar 1773	LB 2/1/6,	alien	1	Edward Baugh	messuage/tenement/garden		
	p.176			Benjamin Baugh	at top of Old Street known		
				William Baugh	as The Pheasant		
			2	TO Thomas Tomkins			
				(EB 1771: Thomas Tomkins.			
				innkeeper, wife, maid			
				2s)			
20 Oct 1773	LPR,p.975	baptism		Edward, son of Thomas			
				Tomkins and Elizabeth			
1788	EB: Old St			Thomas Tomkins, innkeeper,	2s 6d		
	ward			wife and maid			
13 Oct 1790	LB 2/1/7,	lease		Thomas Tomkyns	messuage/stables/buildings	£17 12s 6d	£1 13s 6d
	p.25				called The Pheasant at upper		
ditto	LB4/1/1329				end of east side of Old		
					Street and garden block in		
					Upper Galdford		
					(now Edward Edwards)		
1798	IR 23/71			Edward Tomkins	Hicks and Weaver		
					EB:1804, Old Street waes		

					Richared Weaver, flaxmaker	2s 6d	
					John Hicks, journ.flaxmaker		
21 Oct 1803	LPR,p.1125	burial		Thomas Tomkins			
19 Oct 1818	HRO	will		Elizabeth Tomkins, widow			
28 Oct 1821	LB 2/1/7, p.350	lease		Edward Tomkins of Guildsfield, Montgomeryshire, farmer	messuage at upper end of Old Street plus other premises	£15	£1 13s 6d
1822	Pigot,p.368			Pheasant Inn; Edward Croxhall			
1828	Pigot,682			Pheasant Inn, John Carter			
1843	owner			Tomkins			
	ccupiers			John Jukes	hosue, £7 10s		
				Henry Hardwick	house, £22		
				Benjamin Griffiths	shop/slaughter house. £6		

Date	Owner	Status/ occ.	Resid- ence	Yrs	In	Mar	Pur	Mortgagee	Status/ occ.	Resid- ence	£	Buildings
30 Broad Street												
-1660	Edward Bishop	Gent.	Felton	6			*					2H
1666	heirs of Bishop			? *								
-1684	Katherine Reed	Mrs(widow)		15+			?					
1699	Mary Gaine	servant		6- *								
-1705				/†				Thomas Price		Leominster		
tenants known: Lewis/Ambler/Pitt(plumber)/others												
-1798	Roger Williams	innkeeper		10+								
1808												
1831	Elizabeth Baxter	widow of TC		15+								
1848												



Similarity between 1767 and 2003;
Dormers and lower storey windows in same position, but:
1767: casements
1810: sash

gable dormers with 3 light casements

8/8 and 6/6 sashes in broad moulded cases under segmental arches

6 fielded panel door in moulded case under moulded flat hood, **with festooned frieze**, on plain pilasters

Large support for Sign in 1767 suggests building was or had been an inn but no licence yet found; perhaps to advertise Pitt's plumbing business.



Date	Reference	F153		Owner	Property
-1660	deduced			Edward Bishop, Felton, Gent.	
8 Jun 1666	Bromfield PR,p.58	burial		Edward Bishop, Gent.	
1667					Richard James, tiler wife/4 children
1669	BR, p.14			Mrs Bishop	one other burgage being a kitchen and garden behind and below the town house and garden (29) (tenant: Richard James, tiler)
1672	HT				Richard James 2H
1684	HD	lewn			Mrs Katherine Reade: 1s 9d
2 May 1699	LPR,p.596	burial		Mrs Catherine Read, widow	
23 Jan 1699	HRO	will		Katherine reed, widow	
				to Mary Gaine ("who now is and for many years before hath been a faithfull and tender servant to me") and to her heirs, all that my messuage/tenement in Broad Street where I now dwell	
18 jan 1697	C.469/59			Katherine Read	seized of a messuage/burgage/garden/ backside worth £6 a year; bequeathed it to Mary Gaine; Mary Gaine raised money from Thomas Price of Leominster by selling three houses (30 plus two at 28) reserving a rent of £7 10s a year for life; for £50 dispute about the house, used to raise an annuity to support Edward Hailey, a non-conformist minister in Leominster, Mary Gaine being one of his congregation.
12 Sep 1704	deeds of 31		N	messuage in possession of Humphrey Lewis, Gent.	
1705	WT			Mr Lewis, 15 (29 was 36)	
1711	WT			Mrs Lewis	
1732	WT			Mrs Dorothy Lewis	
1740-47	WT			Mrs Ambler	
1748-55	WT			Mr William Ibbotson	
1756-67	WT			Robert Pitt	

			(EB 1763: plumber)	
1798	proprietor		Roger Williams	
	occupier		Roger Williams	UBD: Roger Williams, innkeeper
	value		10s	(The Crown)
1803	Poor Rate		Roger Williams	
1806	EB		Roger Williams and maid 10s 6d	
1807	EB		Roger Williams and maind 10s 6d	
1808	EB		no entry	
9 Jun 1808	LPR,p.1150	birial	Roger Williams	
1828	Pigot,p.86	TC	James Fleming Baxter, Mill Street	
27 Jan 1830	Sa.Journ.	death	Most sincerely regretted, James	
	p.2,col.1		Fleming Baxter, TC	
1831	EB		Mrs Baxter and maid (1st ref.)	
1835	PIGOT,p.360		Mrs Baxter, Broad Street	
1843	owner		Mrs Baxter	(1841: Elizabeth Baxter, independent)
	occupier		Mrs Baxter	
	property		house/garden	
	value		£18 10s	
1849	Slater,p.26		Mrs Elizabeth Baxter, Broad Street	

Appendix 3

The data for Figs. 82 (p. 218) and 83 (p. 220)

3A, 3B

Column headings:

- Blank: number in list
- Code: the number on the source document (ascribed by researcher)
- Surname:
- First name:
- Description: Sign of the establishment, where known
- Street:
- No. number of property in 2005
- Block: see Fig. 30, p. 132
- Lewn: payment assessed

3C

Column headings:

- Blank: number in list
- Surname:
- First name:
- Sign:
- Street:
- No.: number of property in 2005
- Block: as above
- Rateable Value: taken from Ludlow Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843 (SA, LB, 15/2/245)

3D, 3E

Column headings:

- Blank: number on list
- Code: the number on the source document (ascribed by researcher)
- Surname:
- First name:
- Title:
- Street:
- No.:
- Ward:
- Block: as above
- Lewn: payment assessed
- Servants: as given in Easter Book (3E only)

3F: As for 3D, with 1843 rateable value instead of lewn

Appendix 3A

Ludlow Inns, 1669 ^[1]

[illegible]

	Code	Surname	First Name	Sign	Street	No.	Block	Lewn s d
1	127	Cowper	John	George	Castle Street	12	B	01 04
2	202	Greenhouse	Abigail	White Lion	Castle Street	20 & 22	B	01 06
3	551	Watkins	David	Sun	Castle Street	10	B	01 06
4	24	Barber	Thomas	Rose & Crown	Church Street	8	B	02 06
5	101	Chip	Edward	Boot	Church Street	c.5	B	02 06
6	88	Cadwallader	Thomas	Elephant & Castle	Bull Ring	15	C	05 00
7	389	Parry	John	Bull	Bull Ring	14	C	01 04
8.	168	Ellis	John	Cross Keys	Church Street	-	C	01 04
9	185	Foxall	George	Eagle & Child	Corve Street	16	D	01 04
10	412	Pinches	William	Compasses	Corve Street	1	D	02 00
11	502	Styche	William	Unicorn	Corve Street	64	E	-
12	48	Blenney	John	Hart	Corve Street	c.114	F	01 04
13	186	Foxall	Widow	Green Dragon	Corve Street	99	F	01 09
14	275	Ible	Mary	Holy Lamb	Corve Street	150	F	01 06
15	55	Bore	William	Bull & Castle	Bull Ring	15	G	01 03
16	443	Prodgers	John	Feathers	Bull Ring	24	G	05 00
17	16	Baldwin	John	Horsheshoes	Upper Galdeford	5	H	01 04
18	519	Tomkins	Joseph	Bell	Upper Galdeford	1 & 3	H	01 04
19	556	Weaver	John	Dolphin	Upper Galdeford	7	H	02 00
20	421	Poston	William	Fox	Upper Galdeford		J	02 06
21	523	Townshend	Richard	Upper Fox	Upper Galdeford		J	02 06
22	80	Brittle	Benjamin	Waggon	Lower Galdeford	c.112	K	-
23	198	Green	Charles	Talbot	Tower Street	10 & 11	L	02 00
24	312	Knight	Edward	Royal Oak	Tower Street	13	L	01 04
25	155	Dipple	Robert	Hand & Shears	Temeside	2	N	-
26	230	Harley	Edward	Barley Mow	Lower Broad Street	16	P	02 06
27	94	Cawson	Thomas	Wheatsheaf	Lower Broad Street	1	Q	02 00
28	244	Heycockss	William	Peacock	Broad Street	22	R	01 00
29	375	Neve	William	Angel	Broad Street	9	R	05 00
30	303	Jones	widow	Golden Lion	Old Street	10 & 12	R	01 00
31	328	Lewis	Thomas	Green Dragon	Old Street	32	R	02 06
32	533	Valentine	David	Bear	Old Street	2	R	05 00
33	576	Winwood	Francis	Harp	Church Street	1	S	01 00
34	180	Fidoe	John	White Hart	Broad Street	54	T	02 00
35	181	Flack	William	Crown	Broad Street	56-58	T	07 06
36	481	Sayce	Samuel	Red Lion	Market Street	1	T	10 06
37	434	Preece	Robert	Golden Fleece	Bell Lane	?	U	02 06
38	512	Thomas	John	Seven Stars	Broad Street	38	U	-
39	450	Raisin	Richard	Nag's Head	Lower Broad Street	37	V	01 06
40	326	Leake	Edward	White Horse	Castle Street	11	X	05 00
41	462	Richards	John	Plough	Castle Street	3	X	02 06
42	454	Pryce	Richard	Raven	Raven Lane	16-19	X	01 03
43*	517	Tomkins	Thomas	Swan	Mill Street	53	Y	02 06
44	567	Wigley	Mary	Blue Boar	Mill Street	52	Y	01 00
45	294	Jones	Richard	Harp	Dinham	15	Z	01 00
[1]	DL, Easter Book 1763-1770 (1763 entry)							
[2]	SA. LB, 11/3/6, Vuctuallers' Recognizances, 1742-1798 (1763)							

	Surname	First Name	Sign	Street	No.	Block	Rate Value	
							£ s d	
1	Pugh	Elizabeth	Sun	Castle Street	10	B	16 10 00	
2	Stafford	William	Woodbine	Castle Street	8	B		
3	Amies	Thomas	Rose & Crown	Church Street	8	B	35 00 00	
4	Pea	William	Bull	Bull Ring	14	C	42 00 00	
5	Evans	Matthew	Elephant & Castle	Bull Ring	15	C	40 00 00	
6	Mansfield	William	George	Castle Street	16	C	28 00 00	
7	Tilley	George	Compasses	Corve Street	1	D	23 10 00	
8	Owen	Walter	Eagle & Child	Corve Street	17	D	14 10 00	
9	Crump	William	Mitre	Bridge End		E		
10	Oliver	Henry	Unicorn	Corve Street	64	E	18 05 00	
11	Coston	Thomas	Green Dragon	Corve Street	96	F	14 00 00	
12	Barber	James	Lamb	Corve Street	150	F	13 10 00	
13	Ellis	John	Spread Eagle	Corve Street	149	F	14 00 00	
14	Bromley	Samuel	Star & Garter	Corve Street	138	F	22 10 00	
15	Coleman	Richard	Trotting Horse	Corve Street	102	F	22 00 00	
16	Wayne	Philip	Feathers	Bull Ring	24	G	47 15 00	
17	Hardwick	Henry	King's Arms	Bull Ring	35	G	15 19 00	
18	Bright	Francis	Blue Lion	Tower Street	6 to 8	G	15 00 00	
19	James	Thomas	Bell	Upper Galdeford	3	H	16 10 00	
20	Cantrell	Jeremy	Dolphin	Upper Galdeford	7	H	24 00 00	
21	Rearce	John	Portcullis	Upper Galdeford	9	H	16 10 00	
22	Pyfinch	William	Three Horseshoes	Upper Galdeford	3	H	37 00 00	
23	Blainey	Susan	Half Moon	Lower Galdeford	10	J	21 10 00	
24	Davies	David	Fox	Upper Galdeford	91	J	16 00 00	
25	Carter	John	Pheasant	Tower Street	17	L	22 00 00	
26	Pearce	Thomas	Royal Oak	Tower Street	13	L	16 05 00	
27	Rudd	Jane	Talbot	Tower Street	10 & 11	L	20 00 00	
28	Key	William	Horse & Jockey	Old Street	14	M	13 10 00	
29	Jukes	Thomas	Barley Mow	Lower Broad Street	16	P	18 10 00	
30	Teague	William	Bell	Lower Broad Street	32	P	19 10 00	
31	Green	George	Crown	Lower Broad Street	23	P	17 00 00	
32	Cooke	William	Paul Pry	Lower Broad Street	20	P	11 00 00	
33	Evans	Thomas	Wheatsheaf	Lower Broad Street	1	Q	14 00 00	
34	Cooke	Edward	Angel	Broad Street	9	R	63 00 00	
35	Tipton	William	Bear & Lion	Old Street	2	R	25 10 00	
36	Evans	James	Green Dragon	Old Street	32	R	18 00 00	
37	William	John	Lion	Old Street	10 & 12	R	52 10 00	
38	Weaver	John	White Hart	Old Street	28	R	15 00 00	
39	Jones	John	Coach & Horses	Bell Lane	4	T		
40	Green	Elizabeth	Crown	Broad Street	52	T	63 00 00	
41	Jordan	Samuel	Harp	Church Street	1	T	18 15 00	
42	Bach	M.and J.	Hand & Bell	Market Street	4	T	14 00 00	
42	Jones	William	Old Red Lion	Market Street	5	T	28 00 00	
43	Davies	John	Red Lion	Market Street	1	T	27 00 00	
44	Preece	Thomas	White Horse	Raven Lane	7	T	16 00 00	
45	Pye	William	Swan	Bell Lane	10	U	10 10 00	
46	Powell	Richard	Three Tuns	Mill STreet	4	X	16 15 00	
47	Roberts	E.	Plough	Raven Lane	24	X	18 00 00	
48	Vaughan	Thomas	Raven	Raven Lane	16-19	X	21 00 00	
49	Davies	John	Blue Boar	Mill Street	52	Y	29 10 00	
50	Griffiths	William	Hop Pole	Mill Street	53	Y	16 00 00	
[1]	PRO, HO, 107/0924, 1841 census enumerators' books for Ludlow							
	and Robson, W., <i>Commercial Directory, Shropshire</i> (London, 1840), p. 68.							

Appendix 3D

Ludlow Gentry, 1669 [1]

[illegible]

Appendix 3E

Ludlow Gentry, 1763 [1]

	Code	Surname	First Name	Title	Street	No.	Ward	Block	Lewn	Svts
									£ s d	
1	255	Hill	Thomas Wootton	Mr	Castle Street	6	Castle	B	00 10 06	1
2	307	Karver		Mrs	Castle Street	55	Castle	B	00 02 06	
3	309	Kettleby		Mrs	Castle Street	High H.	Castle	B		2
4	310	Kettleby		Mrs	Castle Street		Castle	B		
5	176	Fargison		Mrs	Churchyard	R.H.	Old	C	00 05 00	1
6	346	Meyricke	Thomas	Mr	College Street	3	Castle	C	00 01 06	-
7	487	Shepperd	Ann	Mrs (spinster)	Corve Street	6	Corve	D	00 10 06	1
8	46	Bishop	William	Mr	Corve Street	7	Corve	D	00 10 06	2
9	271	Hughes		Mrs	Corve Street	105	Corve	F	00 01 06	
10	354	Moore		Mrs	Corve Street	134	Corve	F	00 01 00	
11	248	Herbert	Arabella	Miss	Corve Street	135	Corve	F	00 05 00	1
12	44	Bishop	Mary	Mrs(spinster)	Corve Street	136	Corve	F	00 02 06	1
13	190	George	Martha	Mrs	Corve Street	138	Corve	F	00 02 00	1
14	28	Baugh	Edward	Mr	Corve Street	145	Corve	F	00 10 06	1
15	507	Taylor		Mrs	Old Street	68-70	Old	L	00 02 06	1
16	455	Pryce		Mrs	Old Street	97	Old	L	00 05 00	1
17	338	Marsh	James	Mr	Brand Lane	4	Broad	Q	00 05 00	1
18	8	Ambler	Anne	Mrs	Brand Lane	5	Broad	Q	00 05 00	1
19	496	Sprott	Elizabeth	Miss	Broad Street	23	Broad	Q	00 05 00	1
20	66	Bradshaw		Mrs	Broad Street	26	Broad	Q	00 02 00	1
21	295	Jones	Robert	Mr	Broad Street	28	Broad	Q	00 10 06	1
22	296	Jones	Thomas	Mr	Broad Street	29	Broad	Q	00 05 00	1
23	500	Stuart	Alexander	Esq.	Broad Street	31	Broad	Q	?	?
24	495	Sprott	Mary	Mrs	Broad Street	BG	Broad	Q	00 10 06	3
25	516	Tipton		Miss	Brand Lane	16	Broad	R	00 03 06	
26	379	Oakley	Ann	Mrs	Brand Lane	17	Broad	R	00 05 00	1
27	135	Davies	Ann	Mrs (spinster)	Broad Street	7	Broad	R	00 02 06	1
28	542	Waring		Mrs	Broad Street	14	Broad	R	00 10 06	
29	541	Waring		Mrs	Broad Street	15	Broad	R	00 15 00	
30	535	Walcott	Bridget	Mrs	Broad Street	16	Broad	R	01 01 00	3
31	540	Ward		Mrs	Broad Street	17	Broad	R	00 10 06	1
32	478	Salwey	Constance	Mrs	Broad Street	18	Broad	R	01 01 00	4
33	488	Sheward	Miles	Mr	Old Street	30	Old	R	00 03 06	1
34	27	Baugh		Mrs	Old Street	24-26	Old	R	00 10 06	1
35	77	Bright	William	Mr	High Street	12	Castle	S	00 05 00	0
36	21	Baldwin	Jane	Mrs	Broad Street	49	Broad	T	-	1
37	17	Baldwin	Richard	Esq.	Broad Street	51	Broad	T	00 10 06	2
38	166	Edwards	Mary	Mrs (spinster)	Broad Street	53	Broad	T	00 02 06	1
39	238	Harris		Mrs	Bell Lane	47	Broad	U	00 02 06	1
40	27A	Baugh		Mrs	Broad Street	35	Broad	U	00 05 00	1
41	316	Lyke	Thomas	Mr	Broad Street	36	Broad	U	00 05 00	1
42	306	Jordan		Mrs	Broad Street	40A	Broad	U	00 05 00	1
43	302	Jones	Letitia	Miss	Barnaby House		Castle	W	00 10 06	-
44	315	Knight	Thomas	Esq.	Mill Street	8	Castle	W	01 01 00	4
45	308	Keen		Mrs	Mill Street	16	Castle	W	00 02 00	1
46	174	Eysham	Tobias	Mr	Mill Street	7	Castle	X	00 10 06	2
47	159	Duppa	Priscilla	Mrs	Mill Street	9	Castle	X	00 10 06	1
48	249	Hickman		Mrs	Raven Lane	?	Castle	X	00 01 00	
49	40	Bettenson		Mrs	Dinham	9	Castle	Y	00 10 06	1
50	486	Shelton		Mrs	Mill Street	40	Castle	Y	00 02 06	1
51	109	Colebatch	Elizabeth	Mrs (spinster)	Mill Street	41	Castle	Y	01 01 00	2
52	60	Bowen	Jane	Mrs	Mill Street	52	Castle	Y	00 01 00	0
53	531	Vaughan	Theophila	Mrs	Mill Street	54	Castle	Y	00 02 06	1
54	39	Berry	Mary	Mrs(spinster)	Mill Street	56	Castle	Y	00 05 00	1

	Code	Surname	First Name	Title	Street	No.	Ward	Block	Lewn	Svts
									£ s d	
55	314	Johnes	Thomas	Esq/	Dinham	D.House	Castle	Z	01 01 00	
56	314	Knight	Richard	Esq.	Dinham	D.House	Castle	Z	01 01 00	?
57	315	Knight		Mrs	Dinham	D.House	Dinham	Z		?
58	323	Laysonby		Mrs	Broad Street		Broad			
59	26	Bate	Mrs (spinster)	Mrs (spinster)	Old Street		Old		00 02 06	
60	12	Atley	Stephen	Esq.			Castle		-	2
61	188	Gain		Mrs			Corve			
62	267	Howton		Mrs			Old		00 05 00	
63	352	More		Miss			Castle		00 02 06	
1	DL, Easter Book 1763-1771 (1763)									
	SA, LB, 8/3/144 & 146, Window Tax assessments, 1762-64.									

	Surname	First Name	Title	Street	No.	Ward	Block	Rateable	
								value	
								£ s d	
1	Nightingale	Allen	Esq.	Mill Street	Merivale	Castle	AA	64 05 00	
2	Thomason	Edward	Sir	Castle Street	High Hall	Castle	B	80 00 00	
3	Child	Thomas	Esq.	Corve Street	6	Corve	D	21 10 00	
4	Coates	Edward	Mrs	Corve Street	21	Corve	D	24 00 00	
5	Cropper	Ellen	Mrs	Corve Street	32	Corve	D	14 00 00	
6	Gibbons	Hannah	Mrs	Corve Street	30	Corve	D	29 00 00	
7	Mallett	Joseph	Mrs	Corve Street	10	Corve	D	22 05 00	
8	Matthews	Thomas	Captain	Corve Street	14	Corve	D	24 00 00	
9	Pritchard	Thomas	Mrs	Corve Street	15	Corve	D	19 10 00	
10	Weems	Mary	Mrs	Corve Street	20	Corve	D	10 10 00	
11	Baugh	Elizabeth	Mrs	Corve Street	145	Corve	F	26 00 00	
12	Dansey	Emma	Mrs	Corve Street	114	Corve	F	19 00 00	
13	D'Arcy	Thomas	Captain	Corve Street	110	Corve	F	22 00 00	
14	Harding	Margaret	Miss	Corve Street	134	Corve	F	15 00 00	
15	Hodges	Ann	Miss	Corve Street	136	Corve	F	13 00 00	
16	Hodges	Mary	Mrs	Corve Street	113	Corve	F	32 00 00	
17	Phillips	Elizabeth	Miss	Old Street	71	Old	L	18 15 00	
18	Smith	John	Mrs	Old Street	9	Old	L	13 10 00	
19	Edwards	Elizabeth	Miss	Brand Lane	4	Broad	Q	22 00 00	
20	Wellings	George	Captain	Brand Lane	3	Broad	Q	38 00 00	
21	Baxter	Elizabeth	Mrs	Broad Street	30	Broad	Q	18 10 00	
22	Colvin	John	R.N.	Broad Street	29	Broad	Q	22 00 00	
23	Gregg	Sarah	Miss	Broad Street	26	Broad	Q	19 10 00	
24	Hutchins	John	Esq.	Broad Street	31	Broad	Q	40 00 00	
24	Eyton	Mary	Mrs	Broad Street	14	Broad	R	19 00 00	
25	Green	Frances	Miss	Broad Street	20	Broad	R	15 00 00	
26	Lawrence	Elizabeth	Mrs	Broad Street	18	Broad	R	48 00 00	
27	Adams	Jemima	Mrs	Broad Street	50	Broad	T	40 00 00	
28	Brown	Mary	Mrs	Broad Street	35	Broad	U	27 05 00	
29	Dansey	Edward	Captain	Broad Street	39	Broad	U	42 00 00	
30	Rogers	Ellen	Miss	Broad Street	37	Broad	U	38 00 00	
31	Hodge	Richard	Mrs	Mill Street	13	Castle	W	18 00 00	
32	McGhie	Mary	Miss	Castle Street	Lodge	Castle	Y	22 00 00	
33	Burlton	Ann	Miss	Mill Street	41	Castle	Y	41 10 00	
34	Matthews	Charlotte	Miss	Mill Street	40	Castle	Y	17 00 00	
35	Smith	Sarah	Miss	Mill Street	56	Castle	Y	22 00 00	
36	Hoyle	Ellen	Mrs	Dinham	12	Castle	Z	30 00 00	
37	Meyricke	Louisa	Miss	Dinham	17	Castle	Z	17 00 00	
38	Meyricke	Sophia	Mrs	Dinham	Lodge	Castle	Z	38 00 00	
39	Smallpiece	Ann	Mrs	Dinham	14	Castle	Z	10 00 00	
40	Syer	John	Major	Dinham	11	Castle	Z	38 10 00	
41	Thomas	John	Esq.	Dinham	House	Castle	Z	51 00 00	
[1]	PRO, HO 107/0924, 1841 census enumerators' books for Ludlow								
	and Pigot & Co., <i>Commercial Directory, Shropshire</i> (Manchester, 1842), p. 21								

Appendix 4

A: Owners resident in Ludlow, 1660 to 1848

Column headings:

blk:	block
no.:	number in street
street	
owner	
status/occ.:	social status/occupational class
cd.:	code, grouping number
years:	years of ownership plus indicates an unknown longer period
from:	known starting date
to:	known end date
notes	

blk.	no. street	owner		status/occ	add.inf.	cd	years	from	to	notes
C	13 Bull Ring	Griffiths	George	farmer		1	15	1830	1845	was butcher
S	Tamb, Hs Church	Tyler	Thomas	farmer		1	9	1832	1841	was ironmonger
K	Bishop M. Lower Gaolford	Cooke	John	gardener		1	4	1809	1813	
S	4 Church	Cooke	John	gardener		1	36	1780	1826	
F	153 Corve	Elles	John	gardener		1	3	1751	1754	mortgagee
K	62 to 66 Lower Gaolford	Harding	Roger	gardener		1	14	1738	1752	
M	137 to 145 Old	Harding	Roger	gardener		1	4	1748	1752	
K	118 to 119 Lower Gaolford	Morris	Richard	gardener		1	15 plus	1767	1782	
C	1 to 2A Bull Ring	Smith	Joseph	gardener		1	27	1801	1828	mortgagee
K	75 to 79 Lower Gaolford	Walbridge	John	gardener		1	20 plus	1660	1680	
K	67 Lower Gaolford	Wilding	Richard	gardener		1	9	1754	1763	mortgagee
M	137 to 145 Old	Harding	Roger	gardener	widow of	1	45	1752	1797	Anne Beach
L	77 Old	Aldwell	Thomas	husbandman		1	52	1713	1765	heirs+
W	17 Mill	Lewis	Francis	husbandman		1	28 plus	1660	1688+	
W	17 Mill	Lewis	Francis	husbandman	heirs	1	29 plus	1688	1717	
R	28 Old	Anthony	Richard	yeoman		1	10 plus	1779	1789	
F	134 Corve	Bedford	John	yeoman		1	14	1660	1674	
F	134 Corve	Bedford	Mary	yeoman	widow	1	41	1674	1715	
D	9 Corve	Brompton	Richard	yeoman		1	42	1668	1710	
D	9 Corve	Brompton	Richard (son)	yeoman		1	22	1710	1722	
S	1 to iA High	Galliers	Samuel	yeoman		1	11	1823	1834	mortgagee
C	1 to 2A Bull Ring	Gwynn	William	yeoman		1	3	1820	1823	mortgagee
H	5 to 7 Upper Gaolford	Hasnett	William	yeoman		1	22	1671	1693	widow+
F	9 to 12 St Mary's Lane	Jordan	Thomas	yeoman		1	5 plus	1680	1685	
F	9 to 12 St Mary's Lane	Jordan (heirs)	Thomas	yeoman		1	8	1685	1693	
D	14 Corve	Lea	Edward	yeoman		1	21	1670	1691	
D	14 Corve	Lea	Edward II	yeoman		1	52	1691	1743	
D	14 Corve	Lea	Edward III (nephew)	yeoman		1	27	1743	1760	
F	110 Corve	Lea	Walter	yeoman		1	34 plus	1660	1694	
B	10 Castle	Langley	Richard	yeoman		1	19 plus	1669	1688	
B	10 Castle	Langley	Richard II	yeoman		1	34	1688	1722	
H	19 to 21 Upper Gaolford	Meredith	James	yeoman		1	18	1810	1828	widow+
J	41 to 42 Lower Gaolford	More	Gabriel	yeoman		1	16	1686	1701	
J	41 to 42 Lower Gaolford	More	John	yeoman		1	26	1660	1686	
J	41 to 42 Lower Gaolford	More	John	yeoman		1	28	1701	1729	pauper
K	80 to 81 Lower Gaolford	Parry	Richard	yeoman		1	15	1777	1792	

occupation and status

D	23	Corve	Passey	Thomas	yeoman		1	17	1780	1797		.
D	69	Corve	Styche	William	yeoman		1	4	1748	1752		
Y	42	Mill	Thomas	William	yeoman		1	8	1671	1679		
Y	42	Mill	Thomas	William	yeoman	trustees for dau.	1	18	1679	1697		
K	90	Lower Gaolford	Weaver	Edward	yeoman		1	15	1801	1816		
D	9	Corve	Weaver	William	yeoman		1	3	1732	1735		
J	20 to 21	Lower Gaolford	Whitcott	Thomas	yeoman		1	19	1767	1796		
K	67	Lower Gaolford	Wilding	Richard	yeoman		1	35 plus	1763	1798+	mortgagee(father,gardener)	
Y	43	Mill	Wittingdon	George	yeoman		1	6	1779	1785	mortgagee	
Total								903				

occupation and status

blck no.	street	owner		status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years	from	to	notes
F 143 to 144	Corve	Hattam	Sarah	bricklayer	widow	5	34	1729	1763	
F 137	Corve	Hattam	Walter	bricklayer		5	24	1676	1700	
F 143 to 144	Corve	Hattam	Walter	bricklayer		5	13	1716	1729	
K 109 to 113	Lower Gaulford	Steenton	William	bricklayer		5	7 plus	1841	1848	
H 11 to 17	Upper Gaulford	Beach	Benjamin	brickmaker		3	3	1780	1783	
K 71 to 72	Lower Gaulford	Beach	William	brickmaker		3	13 plus	1756	1769	
K 80 to 81	Lower Gaulford	Beach	William	brickmaker		3	33	1744	1777	
V 34 to 36	Lowe3r Broad	Beach	William	brickmaker		3	27	1752	1779	
H 11 to 17	Upper Gaulford	Beach	William	brickmaker		3	16 plus	1764	1780	
J 4 to 6	Lower Gaulford	Probart	Margaret	brickmaker	widow	3	21	1721	1742	
J 4 to 6	Lower Gaulford	Probart	Peter	brickmaker		3	4	1717	1721	
H 57 to 75	Upper Gaulford	Brittain	George	builder		5	13 plus	1835	1848	7 houses
M 93 to 101	Old	Brittain	George	builder		5	13	1809	1822	
R 24 to 26	Old	Brittain	George	builder		5	11	1820	1831	
S 4	Church	Cooke	Thomas	builder		5	8	1826	1834	
H 11 to 17	Upper Gaulford	Grosvenor	John	builder		5	6 plus	1842	1848	
H 19 to 21	Upper Gaulford	Grosvenor	John	builder		5	20 plus	1828	1848	
R 16	Broad	Page	Robert	builder		5	11	1837	1848	
E 56 to 57	Corve	Smith	John Blakeway	builder		5	13 plua	1835	1848	
E 54 to 58	Corve	Smith	John Edward	builder		5	13 plus	1835	1848	
B 16	Castle	Stead	Samuel	builder		5	12 plus	1836	1848	
G 6 to 7	Tower	Watkins	Alexander	builder		5	14	1834	1848	
G 6 to 7	Tower	Botterell	William	carpenter		5	45	1756	1801	later maltster
Y 28 to 29	Mill	Havard	Mrs	carpenter	widow	5	3	1733	1736	
Y 28 to 29	Mill	Havard	Thomas	carpenter		5	41	1692	1733	mortgagee
Y 45 to 46	Mill	Peach	John	carpenter		5	11	1814	1825	
Y 28 to 29	Mill	Woodall	Charles	carpenter		5	1 plus	1731	?	mortgagee
B 12	Church	Woodall	Edward	carpenter		5	4 plus	1798+	1802	
B Ch.Inn	Church	Woodall	Edward	carpenter		5	22 plus	1738	1760	
W 26	Lower Raven	Woodall	Edward	carpenter		5	31	1738	1769	for sister Cath.Pheysey
V 71	Lower Broad	Woodall	Richard I	carpenter		5	34	1685	1719	
V 71	Lower Broad	Woodall	Richard II	carpenter		5	49	1719	1768	
V 71	Lower Broad	Woodall	Willam	carpenter		5	25 plus	1660	1685	
Q WS	St John's	Woodall	William	carpenter		5	4	1664	1668	
L 13	Tower	Harris	John	glazier	heirs	5	4	1716	1720	
K 118-119	Lower Gaulford	Harris	John	glazier		5	12	1706	1718	

occupation and status

L	13	Tower	Harris	John	glazier		5	10		1706	1716	
K	118-119	Lower Gaulford	Newth	Benjamin	glazier		5	1 plus	1707	?	mortgagee	
L	13	Tower	Newth	Benjamin	glazier		5	1+	1707	?	mortgagee	
D	16	Corve	Whittall	Martha	glazier	widow	5	23	1776	1799		
F	9 to 12	St Mary's Lane	Whittall	Martha	glazier	widow	5	21	1776	1797		
D	16	Corve	Whittall	William	glazier		5	8	1768	1776		
F	9 to 12	St Mary's Lane	Whittall	William	glazier		5	8	1768	1776		
W	12 to 16	Bell	Powell	Edward	glazier/painter		5	29	1818	1847	later wine merchant	
B	16 to 18	Castle	Powell	Edward	glazier/plumber		5	35	1801	1836		
D	7	Corve	Wollaston	Charles	glazier/plumber		5	33	1787	1820		
G	6 to 7	Tower	Botterell	Samuel	joiner		5	9	1801	1810		
F	143 to 144	Corve	Cheshire	John Edward	joiner		5	20 plus	-1660	1680		
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Collins	William	joiner		5	39	1793	1832		
V	71	Lower Broad	Cook	George	joiner		5	12	1768	1780	mortgager (Mrs Adams)	
G	5	Tower	Crundall	Edward	joiner		5	35 plus	1813	1848		
K	96 to 98	Lower Gaulford	Crundall	Edward	joiner		5	24	1814	1838		
K	96 to 98	Lower Gaulford	Crundall	William	joiner		5	20	1794	1814		
L	MS	Old	Goodwin	Edward	joiner		5	29	1761	1790		
G	20 to 21	Bull Ring	Goodwin	Edwin	joiner		5	52	1738	1790		
K	112 to 113	Lower Gaulford	Griffiths	Richard	joiner		5	5 plus	1843	1848		
Y	2 to 8	Dinham	Harper	John	joiner		5	11	1814	1825		
H	57 to 75	Upper Gaulford	Hattam	Mary	joiner	widow	5	3	1784	1787		
F	137	Corve	Hattam	Walter	joiner		5	41	1743	1784		
F	143 to 144	Corve	Hattam	Walter	joiner		5	21	1763	1784		
H	57 to 75	Upper Gaulford	Hattam	Walter	joiner		5	41	1743	1784		
K	90 to 91	Lower Gaulford	Hattam	Walter	joiner		5	22	1756	1778		
F	143 to 144	Corve	Httam	Mary	joiner	widow	5	8	1784	1792		
R	7	Broad	Jolly	John	joiner		5	8	1835	1843	also carrier	
R	7	Broad	Jolly	William	joiner	heirs	5	15	1820	1835		
R	7	Broad	Jolly	William	joiner		5	5	1815	1820		
G	19	Bull Ring	King	Charles	joiner		5	8	1721	1729		
L	5 to 7	Old	King	Charles	joiner		5	5	1724	1729		
G	19	Bull Ring	King	Sarah	joiner	widow	5	13	1729	1740		
L	5 to 7	Old	King	Sarah	joiner	widow	5	36	1729	1765		
T	49	Broad	Lewis	Fanny	joiner	widow	5	6	1831	1837		
T	55	Broad	Lewis	John	joiner	trustees	5	1 plus	1801	?		
T	89	Raven	Lewis	John	joiner	trustees	5	2	1800	1802		

occupation and status

T	55	Broad	Lewis	John	joiner		5	11		1790	1801	timber merchant
T	89	Raven	Lewis	John	joiner		5	11		1790	1801	
T	49	Broad	Lewis	John	joiner		5	19		1781	1800	
Y	31 to 39	Mill	Maud	Francis	joiner		5	41		1803	1844	
L	10	Tower	Morris	Benjamin	joiner		5	14		1834	1848	
R	11 to 12	King	Morris	Robert	joiner		5	3		1779	1782	
L	37 to 45	Old	Norris	John	joiner		5	2		1840	1842	
K	96 to 98	Lower Gaulford	Preece	William I	joiner		5	54 plus		1740	?	
K	96 to 98	Lower Gaulford	Preece	William II	joiner		5				1794	
R	42 to 44	Old	Rickards	John	joiner		5	11 plus		1668	1679	
C	15	Bull Ring	Rickards	Richard	joiner		5	16		1719	1735	
O	78 to 82	Fee	Smith	Thomas	joiner		5	9		1806	1815	
Q	WS	St John's	Smith	Thomas	joiner		5	10 plus		1788	1798	
X	5 to 6	Mill	Waring	Ann	joiner	widow	5	31		1763	1794	
L	MS	Old	Waring	Thomas	joiner		5	1		1749	1750	
R	10	Broad	Waring	William I	joiner		5	24		1676	1700	
R	13	Broad	Waring	William I	joiner		5	?		?	1700	
R	15	Broad	Waring	William I	joiner		5	52		1660	1712	
R	10	Broad	Waring	William II	joiner		5	58		1700	1758	
R	13	Broad	Waring	William II	joiner		5	42		1700	1762	
X	5 to 6	Mill	Waring	William III	joiner		5	13		1750	1763	
R	13	Broad	Waring	William III	joiner		5	1		1762	1763	
L	59 to 67	Old	Watkins	Alexander	joiner		5	15		1833	1848	
O	78 to 82	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	joiner		5	20 plus		1828	1848	
V	46 to 49	Lower Broad	Watkins	Alexander	joiner		5	17 plus		1831	1848	building
F	116	Corve	Atkins	Robert	mason		5	477 plus		1830	1848	
F	131	Corve	Atkins	Robert	mason		5	5 plus		-1843	1848	
K	73 to 74	Lower Gaulford	Bluck	John	mason		5	6		1817	1823	
K	73 to 74	Lower Gaulford	Bluck	Mary	mason	widow	5	20 plus		1823	1843	
J	W.Gdns	Lower Gaulford	Brittain	Elizabeth	mason	widow	5	13		1804	1817	
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Brittain	George	mason		5	6 plus		1778	1784	
J	W.Gdns	Lower Gaulford	Brittain	George	mason		5	8		1817	1825	
J	W.Gdns	Lower Gaulford	Brittain	Thomas	mason		5	3		1801	1804	
J	Shentons Y	Upper Gaulford	Child	James	mason		5	?		?	-1669	
J	St Stephens	Upper Gaulford	Child	James	mason		5	27		1664	1691	
J	St Stephens	Upper Gaulford	Child	Rebecca	mason	widow	5	20		1691	1711	
V	68	Lower Broad	Collier	John	mason		5	12		1660	1672	

occupation and status

U	BG	Broad	Collier	Richard	mason		5	15	1673	1688	
V	74 to 76	L.Broad	Cook	John	mason		5	2	1816	1818	mortgagee (rebuilt)
L	59 to 67	Old	Cooke	Thomas	mason		5	25	1798	1823	
R	42 to 44	Old	Cooke	Thomas	mason		5	12	1798	1810	
K	105 to 108	Lower Gaulford	Davies	Elizabeth	mason	widow	5	26	1672	1698	
J	49	Lower Gaulford	Davies	Richard	mason		5	18 plus	-1660	1678	
K	49	Lower Gaulford	Davies	Richard	mason		5	18 plus	1660	1678	
K	105 to 108	Lower Gaulford	Davies	Richard	mason		5	12 plus	1660	1672	
J	57 to 75	Upper Gaulford	Davies	Samuel	mason		5	?	1826	?	
V	10 to 11	L.Mill	Garston	William	mason		5	8	1734	1742	
V	7 to 9	L.Mill	Garston	William	mason		5	8	1734	1742	
R	30	Old	Gilley	Joan	mason	widow	5	1 plus	1672	?	
R	30	Old	Gilley	John	mason		5	5 plus	1667	1672	
F	132	Corve	Hammonds	Andrews	mason		5	30 plus	1818	1848	
F	132	Corve	Hammonds	Robert	mason		5	11	1806	1817	
L	MC	Old	Hattam	Ann	mason	widow	5	1 plus	1742	?	
K	88 to 87	Lower Gaulford	Hattam	George	mason		5	27	1735	1762	
L	MC	Old	Hattam	George	mason		5	27	1735	1762	
K	90 to 91	Lower Gaulford	Hattam	John	mason		5	15	1741	1756	
F	110	Corve	Hattam	Thomas	mason	executors	5	1 plus	1743	?	
F	137	Corve	Hattam	Thomas	mason		5	43	1700	1743	
H	57 to 75	Upper Gaulford	Hattam	Thomas	mason		5	?	?	1736	mortgagee
F	110	Corve	Hattam	Thomas	mason		5	47	1696	1743	
O	86 to 88	Fee	Hughes	Richard	mason		5	2	1804	1806	mortgagee
Y	28 to 29	Mill	Lawrence	William	mason		5	16	1736	1752	with Mrs Havard
Y	31 to 39	Mill	Maud	Thomas I	mason		5	17	1782	1799	
Y	31 to 39	Mill	Maud	Thomas II	mason		5	6	1797	1803	also bricklayer
K	96 to 98	Lower Gaulford	Morgan	Charles	mason		5	1 plus	1699	?	
L	73	Old	Morgan	William	mason	journeyman	5	29	1769	1798	
J	4 to 6	Lower Gaulford	Nicholls	Francis	mason		5	26	1770	1796	journ.to 1770,then mason
J	New Inn	Upper Gaulford	Pryce	James	mason	heirs	5	10	1822	1832	
J	New Inn	Upper Gaulford	Pryce	James	mason		5	8 plus	1814	1822+	
Y	44	Mill	Rider	Edward	mason		5	13	1755	1768	
U	39	Broad	Sheward	Thomas	mason		5	13	1755	1768	rebuilt
K	90	Lower Gaulford	Steenton	Richard	mason	heirs	5	19	1782	1801	
F	150	Corve	Vale	Ann	mason	widow	5	2	1704	1706	
F	150	Corve	Vale	Charles	mason		5	15	1689	1704	

occupation and status

L	11	Old	Vale	Stephen	mason		5	1 plus		.1751	building
R	34	Old	Vale	Stephen	mason		5	39 plus	1713	1752	
C	11	Bull Ring	Watkiss	Margaret	mason	daughter	5	5	1789	?	seek mar.wth Wm Johnstone
C	12	Bull Ring	Watkiss	Margaret	mason	daughter	5	5	1789	?	
C	13	Bull Ring	Watkiss	Margaret	mason	daughter	5	5	1789	?	
R	18	King	Watkiss	Margaret	mason	widow	5	5	1789	1794	
C	11	Bull Ring	Watkiss	Thomas	mason		5	30	1759	1789	mortgager (Mrs Adams)
C	12	Bull Ring	Watkiss	Thomas	mason		5	30	1759	1789	
C	13	Bull Ring	Watkiss	Thomas	mason		5	30	1759	1789	
R	18	King	Watkiss	Thomas	mason		5	16	1773	1789	rebuilt
W	13	Mill	Weaver	Richard	mason		5	23	1825	1848	
K	90	Lower Gaulford	Steenton	Richard	mason (stone)		5	4	1778	1782	died
G	34	Bull Ring	Owen	Sarah	painter	widow	5	26	1803	1830	
C	11	Bull Ring	Owen	Thomas	painter		5	1+	1760	?	mortgagee
C	12	Bull Ring	Owen	Thomas	painter		5	1+	1760	?	mortgagee
C	13	Bull Ring	Owen	Thomas	painter		5	1+	1760	?	mortgagee
G	34	Bull Ring	Owen	Thomas	painter		5	17	1786	1803	
Y	42	Mill	White	Ann	painter	widow	5	11 plus	1837	1848	
R	10	Broad	White	Thomas	painter		5	1 plus	1833	?	mortgagee
Y	42	Mill	White	Thomas	painter		5	30	1807	1837	mortgager
S	15	High	Jones	Edward	plasterer	heirs	5	9	1829	1838	
S	15	High	Jones	Edward	plasterer		5	29	1800	1829	building?
J	4 to 6	Lower Gaulford	Collins	Francis	plumber		5	17 plus	1731	1748+	
L	15 to 16	Tower	Collins	Francis	plumber		5	11	1832	1843	
L	15 to 16	Tower	Collins	Sarah	plumber	widow	5	5	1854	1848	
R	24 to 26	Old	Collins	Sarah	plumber	widow	5	3	1845	1848	
L	3	Old	Meredith	Samuel	plumber	heirs	5	16	1769	1785	
L	3	Old	Meredith	Samuel	plumber		5	6	1763	1769	
J	48	Lower Gaulford	Lane	John	sawyer		5	17 plus	-1735	1752	
J	48	Lower Gaulford	Lane	Margaret	sawyer	widow	5	12	1752	1764	
K	75 to 79	Lower Gaulford	Bedford	Emma	tiler	widow	5	3	1725	1728	
K	75 to 79	Lower Gaulford	Bedford	John	tiler		5	45	1680	1725	
K	80 to 81	Lower Gaulford	Bedford	John	tiler		5	1 plus	1711	?	mortgager (Mrs Adams)
K	75 to 79	Lower Gaulford	Bedford	Richard	tiler		5	32	1728	1760	also maltster
W	17	Mill	James	Richard	tiler	heirs	5	6	1757	1763	
W	17	Mill	James	Richard	tiler		5	40	1717	1757	
Y	22	Mill	Roberts	David	tiler		5	8 plus	1669	1677	

occupation and status

Y	42	•	Mill	Roberts	William	tiler		5	17		1697	1714	
H	57 to 75		Upper Gaulford	Thompson	Elizabeth	tiler	grand-daughte	5	2		1733	1735	
H	57 to 75		Upper Gaulford	Perace	John	tiler	journeyman	5	52		1681	1733	
									3450				

blk	no.	street	owner	status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	ys	from	to	notes
B	5	Church	Collier	brazier		11	0	1787	1816	
B	?	Church	Collier	brazier		11	13	1804	1817	
Y	DH garden	Dinham	Collier	brazier		11	16	1771	1787	
C	3	King	Collier	brazier		11	1	1808	1809	
S	13	High	Lugg	brazier	heirs	11	2	1726	1728	
G	13	High	Lugg	brazier		11	25	1701	1726	
R	36-38	Old	Plummer	brazier	widow	11	11	1740	1751	
C	2B/3	Bull Ring	Plummer	brazier		11	17	1679	1696	
R	36 to 38	Old	Plummer	brazier		11	23	1667	1690	
R	36 to 38	Old	Plummer	brazier		11	48	1692	1740	
C	2B/3	Bull Ring	Scarlett	brazier		11	?	1787	?	
R	36 to 38	Old	Scarlett	brazier		11	21	1777	1798	
F	Bridge Inn	Corve	Scarlett	brazier		11	10	1788	1798	
C	3	King	Smith	brazier		11	39	1809	1848	later ironmonger
C	15	Bull Ring	Wood	brazier	heirs	11	5	1776	1781	
C	15	Bull Ring	Wood	brazier		11	23	1753	1776	
K	73 to 74	Lower Gaulford	Phillips	cardmaker	widow	8	2	1739	1741	
J	21 to 22	Lower Gaulford	Phillips	cardmaker		8	25	1713	1738	
K	73 to 74	Lower Gaulford	Phillips	cardmaker		8	32	1706	1738	
S	15	High	Coates	cutler		8	13	1660	1673	mortgagee
S	14	High	Coates	cutler		8	27	1660	1687	
W	12 to 19	Mill/Bell	Coates	cutler		8	27	1660	1687	mortgagee
G	34	Bull Ring	Dipple	cutler		8	14	1697	1711	
G	34	Bull Ring	Dipple	cutler	widow	8	19	1713	1732	
R	75	Old	Fox	cutler	daughters of	8	38	1663	1701	
Y	44	Mill	Wannerton	cutler		8	31	1665	1696	
Y	28 to 29	Mill	Bond	gunsmith		8	7	1685	1692	
F	94 to 98	Corve	Harding	gunsmith		8	50	1772	1822	with mother
G	26	Bull Ring	Lane	gunsmith		8	27	1661	1688	
F	102	Corve	Lewis	gunsmith		8	1	1667	1667	
J	War.Gdns	Lower Gaulford	Palmer	gunsmith		8	42	1669	1711	
R	19	Broad	Shepperd	gunsmith		8	24	1677	1701	
Y	Hall	Dinham	Morgan	hook-maker		8	24	1699	1723	
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Hammond	millwright		8	1	1704	1705	
G	25	Bull Ring	Wright	nailer		10	26	1667	1693	
G	25	Bull Ring	Wright	nailer		10	34	1693	1727	

G	10 to 12	Tower	Plummer	Margaret	pewterer	widow	11	11		1740	1751	
C	2B/3	Bull Ring	Plummer	Richard II	pewterer		11	43		1697	1740	
G	10 to 12	Tower	Plummer	Richard II	pewterer		11	53		1687	1740	
Q	4	Brand Lane	Clee	Alice	smith	daughters of	10	1		1669	1670	
Q	4	Brand Lane	Clee	Richard	smith		10	9		1660	1669	
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Colerick	Mary	smith	widow	10	1	plus	1749	?	
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Colerick	Thomas	smith		10	24		1725	1749	
Y	DH garden	Dinham	Collier	Esther	smith	widow	10	4		1724	1728	
Y	DH garden	Dinham	Collier	Richard	smith		10	1	plus	1723	1724	
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaolford	Crowe	Alice	smith	widow	10	1		1707	1708	
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaolford	Crowe	William	smith	heirs	10	1		1723	1724	
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaolford	Crowe	William	smith		10	10		1697	1707	
L	Meth. Ch. Old		Debitott	John	smith		10	11		1750	1761	
Q	24 to 25	Broad	Debitott	William	smith		10	?		?	1747	
Q	24 to 25	Broad	Debitott	William II	smith		10	64		1747	1811	
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Downes	Humphrey	smith		10	1		1756	1757	
R	20 to 22	Old	Goodge	Isaac	smith		10	21		1755	1776	
L	Meth. Ch. Old		Heath	Margaret	smith	grand-daughter	10	9		1752	1761	mortgager
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Hemus	Thomas	smith		10	20		1705	1725	
D	20	Corve	Jones	Edward	smith		10	11		1778	1789	
S	4	Church	Meredith	Thomas	smith		10	48		1708	1756	
S	4	Church	Meredith	Thomas II	smith		10	28		1756	1782	
H	9	Upper Gaolford	Morgan	James	smith		10	32		1744	1776	
C	13	Bull Ring	Paytoe	Joseph	smith		10	22		1797	1819	
H	57 to 75	Upper Gaolford	Paytoe	Joseph	smith		10	?		1803	?	mortgagee.to finance building
H	Shenton's	Upper Gaolford	Prodgers	John	smith		10	23		1747	1770	
H	Shenton's	Upper Gaolford	Prodgers	John II	smith		10	17		1770	1787	
J	Shenton's	Upper Gaolford	Prodgers	John III	smith		10	6		1787	1793	
K	90	Lower Gaulford	Pugh	Thomas	smith		10	17		1831	1848	
F	9 to 12	St Mary's	Walker	John	smith		10	32		1735	1768	
Y	2 to 8	Dinham	Wellings	John	smith		10	27		1782	1809	farrier
J	Shentons	Upper Gaolford	Wigley	James	smith	heirs	10	8		1748	1756	
H	10 to 12	Upper Gaolford	Wigley	James	smith		10	8		1740	1748	
J	71 to 72	Lower Gaulford	Wigley	William	smith		10	33		1669	1702	
G	33	Bull Ring	Wigley	William	smith		10	?		?	1704	
J	New Inn	Upper Gaolford	Halford	Thomas	whitesmith		11	9		1832	1841	
J	New Inn	Upper Gaolford	Williams	Mary	whitesmith	daughters of	11	7		1841	1848	

blk no.	street	owner		status/occ	add.inf.	cd	years		from.	to	notes
J 58 to 60	Lower Gaulford	Deuxall	Richard	chandler		17	1	plus	1710	?	
E 64 to 66	Corve	Harding	William	chandler		17	38	plus	1665	1703	
F 99	Corve	Payne	Edward	chandler		17	34		1683	1717	
F 99	Corve	Payne	Edward	chandler		17	16		1701	1717	
E 67 to 68	Corve	Payne	Frances	chandler		17	6		1717	1723	
E 67 to 68	Corve	Payne	Margery	chandler		17	5		1732	1737	
E 70 to 71	Corve	Payne	Margery	chandler		17	3		1732	1735	
F 89 to 93	Corve	Payne	Nicholas	chandler		17	23		1660	1683	also victualler
F 111 to 112	Corve	Payne	Nicholas	chandler		17	15		1668	1683	
G 19	Bull Ring	Payne	Nicholas II	chandler		17	49		1683	1732	
E 50 to 53	Corve	Payne	Nicholas II	chandler		17	27		1705	1732	
J 48	Lower Gaulford	Perkins	Ann	chandler	daughter	17	6		1720	1726	
K 82 to 89	Lower Gaulford	Perkins	Ann	chandler		17	6		1720	1726	
D 28	Corve	Perkins	Henry	chandler		17	33		1687	1720	
E 69	Corve	Perkins	Henry	chandler		17	33		1687	1720	
V 74 to 76	L.Broad	Plummer	Charles	chandler		17	36		1740	1776	
S 5	High	Plummer	Charles	chandler		17	25		1751	1776	
E 75	Corve	Plummer	Richard	chandler		17	16		1771	1787	
D 17	Corve	Aingell	Anne	currier	wife	16	1		1764	1765	
S 4	High	Aingell	Elizabeth	currier	widow	16	15		1760	1775	
E 74	Corve	Aingell	John	currier		16	1		1747	?	mortgagee
E 74	Corve	Aingell	John	currier		16	4		1765	1769	mortgagee
B 7 to 9	Church	Aingell	John	currier		16	24		1736	1760	
L 37 to 45	Old	Aingell	John	currier		16	23		1746	1769	mortgagee
L 37 to 45	Old	Aingell	John II	currier		16	26		1775	1801	
F 105	Corve	Aingell	Thomas	currier		16	13		1760	1773	
K 82 to 89	Lower Gaulford	Aingell	Thomas	currier		16	23		1750	1773	
Q 31	Broad	Aingell	Thomas II	currier	widow	16	2		1803	1805	
K 96 to 98	Lower Gaulford	Aingell	Thomas II	currier		16	17		1773	1790	
C 1/2A	Bull Ring	Coates	James	currier		16	4		1837	1841	
L 103 to 107	Old	Ghent	Richard	currier		16	7		1776	1783	mortgagee
E 46 to 49	Corve	Hand	Francis	currier		16	18		1812	1830	
E 64 to 66	Corve	Jenkin	John	currier		16	8		1831	1839	
F 105A	Corve	Morgan	John	currier		16	18		1773	1791	
E 46 to 49	Corve	Morgan	John	currier		16	16		1791	1807	
Q Wh.Sv	St.John's	Thomas	Thomas	currier		16	25		1788	1813	

occupation and status

O	78 to 82	Fee	Thomas	Thomas	currier	.	16	7	1806	1813.	
S	15	High	Thomas	Thomas	currier		16	3	1811	1814	mortgagee
W	corner	Mill/Bell	Thomas	Thomas	currier		16	4	1786	1790	
R	36 to 38	Old	Wharton	John	currier		16	5	1675	1680	
F	99	Corve	Wharton	Mary	currier	widow	16	1	1680	1681	
F	111 to 112	Corve	Hill	Richard	leather dresser		16	14	1798	1812	
K	82 to 89	Lower Gaulford	Baldwin	George	skinner		16	10	1763	1773	
D	9	Corve	Baldwin	Sarah	skinner	widow	16	17	1773	1790	
J	W.Gdns	Lower Gaulford	Corfield	Richard	skinner	daughters	16	6	1762	1768	
J	50	Lower Gaulford	Corfield	Richard	skinner		16	? plus	1739	?	
J	Sp.Hs	Lower Gaulford	Corfield	Richard	skinner		16	20	1742	1762	moved away
E	69	Corve	Owens	John	skinner		16	15	1825	1840	bankrupt
H	22 to 33	Upper Gaulford	Roberts	Richard	skinner		16	22	1799	1821	
Q	Wh.Sv	St John's	Roberts	Richard	skinner		16	16	1800	1816	
Y	42	Mill	Beddoe	Margaret	tanner	widow	16	4	1786	1790	
K	96 to 98	Lower Gaulford	Beddoe	Richard	tanner		16	17	1769	1786	
E	64 to 66	Corve	Beddoe	Richard	tanner		16	6	1780	1786	
E	64 to 66	Corve	Botterell	John	tanner		16	41	1664	1705	mortgager from 1705
E	64 to 66	Corve	Botterell	Ralph	tanner		16	30	1705	1735	
Q	31	Broad	Coleman	Richard	tanner	son of	16	1 plus	1770	?	
J	48	Lower Gaulford	Coleman	Richard	tanner		16	50	1720	1770	
K	BM	Lower Gaulford	Deyos	Robert	tanner		16	22	1675	1697	
D	9	Corve	Earsley	Catherine	tanner	widow	16	32	1666	1698	
D	9	Corve	Earsley	Catherine	tanner	widow	16	32	1646	1698	
J	48	Lower Gaulford	Earsley	Edward	tanner		16	6	1660	1666	
J	50	Lower Gaulford	Earsley	Edward	tanner		16	6 plus	1660	1666	
V	46 to 50	L.Broad	Earsley	Fortune	tanner	widow	16	19	1680	1699	
J	58 to 60	Lower Gaulford	Earsley	Richard	tanner		16	11	1669	1680	
K	BM	Lower Gaulford	Earsley	Rowland	tanner		16	9	1660	1669	
Q	52 to 56	Old	Gardener	William	tanner		16	16	1804	1820	mortgagee
F	82	Corve	Gardener	William	tanner		16	25 plus	1798	1823	
F	83	Corve	Gardener	William	tanner		16	23	1800	1823	
L	MS	Old	Gardener	William	tanner		16	22	1806	1823	
W	corner	Mill/Bell	Gardener	William	tanner		16	23	1800	1823	
E	75	Corve	Gardener	William	tanner		16	10	1813	1823	
E	62 to 63	Corve	Gardener	William II	tanner		16	25 plus	1823	1848	
E	64 to 66	Corve	Gardener	William II	tanner		16	25	1823	1848	

F	LP	Corve	Gardener	William II	tanner		16	25 plus	1823	1848	
D	10	Corve	Gardener	William II	tanner		16	7 plus	1823	1830	
F	119	Corve	Goodwin	James	tanner		16	19	1785	1804	
K	109 to 113	Lower Gaulford	Goodwin	James	tanner		16	17	1790	1807	
Y	42	Mill	Goodwin	James	tanner		16	31	1790	1821	
Y	42	Mill	Goodwin	James	tanner		16	19	1782	1801	
F	LP	Corve	Goodwyn	James	tanner		16	19	1785	1804	
W	17	Mill	Greenhouse	Richard	tanner		16	31	1786	1817	
E	73 to 74	Corve	Greenhouse	Richard	tanner		16	27	1790	1817	
E	46 to 49	Corve	Greenhouse	Richard	tanner		16	23	1794	1817	
V	46 to 50	L.Broad	Hill	Mary	tanner	widow	16	9 plus	1660	1669	
V	46 to 50	L.Broad	Penn	William	tanner		16	?	1717	?	with Richard Jones
F	82	Corve	Pountney	Samuel	tanner		16	?	?	1720	
E	64 to 66	Corve	Powis	Catherine	tanner	widow	16	1	1661	1661	
E	62 to 63	Corve	Powis	Edward	tanner	widow	16	7	1661	1668	
F	BI	Corve	Powis	Edward	tanner		16	18	1699	1717	
B	20 to 22	Castle	Powis	Edward	tanner		16	8 plus	1660	1668	
E	64 to 66	Corve	Powis	Elizabeth	tanner	widow	16	27	1717	1744	
B	20 to 22	Castle	Powis	Joseph	tanner		16	16 plus	1667	1683	
E	75	Corve	Powis	Maergerý	tanner	widow	16	29	1668	1695	
L	3	Old	Powis	Roger	tanner	heirs	16	7	1698	1705	
E	69	Corve	Powis	Roger	tanner		16	30	1660	1698	
V	74 to 76	L.Broad	Powis	Roger	tanner		16	12	1686	1698	
F	116	Corve	Powis	Samuel	tanner		16	28	1706	1734	
H	22 to 33	Upper Gaulford	Powis	Thomas	tanner		16	46	1660	1706	
S	8	High	Powis	Thomas	tanner		16	8	1698	1706	
S	8	High	Powis	Thomas	tanner		16	22	1664	1686	
Q	Wheatsheaf	St.John's	Powis	Thomas	tanner		16	1 plus	1668	?	son of Edward
O	78 to 82	Fee	Powis	Thomas	tanner		16	14 plus	1660	1674	
Q	31	Broad	Sutherne	Anne	tanner	daughter	16	26	1698	1724	
S	15	High	Urwick	Benjamin	tanner		16	39	1804	1843	mortgager
W	corner	Mill/Bell	Urwick	Benjamin	tanner		16	44	1804	1848	
C	2B/3	Bull Ring	Urwick	Benjamin	tanner		16	1 plus	1807	?	
H	10 to 12	Tower	Wynde	Thomas	tanner		16	39	1674	1713	
total								1862			

blk	no.	street	owner	status/occ	.	cd	years	from to	notes
F	140	Corve	Carter	cooper		19	6	1795 1801	
D	17	Corve	Child	cooper	widow	19	19	1685 1704	
D	17	Corve	Child	cooper		19	19	1666 1685	
C	4	Bull Ring	Cook	cooper		19	36	1812 1848	
R	20 to 22	Old	Davies	cooper		19	15	1672 1687	
F	152	Corve	Green	cooper		19	1 plus	1809 ?	
K	117	Lower Gaolford	Green	cooper		19	31 plus	1812 1843	
C	4	Bull Ring	Green	cooper		19	1 plus	? 1843	
J	20 to 21	Lower Gaolford	Hemus	cooper		19	5	1705 1710	
K	75 to 79	Lower Gaolford	Jones	cooper		19	6	1811 1817	
D	89 to 93	Corve	Lewis	cooper		19	9	1768 1777	
D	99	Corve	Lewis	cooper		19	9	1768 1777	
R	28	Old	Powell	cooper		19	43 plus	1660 1703	
K	68	Lower Gaolford	Sankey	cooper		19	1 plus	1843 ?	
F	139	Corve	Short	cooper		19	39	1713 1752	
W	13	Mill	Baldwyn	cabinet maker		20	14	1811 1825	
Q	52 to 54	Old	Felton	cabinet maker	daughter	20	3 plus	1845 1848	
Q	52 to 54	Old	Felton	cabinet maker		20	36	1809 1845	
W	22 to 24	Lower Raven	Massey	cabinet maker	devisees	20	12	1797 1809	
Y	40	Mill	Massey	cabinet maker	widow	20	17 plus	1797 1814	
Y	40	Mill	Massey	cabinet maker		20	3	1794 1797	bankrupt
T	67	Broad	Massey	cabinet maker		20	16	1776 1792	
T	67	Broad	Massey	cabinet maker		20	5	1792 1797	
T	67	Broad	Massey	cabinet maker		20	11	1997 1808	
W	22 to 24	Lower Raven	Massey	cabinet maker		20	3	1794 1797	
W	Barn.Hs.	Mill	Massey	cabinet maker		20	9	1788 1797	
W	Barn.Hs.	Mill	Massey	cabinet maker		20	12	1797 1809	
W	15	Mill	Massey	cabinet maker		20	3	1794 1797	
W	15	Mill	Massey	cabinet maker		20	12	1797 1809	
V	44 to 50	Lower Broad	Morley	collar maker		21	34	1726 1760	
D	12	Corve	Cole	saddler	daughter	21	42	1717 1759	
T	8 to 9	Raven	Cole	saddler	daughter	21	2	1694 1696	
W	16 to 20	Lower Raven	Cole	saddler	heirs	21	31	1728 1759	
D	12	Corve	Cole	saddler		21	40	1677 1717	
T	67	Broad	Cole	saddler		21	29	1660 1689	

blk	no.	street	owner	status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	yrs	from	to	notes
L										
L	3 Old		Holland	paper manfctr		22	10	1792	1802	
L	31 to 45 Old		Holland	paper manfctr		22	12	1813	1825	later farmer
S	9 High		Holland	paper manfctr		22	10 plus	1798	1808	
M	123 to 125 Old		Meyricke	paper manfctr	heirs	22	8	1814	1822	
M	123 to 125 Old		Meyricke	paper manfctr		22	20	1794	1814	
Y	22 Mill		Tarbuck	silk thrower	wiow	24	8	1738	1746	
Y	22 Mill		Tarbuck	silk thrower		24	14	1724	1738	
V	34 to 36 L.Broad		Beach	weaver	heirs	24	13	1788	1801	
V	34 to 36 L.Broad		Beach	weaver		24	9	1779	1788	
V	34 to 36 L.Broad		Beach	weaver		24	30	1801	1831	
J	49 Lower Gaulford		Challoner	weaver		24	18	1757	1775	
J	49 Lower Gaulford		Challoner	weaver		24	55	1775	1830	
X	5 to 6 Mill		Chirme	weaver	heirs	24	43	1707	1750	
X	5 to 6 Mill		Chirme	weaver	widow	24	43	1682	1707	
X	5 to 6 Mill		Chirme	weaver		24	1	1682	1682	
R	19 Broad		Clutterbuck	weaver		24	32	1703	1733	
F	133 Corve		Heydon	weaver	widow	24	15	1708	1723	
F	133 Corve		Heydon	weaver		24	33	1675	1708	
D	17 Corve		Heydon	weaver		24	6	1660	1666	
F	133 Corve		Heydon	weaver		24	15	1660	1675	
F	83 Corve		Martin	weaver		24	9	1660	1669	
F	83 Corve		Martin	weaver		24	43	1669	1712	
V	68 Lower Broad		Noxon	weaver		24	29	1706	1735	with Mary Wms, later wife
L	73 Old		Yeomans	weaver	widow	24	3	1671	1674	HT 1672: pauper
L	73 Old		Yeomans	weaver		24	11	1660	1671	
V	43 to 36 Lower Broad		Evans	wool manfctr		24	16	1832	1832	
V	44 to 50 Lower Broad		Ellis	flax-dresser		26	3	1760	1763	
G	25 Bull Ring		Weaver	flax-dresser		26	17 plus	1798	1815	
L	71 Old		Weaver	flax-dresser		26	13	1810	1823	
V	44 to 50 Lower Broad		Weaver	flax-dresser		26	13	1803	1816	morgagee
V	44 to 50 Lower Broad		Weaver	flax-dresser		26	15	1816	1821	then owner
F	82 Corve		Agborough	dyer		28	14	1660	1674	
E	72 Corve		Brompton	dyer	widow	28	1	1725	1726	3 generations
E	72 Corve		Brompton	dyer		28	44	1661	1705	3 generations
E	72 Corve		Brompton	dyer		28	10	1726	1736	3 generations

E	72	Corve	Brompton	John	dyer			28	20		1705	1725	3 generations
D	46 to 49	Corve	Harley	Ann	dyer	widow		28	19		1756	1775	
D	46 to 49	Corve	Harley	John	dyer			28	37		1717	1756	
E	62 to 63	Corve	Heydon	William	dyer			28	15		1655	1670	
Y	24 to 26	Mill	Kinnersley	Mary	dyer	widow		28	31		1737	1768	
Y	24 to 26	Mill	Kinnersley	Thomas	dyer			28	10		1727	1737	
F	82	Corve	Lukenor	Elizabeth	dyer	widow		28	16		1675	1691	
F	82	Corve	Lukenor	William	dyer			28	1		1674	1675	
V	44 to 50	Lower Broad	Morley	Humphrey	dyer			28	20		1660	1680	
F	135	Corve	Morley	John	dyer			28	26		1694	1720	
V	44 to 50	Lower Broad	Morley	John	dyer			28	45		1681	1726	on trust
D	25	Corve	Stanway	Edward	dyer	heirs		28	37		1700	1737	
D	25	Corve	Stanway	Edward	dyer			28	40		1660	1700	
D	25	Corve	Taylor	heirs of Richard	dyer	heirs		28	30		1818	1848	154 years
D	25	Corve	Taylor	Richard	dyer			28	29		1789	1818	
D	25	Corve	Taylor	Edward	dyer			28	18		1771	1789	
B	7 to 9	Church	Tyler	Edward	dyer	heirs		28	22		1739	1761	
B	7 to 9	Church	Tyler	Edward	dyer			28	20		1719	1739	
total									1072				

occupation and status

blk	no.	street	owner	status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years	from to	notes	
R	16 to 17	Brand	Acton	glover	daughter	29	6	1690	1696	
R	8	Broad	Acton	glover		29	1 plus	1713	?	mortgagee
W	16 to 20	Lower Raven	Acton	glover		29	16 plus	1669	1685	
R	16 to 17	Brand	Acton	glover		29	25	1660	1685	
S	11	High	Acton	glover		29	25	1660	1685	
S	New House	High	Acton	glover		29	25	1660	1685	
C	4 to 6	Bull Ring	Acton	glover		29	26	1660	1686	
O	78 to 82	Fee	Acton	glover		29	26	1660	1686	
O	84 to 88	Fee	Acton	glover		29	26	1660	1686	
G	34	Bull Ring	Acton	glover		29		1711	?	mortgagee
C	4 to 6	Bull Ring	Acton	glover	daughter	29	2	1686	1688	
R	16 to 17	Brand	Acton	glover	daughter	29	5	1685	1690	
D	13	Corve	Acton	glover		29	3	1789	1792	
L	10 to 12	Tower	Acton	glover		29	4	1812	1816	
L	10 to 12	Tower	Acton	glover		29	11	1816	1827	mortgagee
D	29	Corve	Acton	glover		29	39	1809	1848	
R	17	King	Acton	glover		29	50	1798	1848	
D	30 to 32	Corve	Acton	glover		29	53	1789	1842	
C	1/2A	Bull Ring	Acton	glover		29	8	1759	1767	
L	12	Tower	Acton	glover		29	21	1807	1848	
D	23	Corve	Blythe	glover		29	18	1690	1708	
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Blythe	glover		29	1	1704	1704	
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Blythe	glover		29	11	1702	1713	
C	10	Bull Ring	Bowen	glover		29	2	1736	1738	mortgagee
J	10	Lower Gaulford	Bowen	glover		29	?	1734	?	
F	137	Corve	Cadwallader	glover		29	1	1800	1801	
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Callamy	glover	journeyman	29	9	1756	1765	
F	99	Corve	Child	glover		29	4	1674	1768	
E	50 to 52	Corve	Child	glover	widow	29	12	1762	1774	
E	50 to 52	Corve	Child	glover		29	30	1732	1762	
N	4 to 16	Temeside	Clark	glover	widow	29	2	1734	1736	3691
V	68	Lower Broad	Corne	glover	heirs	29	35	1797	1832	
V	68	Lower Broad	Corne	glover	widow	29	17	1780	1797	
V	68	Lower Broad	Corne	glover		29	25	1755	1780	later breechews maker
J	41 to 42	Lower Gaulford	Daniels	glover	sister	29	11	1674	1685	

Appendix 4A

Owners resident in Ludlow, 1660 to 1848: Manufacturing: 29 (glovers)

J	41 to 42	Lower Gaulford	Daniels	William	.	glover		29	14	1660	1674		.
E	62 to 63	Corve	Davies	Anne		glover	widow	29	1	1729	1730		
K	67 to 69	Lower Gaulford	Davies	Dorothy		glover		29	3	1763	1798		
D	8	Corve	Davies	James		glover		29	34	1798	1832		
D	13	Corve	Davies	James		glover		29	34	1798	1832		
D	13	Corve	Davies	Richard		glover	heirs	29	18	1692	1710		
K	67 to 69	Lower Gaulford	Davies	Richard		glover		29	9	1754	1763	mortgagee	
E	62 to 63	Corve	Davies	Richard		glover		29	35	1675	1710		
D	22	Corve	Davies	Samiuel		glover		29	5	1724	1729		
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Davies	Samuel		glover	heirs	29	4 plus	1729	1733		3487
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Davies	Samuel		glover		29	?	?	1729		
E	62 to 63	Corve	Davies	Samuel (son)		glover		29	19	1710	1729		
Q	28	Broad	Davies	Thomas		glover		29	7	1706	1713		
D	23	Corve	Davies	Thomas		glover		29	23	1667	1690		
S	8	High	Dyke	Edward		glover		29	2	1796	1798	shared	
S	12	High	Dyke	James Edward		glover		29	8	1810	1818		
Q	24 to 25	Broad	Evans	Benjamin		glover		29	21	1820	1821		
R	36 to 38	Old	Evans	Thomas		glover		29	9	1660	1669		
R	34	Old	Evans	Thomas		glover		29	9	1660	1669		
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Franklin	John		glover	journeymen	29	22	1724	1726		
F	113	Corve	Gibbon	Hannah		glover	daughter	29	5	1843	1848		
D	13	Corve	Griffiths	John Walter		glover		29	18	1724	1742		
D	13	Corve	Griffiths	Walter		glover		29	29	1742	1771		3467
F	131	Corve	Hall	Humphrey		glover		29	?	1669	?		
G	6 to 7	Tower	Hall	John		glover		29	36	1683	1719		
T	68 to 69	Lower Broad	Harding	Elizabeth		glover	widow	29	17 plus	1831	1848		
T	68 to 69	Lower Broad	Harding	John		glover		29	16	1788	1804	became wine merchant	
L	13	Tower	Harris	John		glover	1	29	46	1660	1706		
D	13	Corve	Harris	John		glover	1	29	19	1663	1682		
C	1	Bull Ring	Harris	John		glover	2	29	14	1672	1686		
C	10	Bull Ring	Harris	John		glover	2	29	2	1736	1738	mortgagee	
K	118 to 119	Lower Gaulford	Harris	John		glover		29	46	1660	1706		
L	13	Tower	Harris	John II		glover		29	26	1720	1746		
R	18	King	Harris	Ralph		glover		29	7	1736	1743		
K	118 to 119	Lower Gaulford	Harris	Ralph		glover		29	?	1743	?	mortgagee	
avies	1/2A	Bull Ring	Harris	Ralph II (son)		glover		29	31	1728	1756		
K	118 to 119	Lower Gaulford	Harris	John II		glover		29	25	1718	1743		

Appendix 4A

Owners resident in Ludlow, 1660 to 1848: occupation and status

Manufacturing: 29 (glovers)

F	96 to 98	Corve	Heath	John .	glover		29 .	11	1660	1671	.
F	96 to 98	Corve	Heath	Richard	glover		29	49	1671	1720	
D	30 to 32	Corve	Hosier	John	glover		29	24	1748	1772	
R	1	Broad	Hughes	Abigail	glover		29	16	1804	1820	
R	1	Broad	Hughes	William	glover		29	8	1796	1804	
L	77	Old	Humphries	John	glover		29	29	1684	1713	with Liz Buxton,spinster
M	123 to 125	Old	Hunt	Thomas	glover		29	32	1711	1743	
J	St.Stephen	Tower	Jennings	Mari	glover		29	5	1840	1845	
J	St.Stephen	Tower	Jennings	Willia,m	glover		29	15	1828	1843	
M	T41	orchard	Jennings	William	glover		29	12	1836	1848	
V	10 to 11	Lower Mill	Jones	John	glover		29	1 plus	1811	1811	
B	6	Castle	Jones	John	glover		29	7	1808	1814	mortgagee
D	22	Corve	Jones	John	glover		29	23	1788	1811	
E	69	Corve	Jones	Mary	glover	widow	29	18	1776	1794	
E	69	Corve	Jones	Thomas	glover		29	24	1752	1776	
F	113	Corve	Matthews	Edward	glover		29	12	1805	1817	
F	134	Corve	Matthews	Edward	glover		29	23	1793	1816	
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Maud	John	glover		29	? plus	?	1848	
J	W.Gdns	Lower Gaulford	Milward	John	glover		29	15	1708	1723	
D	30 to 32	Corve	Monger	Samuel	glover		29	7	1781	1788	
F	134	Corve	Monger	Samuel	glover		29	13 plus	1780	1793	
F	113	Corve	Monger	Samuel	glover		29	39	1766	1805	
F	89 to 93	Corve	Powis	Alice	glover	daughters	29	?	1664	?	
F	89 to 93	Corve	Powis	Alice	glover	widow	29	4	1660	1664	
F	101	Corve	Powis	Henry	glover	heirs	29	19	1660	1679	
M	T315	Old	Price	Avery	glover		29	11	1660	1671	
B	20 to 22	Castle	Price	James	glover		29	1	1733	1734	
F	101	Corve	Price	Joseph	glover		29	3	1807	1810	
F	142	Corve	Reynolds	William	glover		29	6 plus	1669	1675	
F	131	Corve	Sankey	R.H.	glover		29	24	1819	1843	also postmaster
F	82	Corve	Somers	Frances	glover		29	16	1749	1765	
F	82	Corve	Somers	George	glover		29	25	1724	1749	stepson of Winde
J	48	Lower Gaulford	Spear	Thomas	glover		29	5	1843	1848	
Q	28	Broad	Spencer	Elizabeth	glover	widow	29	9	1713	1722	
J	St.Stephen	Tower	Starr	John	glover		29	25	1719	1744	
L	9	Old	Turford	Edward	glover	heirs	29	9	1660	1669	
F	81	Corve	Turford	Edward	glover		29	4	1660	1664	

Appendix 4A

Owners resident in Ludlow, 1660 to 1848: Manufacturing: 29 (glovers)

occupation and status

D	14	Corve	Turford	Edward	glover		29	10	1660	1670	.
Y	24 to 26	Mill	Unet	Philemon	glover		29	9	1660	1669	
Y	23 to 23A	Mill	Unet	Philemon	glover		29	9	1660	1669	
L	Sut. Close	Old	Waring	Mary	glover	widow	29	25	1762	1787	
M	T40	orchard	Waring	Mary	glover	widow	29	26	1761	1787	
R	10	Broad	Waring	Mary	glover		29	28	1761	1789	
R	15	Broad	Waring	Mercy	glover	heirs	29	24	1774	1798	
M	T40	orchard	Waring	Mercy	glover	widow	29	17	1744	1761	
R	15	Broad	Waring	Mercy	glover	widow	29	30	1744	1777	
R	10	Broad	Waring	Samuel	glover		29	1	1760	1761	
K	A.Friary	Lower Gaufford	Waring	Samuel	glover		29	15	1729	1744	
L	Sut. Close	Old	Waring	Samuel	glover		29	30	1714	1744	
M	91 to 94	Old	Waring	Samuel	glover		29	30	1714	1744	
M	95 to 101	Old	Waring	Samuel	glover		29	30	1714	1744	
M	103 to 107	Old	Waring	Samuel	glover		29	30	1714	1744	
M	111	Old	Waring	Samuel	glover		29	30	1714	1744	
M	T40	orchard	Waring	Samuel	glover		29	30	1714	1744	
R	15	Broad	Waring	Samuel	glover		29	32	1712	1744	
R	14	Broad	Waring	Samuel	glover		29	43	1701	1744	
M	95 to 101	Old	Waring	Samuel II	glover	heirs	29	54	1762	1818	
M	103 to 107	Old	Waring	Samuel II	glover	heirs	29	54	1762	1818	
M	111	Old	Waring	Samuel II	glover	heirs	29	54	1762	1818	
M	91 to 94	Old	Waring	Samuel II	glover	heirs	29	?	?	1798	
K	A.Friary	Lower Gaufford	Waring	Samuel II	glover	nephew	29	36	1744	1780	
R	14	Broad	Waring	Samuel II	glover		29	17	1744	1761	
L	Sut.Cl.	Old	Waring	Samuel II	glover		29	18	1744	1762	
M	91 to 94	Old	Waring	Samuel II	glover		29	18	1744	1762	
M	95 to 101	Old	Waring	Samuel II	glover		29	18	1744	1762	
M	103 to 107	Old	Waring	Samuel II	glover		29	18	1744	1762	
M		Old	Waring	Samuel II	glover		29	18	1744	1762	
M	91 to 94	Old	Waring	Samuel iii	glover		29	20 plus	1798	1818	
X	5 to 6	Mill	Waring	William	glover		29	24	1794	1818	
R	13	Broad	Waring	William IV	glover		29	20	1763	1783	
F	141	Corve	Watson	Thomas	glover	son-in-law	29	1 plus	1679	?	
F	103 to 104	Corve	Webb	Francis	glover	journeyman	29	19 plus	1699	1718	
F	105A	Corve	Webb	Robert	glover	journeyman	29	34	1663	1717	
F	105A	Corve	Webb		glover	widow	29	22	1717	1739	

occupation and status

W	12 to 16	Bell	Wilkes	John	glover	heirs	.	29	4	1801	1805	.	
L	77	Old	Wilkes	John	glover			29	33 plus	1765	1798		
L	75	Old	Wilkes	John	glover			29	7	1791	1798		
W	12 to 16	Bell	Wilkes	John	glover			29	3	1798	1801		
F	141	Corve	Wilkes	Richard	glover			29	19	1660	1679		
F	82	Corve	Winde	Anne	glover	widow		29	5	1719	1724		
F	82	Corve	Winde	Elizabeth	glover	spinster		29	1	1782	1783		
F	82	Corve	Winde	Thomas	glover			29	28	1691	1719		
Y	28 to 29	Mill	Winwood	John	glover			29	19	1731	1752	mortgagee	
W	17	Mill	Winwood	John	glover			29	19	1763	1782		
E	69	Corve	Wynde	Samuel	glover			29	31	1713	1744		
total									2771				

occupation and status

blk no.	street	owner	.	status/occ	add.inf.	cd	years	from	to	notes	.
T	58 Broad	Ashworth	John	hatter		29	14	plus 1834	1848		
R	14 to 15 King	Dalby	Jonathon	hatter		29	15	1807	1822		
F	146 Corve	Ellis	Richard	hatter	and heirs	29	10	1740	1750	feltmaker	
R	14 to 15 King	Ellis	Richard	hatter		29	22	1785	1807		
F	106 to 109 Corve	Hall	Martha	hatter	daughter	29	16	1681	1697		
F	106 to 109 Corve	Hall	John	hatter		29	21	1660	1681	feltmaker	
G	34 Bull Ring	Jones	Joan	hatter	& son James	29	25	1660	1685		
G	34 Bull Ring	Jones	Jaon	hatter	trustees(dau)	29	12	1685	1697	felmaker	
C	9 Bull Ring	Jones	Mary	hatter	widow	29	10	1676	1686		
S	12 High	Jones	James	hatter		29	15	1833	1848		
C	9 Bull Ring	Jones	Phillip	hatter		29	16	1660	1676		
C	10 Bull Ring	Jones	Phillip	hatter		29	2	1674	1676		
F	119 Corve	Lambert	John	hatter		29	28	1693	1721	was apprentice	
Q	52 to 54 Old	Lumbard	John	hatter		29	21	1710	1722	mortgager	
R	22 Broad	Lyth	Mary	hatter		29	1	1730	1730		
R	22 Broad	Lyth	William	hatter		29	1	1729	1729		
W	26 L.Raven	Uncles	William	hatter		29	24	1712	1738		
F	119 Corve	Walters	Caleb	hatter		29	21	1670	1691	feltmaker	
F	119 Corve	Walters	Mary	hatter		29	2	1691	1693		
Y	42 Mill	Powell	Evan	hosier		29	14	1714	1728		
S	11 High	Hughes	Thomas	periving maker		29	9	1707	1711		
G	42 Bull Ring	CHECK		perukmaker		29	8	plus 1724	1732		
S	11 High	Hughes	Thomas	perukmaker		29	17	1685	1702		
J	Spring Hs. Lower Gaulford	Peach	John	perukmaker		29	11	1726	1737		
R	20 to 21 Broad	Peach	John	perukmaker		29	1	plus 1737	1737		
Y	49 Mill	Ambler	William	shoemaker		29	8	plus 1660	1668		
R	43 Bull Ring	Barker	Thomas	shoemaker		29	9	1839	1848		
R	45 Bull Ring	Bedoe	Margaret	shoemaker	widow	29	5	1663	1668		
R	45 Bull Ring	Bedoe	Thomas	shoemaker		29	3	1660	1663		
J	20 to 21 Lower Gaulford	Brasier	Jane	shoemaker	widow	29	2	1703	1705		
J	20 to 21 Lower Gaulford	Brasier	Nathaniel	shoemaker		29	13	1690	1703		
S	12 High	Brasier	Nathaniel	shoemaker		29	7	1705	1712		
M	123 to 125 Old	Cartwright	John II	shoemaker		29	1	plus 1794	1794		
M	123 to 125 Old	Cartwright	John	shoemaker		29	51	1743			
L	37 to 45 Old	Cleobury	Jane	shoemaker		29	CHECK				

occupation and status

C	·3 King	Cleobury	John	·	shoemaker		29	1 plus	1667	1667	
L	37 to 45 Old	Cleobury	Thomas		shoemaker		29	11	1660	1671	
L	77 Old	Cleobury	Thomas		shoemaker		29	4	1660	1664	
X	16 to 19 Lower Raven	Colbatch	Phillip		shoemaker		29	2	1660	1682	
T	69A Broad	Colbatch	William		shoemaker		29	9	1660	1669	
X	16 to 19 Lower Raven	Colbatch	William		shoemaker		29	9	1662	1671	
W	28 Lower Raven	Cooke	William		shoemaker		29	22	1826	1848	
W	26 Lower Raven	Cooke	William		shoemaker		29	22	1826	1848	
S	11 High	Crosse	Thomas		shoemaker		29	13	1660	1673	
L	71 Old	Crump	Eleanor		shoemaker	heirs	29	2	1676	1678	
L	71 Old	Crump	Eleanor		shoemaker	widow	29	2	1674	1676	
C	2A Bull Ring	Crump	William		shoemaker		29	?	1662	?	mortgager
J	23 to 24 Lower Gaulford	Crump	William		shoemaker		29	36	1660	1696	
W	28 Lower Raven	Cupper	Richard		shoemaker	heirs	29	16	1692	1708	
Y	49 Mill	Cupper	Richard		shoemaker		29	8	1668	1660	mortgager (in trade)
T	69A Broad	Cupper	Richard		shoemaker		29	14	1669	1683	
W	26 to 28 L.Raven	Cupper	Richard		shoemaker		29	20	1660	1680	
W	28 L.Raven	Cupper	Richard		shoemaker		29	12	1680	1692	
T	60 Broad	Davies	Margaret		shoemaker	daughter	29	15	1797	1812	
R	43 Bull Ring	Davies	William		shoemaker		29	16	1781	1797	
T	60 Broad	Davies	William		shoemaker		29	40	1757	1797	
F	143 to 144 Corve	Debitott	Andrew		shoemaker		29	36	1680	1716	
T	68 to 69 Broad	Dedicott	Andrew		shoemaker		29	13	1682	1695	
V	74 to 76 Lower Broad	Deuxall	Richard		shoemaker		29	24	1712	1736	marriage
F	L.Powell Corve	Earsley	Alice		shoemaker	widow	29	13	1663	1676	
F	L.Powell Corve	Earsley	Edward		shoemaker		29	3	1660	1663	
D	8 Corve	Earsley	Rowland		shoemaker		29	29	1675	1704	
D	8 Corve	Earsley	Rowland		shoemaker		29	13	1704	1717	
L	10 to 12 Tower	Edwyn	Susan		shoemaker	widow	29	1	1668	1669	
L	10 to 12 Tower	Edwyn	John		shoemaker		29	8	1660	1668	
J	23 to 24 Lower Gaulford	Franklin	Margaret		shoemaker	grand-daughter	29	?	?	?	
J	23 to 24 Lower Gaulford	Franklin	William		shoemaker		29	10	1746	1756	
F	99 Corve	Galliers	Richard		shoemaker	trustees	29	16	1786	1802	
F	99 Corve	Galliers	Richard		shoemaker		29	11	1775	1786	
F	9 to 12 St Mary's	Grubb	Ephraim		shoemaker		29	20	1797	1817	
F	9 to 12 St Mary's	Grubb	Samuel		shoemaker		29		1817		mortgager
L	71 Old	Hackluit	Blanch		shoemaker		29	14	1660	1674	

S	.	15	High	Harris	Edward	.	shoemaker		29	.	9		1748	1757	
Y		49	Mill	Heighway	John		shoemaker		29		21		1718	1739	
Y		49	Mill	Heighway	Lewis		shoemaker		29		50		1668	1718	
Y		28 to 29	Mill	Heighway	Robert		shoemaker		29		6		1752	1758	2 to 4 houses
H		1	Upper Gaulford	Hickman	Walter		shoemaker		29		38		1775	1811	
J		23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Hughes	William		shoemaker	nephew	29		1 plus		1789	?	
J		23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Hughes	William		shoemaker		29		2		1787	1789	
L		22 to 35	Old	Hunt	Thomas		shoemaker	son	29		1		1711	1711	
L		22 to 35	Old	Hunt	Elizabeth		shoemaker	widow	29		35		1676	1711	
S		3	High	Hunt	Elizabeth		shoemaker	widow	29		22		1676	1698	
R		42 to 44	Old	Hunt	Ann		shoemaker		29		19		1723	1742	
L		22 to 35	Old	Hunt	Edward		shoemaker		29		4		1672	1676	
M		123 to 125	Old	Hunt	Edward		shoemaker		29		4		1672	1676	
S		3	High	Hunt	Edward		shoemaker		29		4		1672	1676	
S		3	High	Hunt	Edward		shoemaker		29		17		1698	1715	conviser
M		123 to 125	Old	Hunt	Elizabeth		shoemaker		29		35		1676	1711	
L		22 to 35	Old	Hunt	Thomas		shoemaker		29		12		1660	1672	
M		123 to 125	Old	Hunt	Thomas		shoemaker		29		12		1660	1672	
R		42 to 44	Old	Hunt	Thomas		shoemaker		29		3		1720	1723	
S		3	High	Hunt	Thomas		shoemaker		29		12		1660	1672	
D			Corve	Ithell	William		shoemaker	heirs	29		2		1674	1676	
D		16	Corve	Ithell	William		shoemaker		29		14		1660	1674	
J		23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Jones	Edward		shoemaker		29		42		1727	1769	
D		24	Corve	Lloyd	Richard		shoemaker		29		9		1723	1732	
K		73 to 74	Lower Gaulford	Nash	Arthur		shoemaker		29		2		1660	1662	
F		140	Corve	Nash	Richard		shoemaker		29		46		1660	1706	
G		42	Bull Ring	Nash	Richard		shoemaker		29		?		1669	?	bur.1791, no ref.to property
K		73 to 74	Lower Gaulford	Nash	Richard		shoemaker		29		44		1662	1706	
R		45	Bull Ring	Oakes	Margaret		shoemaker	wife (remarried)	29		27		1674	1699	
S		11	High	Owen	Richard		shoemaker		29		2		1825	1827	
K		118 to 119	Lower Gaulford	Passey	Edward		shoemaker		29		36		1798	1834	
R		43	Bull Ring	Peach	Thomas		shoemaker		29		11		1828	1839	
F		101	Corve	Pearce			shoemaker	widow	29		7		1680	1687	
F		101	Corve	Pearce	Richard		shoemaker		29		13		1667	1680	
J		20 to 21	Lower Gaulford	Porter	Thomas		shoemaker		29		24		1660	1685	
J		20 to 21	Lower Gaulford	Porter	Thonas II		shoemaker		29		1		1684	1685	
K		99 to 104	Lower Gaulford	Preece	Mary		shoemaker	widow	29		22		1680	1702	

occupation and status

K	116 to 117	Lower Gaulford	Preece	Mary	shoemaker	widow	29	22	1680	1702	.
K	99 to 104	Lower Gaulford	Preece	Richard	shoemaker		29	11 plus	1669	1680	
K	116 to 117	Lower Gaulford	Preece	Richard	shoemaker		29	11 plus	1669	1680	
W	corner	Mill/Bell	Price	Francis	shoemaker		29	41	1801	1843	
S	2	High	Robinson	John	shoemaker		29	33	1815	1848	
L	75	Old	Stead	Anthony	shoemaker		29	1	1662	1663	
G	35 to 41	Bull Ring	Taylor	Catherine	shoemaker	widow	29	10	1708	1718	
F	103 to 104	Corve	Taylor	Edward	shoemaker		29	2 plus	1843	1844	
F	146	Corve	Taylor	Walter	shoemaker		29	6	1702	1708	
G	35 to 41	Bull Ring	Taylor	Walter	shoemaker		29	39	1669	1708	
Y	49	Mill	Vaughan	Edward	shoemaker		29	22	1740	1762	
Y	49	Mill	Vaughan	Edward	shoemaker		29	13	1775	1788	
X	16 to 19	Raven	Vaughan	Theophilus	shoemaker		29	14	1705	1719	
E	70	Corve	Whatmore	Thomas	shoemaker	journeyman	29	45	1798	1843	
E	70	Corve	Whatmore	John	shoemaker		29	5	1843	1848	
C	3	King	Wheeler	Mary	shoemaker	widow	29	3	1710	1713	
C	3	King	Wheeler	Luke	shoemaker		29	1	1709	1710	
K	71 to 72	Lower Gaulford	Wilkes	George	shoemaker		29	6	1835	1841	
K	71 to 72	Lower Gaulford	Wilkes	Richard	shoemaker		29	7	1841	1848	
K	71 to 72	Lower Gaulford	Wilkes	Timothy	shoemaker		29	21	1814	1835	
T	54	Broad	Willmott	William	shoemaker		29	31	1686	1727	later Shrewsbury
Y	28 to 29	Mill	Wright	James	shoemaker		29	40	1779	1819	HEELMAKER
U	9 to 13	Lower Raven	Wright	Reginald	shoemaker		29	2	1746	1748	
Y	28 to 29	Mill	Wright	Reginald	shoemaker		29	21	1758	1779	
S	3	High	Wright	Reginald	shoemaker		29	31	1748	1779	
S	3	High	Wright	Thomas	shoemaker		29	7	1779	1786	
V	71	Lower Broad	Beard	William	staymaker		29	22	1775	1797	mortgager (1770-1780)
H	57 to 75	Upper Gaulford	Tipton	Williamn	staymaker	heirs	29	1 plus	1818	?	
H	57 to 75	Upper Gaulford	Tipton	William	staymaker		29	31	1787	1818	
J	St Stephens	Upper Gaulford	Tipton	William	staymaker		29	43	1774	1817	
K	80 TO 81	Lower Gaulford	Adams	William	tailor	heirs	29	1 plus	1693	?	
K	80 to 81	Lower Gaulford	Adams	William	tailor	widow	29	26	1667	1693	
F	83	Corve	Bevan	Richard	tailor		29	26	1807	1823	
Q	46 to 50	Old	Bond	John	tailor		29	14	1671	1687	
R	14	Broad	Bond	John	tailor		29	26	1665	1691	built
L	59 to 67	Old	Bromley	Mary	tailor	widow	29	26	1757	1783	
L	59 to 67	Old	Bromley	Joseph	tailor		29	3	1734	1737	
K	80 to 81	Lower Gaulford	Brown	John	tailor		29	10	1809	1819	

W		26	Lower Raven	Browne	Elizabeth	tailor	widow	29	21	1685	1706	.
W		26	Lower Raven	Browne	William	tailor		29	5	1680	1685	
R		16	King	Carter	John	tailor		29	1 plus	1843	?	mortgagee
Y	Din.H.gdn		Mill	Collier	James	tailor		29	34	1728	1762	
R		32	Old	Evans	Mary	tailor	widow	29	13	1702	1715	
R		32	Old	Evans	Francis	tailor		29	plus	1699	1702	
C		10	Bull Ring	Griffiths	John	tailor		29	35	1701	1736	
F		116	Corve	Harding	Sarah	tailor	sister	29	7	1823	1830	
F		116	Corve	Harding	William	tailor		29	53	1770	1823	
F	143 to 144		Corve	Hodnett	Samuel	tailor		29	3	1826	1829	
T		51	Broad	Ingram	Richard	tailor	grandchildren	29	31	1809	1841	
J	Spr.Hs		Lower Gaulford	Ingram	Edward	tailor	heirs	29	6	1762	1768	
S	11/10A		High	Ingram	Richard	tailor	heirs	29	1 plus	1809	?	
C		16	Bull Ring	Ingram	Edward	tailor		29	3	1738	1741	redeemed mortgage
J	Spr.Hs		Lower Gaulford	Ingram	Edward	tailor		29	25	1737	1762	
F	103 to 104		Corve	Ingram	Richard	tailor		29	28	1781	1809	
T		51	Broad	Ingram	Richard	tailor		29	4	1805	1809	also shopkeeper
S	11/10A		High	Ingram	Richard	tailor		29	26	1783	1809	rebuilt 10
W		26	Lower Raven	Ingram	Richard	tailor		29	40	1769	1809	
G		3	Tower	Jones	Isaac	tailor		29	1	1807	1808	
R		1	Broad	Jones	Isaac	tailor		29	18	1825	1843	
S		17	High	Jones	Isaac	tailor		29	17	1821	1838	
R		1	Broad	Jones	Thomas	tailor		29	5	1843	1848	
S		17	High	Jones	Thomas	tailor		29	10	1838	1848	
Y	54 to 56		Mill	Lane	John	tailor	widow	29	12	1815	1827	
C		10	Bull Ring	Lewis	John	tailor		29	8	1676	1684	
K	75 to 79		Lower Gaulford	Morgan	Martha	tailor	widow	29	1	1807	1808	
K	75 to 79		Lower Gaulford	Morgan	Edward	tailor		29	1	1806	1807	
L		3	Old	Morgan	Edward	tailor		29	17	1802	1820	
K	90 to 91		Lower Gaulford	Nethway	Richard	tailor		29	32	1660	1692	
Q	52 to 54		Old	Nethway	Richard	tailor		29	32	1660	1692	
K	90 to 91		Lower Gaulford	Nethway	Richard II	tailor		29	30	1692	1722	
Q	52 to 54		Old	Nethway	Richard II	tailor		29	30	1692	1722	
K	80 to 81		Lower Gaulford	Steenton	Richard	tailor		29	2	1792	1794	
L	59 to 67		Old	Tillotson	Mary	tailor	remarried	29		?	1763	
L	59 to 67		Old	Tillotson	Mary	tailor	widow	29	35	1763	1798	
E		72	Corve	Walker	William	tailor		29	1 plus	?	1843	

Y	45 to 46	Mill	Winter	Susan	taylor	heirs	.	29	1	1729	1730	.
Y	45 to 46	Mill	Winter	Susan	taylor			29	7	1722	1729	
Y	45 to 46	Mill	Winter	William	taylor			29	6	1716	1722	
W	corner	Mill/Bell	Wynde	Ann	taylor	wife		29	37	1726	1763	inherited
S	15	High	Wynde	Thomas	taylor			29	22	1726	1748	
	Total								2863			

blk	no.	street	owner		status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years		from	to	notes
D	24	Corve	Achley	Edward	baker	heirs	31	18		1705	1718	
D	24	Corve	Achley	Edward	baker		31	1	plus	?	1705	
C	CW	Church	Atchley	Edward	baker	heirs	31	3		1705	1708	
C	CW	Church	Atchley	Edward	baker		31	2		1703	1705	
Y	8	Dinham	Barrar	Thomas	baker		31	9		1815	1824	
Y	45 to 46	Mill	Browne	Margaret	baker	widow	31	6		1663	1669	
Y	45 to 46	Mill	Browne	William	baker		31	3		1660	1663	
F	140	Corve	Carter	John	baker		31	26		1769	1795	later maltster
G	19	Bull Ring	Carter	John	baker		31	35		1752	1787	
B	8	Castle	Cropper	John	baker		31	20		1808		morgager
C	10	King	Cropper	John	baker		31	44		1769	1813	
D	21	Corve	Cropper	John	baker		31	18		1804	1822	
L	75	Old	Cropper	John	baker		31	3	plus	1806	1809	morgager
G	4	Tower	Crundall	Sarah	baker		31	8		1840	1848	
G	4	Tower	Crundell	John	baker		31	11		1829	1840	
G	19	Bull Ring	Davenport	Thomas	baker		31	36	plus	1798	1834	
G	19	Bull Ring	Davenport	Mary	baker		31	14		1834	1848	confectioner
C	4 to 6	Bull Ring	Farmer	Thomas	baker		31	43		1687	1730	morgagee
R	16 to 17	Brand	Farmer	Thomas	baker		31	24		1696	1720	
R	20 to 21	Broad	Fewtrell	Susannah	baker	widow	31	9		1762	1771	
R	20 to 21	Broad	Fewtrell	Richard	baker		31	28		1757	1765	rebuilt house
V	44 to 50	Lower Broad	Fewtrell	Richard	baker		31	1	plus	1726	?	morgager
C	8	Bull Ring	Fletcher	Edward	baker		31	1	plus	?	1843	
B	5	Church	Griffiths	John	baker		31	22		1739	1761	
X	4	Mill	Griffiths	John	baker		31	1	plus	1761	1761	
O	84 to 88	Fee	Griffiths	Samuel	baker		31	2		1806	1808	morgager
Y	44	Mill	Hammonds	Thomas	baker		31	29		1768	1797	
Y	44	Mill	Hammonds	Elizabeth	baker		31	17		1797	1814	
R	7	Broad	Hand	Paul	baker	heirs	31	9		1792	1801	
R	7	Broad	Hand	Paul	baker		31	10		1782	1792	
R	8	Broaf	Hand	Paul	baker		31	9		1782	1791	
R	8	Broad	Hand	Sarah	baker		31	9		1792	1801	
K	114 to 115	Lower Gaulford	Harley	John	baker	heirs	31	8		1831	1839	
C	1/2A	Bull Ring	Harley	John	baker		31	3		1801	1804	morgager
G	1 to 3	Tower	Harley	John	baker		31	42		1801	1843	

Appendix 4A

Owners resident in Ludlow, 1660 to 1848:

Manufacturing: 31 and 32

occupation and status												
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Harley	John	baker		31	1	plus	1791	?	
K	99 to 101	Lower Gaulford	Harley	John	baker		31	34	plus	1798	1832	
K	109 to 113	Lower Gaulford	Harley	John	baker		31	34		1797	1831	
K	114 to 115	Lower Gaulford	Harley	John	baker		31	35		1796	1831	
L	37 to 45	Old	Harley	John	baker		31	5	plus	1793	1798	morgager
L	59 to 67	Old	Harley	John	baker		31	1	plus	?	1823	
R	20 to 21	Broad	Haynes	William	baker		31	1	plus	1798	1799	
R	18	Broad	Hinton	Ann	baker	heirs	31	14		1722	1736	
R	18	Broad	Hinton	Ann	baker	widow	31	5		1717	1722	
R	42 to 44	Old	Hinton	Thomas	baker		31	1	plus	1679	?	
R	18	Broad	Hinton	Thomas	baker		31	43		1674	1717	
F	105	Corve	Lloyd	Sinah	baker	widow	31	38		1727	1765	
D	24	Corve	Lloyd	Richard	baker		31	22		1740	1762	
F	105	Corve	Lloyd	William	baker		31	30		1697	1727	
C	10	Bull Ring	Noakes	John	baker		31	14		1802	1816	morgagee, later Ashford C.
F	132	Corve	Peach	Thomas	baker		31	31		1704	1735	
R	40	Old	Peach	Thomas	baker		31	54		1718	1772	
R	3 to 4	Broad	Peach	Edward	baker		31	1	plus	1718	?	
J	corner	Lower Gaulford	Sharrett	Ralph	baker	widow	31	8		1677	1685	
F	152	Corve	Sharrett	Ralph	baker		31	10	plus	1667	1677	
F	152	Corve	Sharrett	John	baker		31	39		1677	1716	
G	26	Bull Ring	Sharrett	John	baker		31	27		1688	1715	
G	27	Bull Ring	Sharrett	John	baker		31	31	plus	1684	1715	
G	1 to 3	Tower	Sharrett	Ralph	baker		31	2		1675	1677	
G	1 to 3	Tower	Sharrett	John	baker		31	40		1677	1717	
J	corner	Lower Gaulford	Sharrett	Ralph	baker		31	17		1660	1677	
T	69A	Broad	Sharrett	John	baker		31	17		1683	1700	
W	22 to 24	Lower Raven	Sharrett	John	baker		31	1	plus	1682	?	
F	132	Corve	Vale	Charles	baker		31	17		1663	1680	
F	132	Corve	Vale	Charles II	baker		31	24		1680	1704	
F	150	Corve	Vale	Richard	baker		31	22	plus	1667	1689	
R	8	Broad	Westwood	William	baker		31	8		1801	1809	
R	8	Broad	Westwood	Sarah	baker		31	21		1809	1830	
C	10	King	Williams	Mary	baker		31	9		1813	1822	
C	15	Bull Ring	Wood	John	baker	heirs	31	15		1738	1735	
C	15	Bull Ring	Wood	John	baker		31	1		1735	1738	

occupation and status												
blk	no.	street	owner		status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years		from	to	notes
R		Hall Dinham	Bryan	William	watch/clock maker		34	22		1754	1776	mortgager (from 1774)
S		12 High	Burnett	Charles	watch/clock maker		34	3		1730	1733	
R		5 to 6 Broad	Herbert	William	watch/clock maker		34	5 plus		1843	1848	
R		44 Bull Ring	Payne	George	watch/clock maker		34	13		1738	1751	
R		16 King	Payne	George II	watch/clock maker		34	30		1779	1809	
R		16 King	Payne	George III	watch/clock maker		34	12		1836	1848	
R		16 King	Payne	William	watch/clock maker		34	27		1809	1836	
S		3 High	Phillips	Thomas	watch/clock maker		34	51		1792	1843	
S		3 High	Phillips	William	watch/clock maker		34	10		1782	1792	
S		3 High	Phillips	William II	watch/clock maker		34	5		1843	1848	
B		6 Castle	Tipton	Benjamin	watch/clock maker		34	40		1749	1789	
B		8 Castle	Tipton	Benjamin	watch/clock maker		34	7		1789	1796	
R		Hall Dinham	Tipton	Benjamin	watch/clockmaker		34	2		1774	1776	mortgagee
B		8 Castle	Tipton	Miss	watch/clock maker	heirss	34	12		1796	1808	
Q		29 Broad	Vernon	Thomas	watch/clock maker		34	12		1728	1740	
E		72 Corve	Vernon	Thomas	watch/clock maker		34	4		1736	1740	
R		Corn.Shop King	Vernon	Thomas	watch/clock maker		34	15		1725	1740	
L		17 and 1 Tower/Old	Vernon	Thomas	watch/clock maker		34	5		1734	1739	mortgagee
H		Candle Hs. Upper Galdeford	Vernon	Thomas	watch/clock maker		34	14		1724	1738	

occupation and status

blck no.	street	owner		status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years		from to	notes •
F	146 Corve	Gaskell	Thomas	carrier		41	5		1774 1779	
W	15 Mill Street	Rogers	Elisha	carrier		41	1 plus		1707 ?	mortgagee
F	112 Corve	Rogers	John	carrier		41	30		1710 1740	
F	140 Corve	Rogers	Richard	carrier		41	19		1691 1710	
F	140 Corve	Rogers	Richard	carrier		41	22		1688 1710	
F	111 Corve	Taylor	John	carrier		41	38		1771 1811	
Y	31 to 39 Mill	Taylor	Richard	carrier	heirs	41	10		1833 1843	John Jolly tenant
F	140 Corve	Taylor	Richard	carrier		41	30		1803 1833	
F	142 Corve	Taylor	Thomas	carrier		41	24		1779 1803	
H	77 to 03 Upper Gaulford	Taylor	Thomas	carrier		41	5 plus		1798 1803	
F	112 Corve	Wellings	John	carrier		41	2		1768 1770	
H	77 to 103 Upper Gaulford	Wellings	John	carrier		41	3		1768 1771	
F	133 Corve	Wellings	Thomas	carrier		41	11		1728 1739	
F	138 Corve	Wellings	Thomas	carrier		41	32		1699 1731	
F	142 Corve	Wellings	Thomas	carrier		41	14		1717 1731	
H	77 to 103 Upper Gaulford	Wellings	Thomas	carrier		41	11		1720 1731	
K	Bish.M. Lower Gaulford	Wellings	Thomas	carrier		41	21		1710 1731	
F	138 Corve	Wellings	Thomas II	carrier		41	29		1731 1760	
F	142 Corve	Wellings	Thomas II	carrier		41	37		1731 1768	
H	77 to 103 Upper Gaulford	Wellings	Thomas II	carrier		41	37		1731 1768	
K	Bish.M. Lower Gaulford	Wellings	Thomas II	carrier		41	37		1731 1768	
W	14 Mill Street	Biddle	Elisha	carrier		42	36		1692 1728	
M	H & J. Old	Biddle	Margaret	carrier	widow/heirs	42	22		1728 1750	
R	20 to 22 Old	Charlton	John	carrier		42	9		1816 1825	mortgager to D.Lee, Dudley
R	20 to 22 Old	Charlton	John	carrier		42	20		1825 1845	and trustees
Y	31 to 39 Mill	Hould	Florence	carrier	widow	42	2		1660 1662	
	140 Corve	Miles	Edward	Carrier		42	20		1660 1680	
Y	30 Mill	Miles	Edward	carrier		42	9		1669 1678	
M	H.& J. Old	Rogers	Ann	carrier	widow/heirs	42	26		1719 1745	
R	20 to 22 Old	Rogers	Elisha	carrier		42	1 plus		1739 ?	
F	140 Corve	Rogers	Elisha	carrier		42	8		1691 1699	
L	51 to 57 Old	Rogers	Elisha	carrier		42	4		1694 1698	
L	Old Fire S. Old	Rogers	Elisha	carrier		42	11		1687 1698	
Q	42 to 46 Old	Rogers	Elisha II	carrier		42	21		1698 1719	
R	17 King	Rogers	John	carrier		42	1 plus		1739	
	total						608			

occupation and status

blk no.	street	owner		status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years		from	to	notes
D	29 Corve	Acton		woolman		43	32		1712	1744	
O	84 to 88 Fee	Acton		woolman		43	3		1702	1705	
W	16 to 20 Lower Raven	Acton		woolman		43	1	plus	1685	?	
D	20 Corve	Griffiths		wool-stapler		43	?	plus	1806	?	
D	21 Corve	Griffiths		wool-stapler		43	?	plus	1822	?	
E	69 Corve	Griffiths		wool-stapler		43	3		1798	1801	
B	1 College	Meyricke		wool-stapler		43	13		1711	1724	
B	1 College	Meyricke		wool-stapler	heirs	43	14		1724	1738	
B	20 to 22 Castle	Price		wool-stapler		43	1	plus	1734		mortgagee
S	10a to 11 High	Price		wool-winder		43	24		1711	1735	
S	10a to 11 High	Price		wool-winder		43	24		1735	1754	
Y	41 Mill	Colbatch		clothier		44	42		1660	1702	
T	68 to 69 Broad	Colbatch		clothier		44	42		1660	1702	
D	12 Corve	Jencks		clothier		44	17		1660	1677	
Q	32 Broad	Mason		clothier		44	17		1660	1677	
G	42 Bull Ring	Gardener		draper		45	8	plus	1840	1848	
G	20 to 21 Bull Ring	Goodwin		draper		45	21		1790	1811	
C	C.Wms Church	Bowdler		haberdasher		45	6		1697	1703	
C	4 King	Bowdler		haberdasher		45	23		1701	1724	
C	7 to 10 King	Bowdler		haberdasher		45	8		1661	1669	
D	10 Corve	Bowdler		haberdasher		45	6		1718	1724	
F	83 Corve	Bowdler		haberdasher		45	1	plus	1689	?	
F	13 Corve	Bowdler		haberdasher		45	34		1690	1724	
R	18 King	Bowdler		haberdasher		45	1	plus	1709	?	mortgagee
Z	CL Dinham	Bowdler		haberdasher		45	1	plus	1663	?	mortgagee
T	69A Broad	Bowdler		haberdasher		45	6		1700	1701	mortgagee
R	1 Broad	Cole		haberdasher		45	58		1701	1759	
R	42 to 44 Old	Rickards		haberdasher		45	7		1660	1667	
S	2 High	Rickards		haberdasher		45	24		1665	1689	
J	W.Gdns Lower Gaulford	Rickards		haberdasher	widow	45	37		1660	1697	
R	10 Broad	Waring		haberdasher		45	2		1758	1760	
B	10 Church	Weaver		haberdasher		45	12	plus	1663	1665	
D	7 Corve	Weaver		haberdasher		45	15		1660	1675	
D	7 Corve	Weaver		haberdasher	heirs	45	11		1675	1886	
D	8 Corve	Weaver		haberdasher		45	14		1661	1675	

occupation and status

S	New House	High	Weaver	Samuel	haberdasher		45	18	1661	1679	
J		Elim Lower Gaulford	Larkin	Anthony	linen draper		45	26 plus	1669	1695	
R		2 to 4 Old	Larkin	Anthony	linen draper		45	31	1664	1699	
								370			

occupation and status

blck no.	street	owner		status/occ.	ad.inf.	cd.	years	from to	notes
R	5 to 6 Broad	Bowen	Maurice	butcher		46	25	1699 1724	
R	5 to 6 Broad	Bowen	William	butcher		46	26	1724 1750	
F	L.Powell Corve	Camel	George	butcher	daughters	46	8 plus	1831 1839	
F	L.Powell Corve	Camel	George	butcher	execs.	46	4 plus	1839 1843	
C	7 to 9 King	Cammell	Mary	butcher	widow & heirs	46	45	1784 1831	
C	7 to 9 King	Cammell	George	butcher		46	34	1751 1784	
C	9 Bull Ring	Chipp	Richard	butcher		46	16 plus	1798 1814	
G	26 Bull Ring	Chipp	Richard	butcher		46	31	1801 1832	
G	27 Bull Ring	Chipp	Richard	butcher		46	20	1794 1814	
V	72 Lower Broad	Chipp	Richard	butcher		46	1 plus	1790 1790	
V	72 Lower Broad	Chipp	Richard II	butcher		46	10	1790 1800	
R	10 Broad	Cole	Peter	butcher		46	12	1660 1672	
R	10 Broad	Cole	Peter II	butcher		46	4	1672 1676	
R	3 Broad	Cropper	Elizabeth	butcher		46	28 plus	1815 1843	
C	10 King	Cropper	Martin	butcher		46	14	1751 1765	
C	10 King	Cropper	Martin	butcher		46	18	1751 1769	
R	3 Broad	Cropper	Martin	butcher		46	1	1769 1769	
R	16 to 17 Brand	Cropper	Martin	butcher		46	7	1821 1828	
D	9 Corve	Cropper	Richard	butcher		46	6	1797 1803	
R	3 Broad	Cropper	Richard	butcher		46	46	1769 1815	grazier (obituary)
R	16 to 17 Brand	Cropper	Sarah	butcher		46	20 plus	1828 1848	
W	16 to 20 Lower Raven	Cropper	Martin	butcher		46	28	1759 1787	mortgage to S.Sayce
S	4 High	Crowe	William			46	23	1746 1769	
F	105 Corve	Dayos	Daniel	butcher		46	13 plus	1662 1675	
C	9 Bull Ring	Dayos	Samuel	butcher		46	20 plus	1828 1848	
H	9 Upper Gaulford	Dayos	Samuel	butcher		46	19	1829 1848	
G	26 Bull Ring	Dayos	Samuel	butcher		46	16	1832 1848	
G	27 Bull Ring	Dayos	Samuel	butcher		46	16	1832 1848	
G	25 Bull Ring	Evans	William Ward	butcher		46	7	1841 1848	
C	9 Bull Ring	Griffiths	Mary	butcher	widow & heirs	46	14 plus	1819 1833	
C	13 Bull Ring	Griffiths	George	butcher		46	1	1833 1835	
G	24 Bull Ring	Griffiths	George	butcher		46	5	1831 1836	
C	9 Bull Ring	Griffiths	John	butcher		46	5	1814 1815	
C	10 Bull Ring	Griffiths	John	butcher		46	23	1796 1819	
C	13 Bull Ring	Griffiths	John	butcher		46	23	1796 1819	

occupation and status

G	24	Bull Ring	Griffiths	John	butcher	46	13	1805	1818	
G	27	Bull Ring	Griffiths	John	butcher	46	5	1814	1819	
C	13	Bull Ring	Griffiths	Mary	butcher	46	14	1819	1833	
G	24	Bull Ring	Griffiths	Mary	butcher	46	13	1818	1831	
G	27	Bull Ring	Griffiths	Mary	butcher	46	13	1819	1832	
R	3	Broad	Griffiths	Richard	butcher	46	9	1708	1718	
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Griffiths	William	butcher	46	26	1724	1750	
F	L.Powell	Corve	Hosier	John	butcher	46	38	1727	1765	
J	50	Lower Gaulford	James	Jane	butcher	46	1	1670	1671	
J	58 to 60	Lower Gaulford	James	Jane	butcher	46	1	1670	1671	
J	50	Lower Gaulford	James	Edward	butcher	46	10	1660 plus	1670	
J	58 to 60	Lower Gaulford	James	Edward	butcher	46	4	1666	1670	
C	4 to 6	Bull Ring	Jones	William	butcher	46	3	1795 plus	1798	
R	2	Broad	Lewis	Ewdwards	butcher	46	29	1819	1848	
C	Ch.Inn	Church	Lewis	Edward	butcher	46	18	1802	1820	
F	L.Powell	Corve	Lewis	Edward	butcher	46	17	1777	1794	
F	139	Corve	Lewis	Edward	butcher	46	42	1777	1819	
R	2	Broad	Lewis	Edward	butcher	46	21	1798 plus	1819	
G	35 to 41	Bull Ring	Morley	Edward	butcher	46	21	1729	1750	
N	4 to 16	Temeside	Morley	Edward	butcher	46	14	1736	1750	
G	35 to 41	Bull Ring	Morley	Thomas	butcher	46	23	1750	1773	
G	1 to 2	Tower	Morley	Thomas	butcher	46	16	1757	1773	
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Morley	Thomas	butcher	46	2	1754	1756	
N	2	Temeside	Morley	Thomas	butcher	46	5	1768	1773	
N	4 to 16	Temeside	Morley	Thomas	butcher	46	23	1750	1773	
R	corner	King/Broad	Morley	Thomas	butcher	46	33	1740	1773	
G	35 to 41	Bull Ring	Morley	Thomas II	butcher	46	34	1773	1807	
G	1 to 2	Tower	Morley	Thomas II	butcher	46	26	1773	1803	
N	2	Temeside	Morley	Thomas II	butcher	46	25	1773	1798	
N	4 to 16	Temeside	Morley	Thomas II	butcher	46	21	1773	1794	
K	116 to 117	Lower Gaulford	Morris	Benjamin	butcher	46	?	?	1848	
R	44	Bull Ring	Nash	John	butcher	46	8	1840	1848	
Q	52 to 54	Old	Peach	Edward	butcher	46	30	1753	1783	
S	1	Church	Peach	Edward	butcher	46	1	1770	1771	
S	1	Church	Peach	Mary	butcher	46	3	1771	1774	
B	8	Castle	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46	1+	?	1848	

occupation and status

K	118 to 119	Lower Gaulford	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher		46	16	1832	1848	
R	30	Old	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher		46	17	1831	1848	
R	28	Old	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher		46	17	1831	1848	
S	14	High	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher		46	22 plus	1826	1848	
S	10A	High	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher		46	21	1827	1848	
F	99	Corve	Powell	John	butcher	& widow Mary	46	46	1802	1848	
S	11	High	Price	John	butcher		46	5	1843	1848	
S	1	Church	Price	Richard	butcher		46	1	1774	1775	mortgagee
V	37 to 39	Lower Broad	Sayos	Samuel	butcher		46	14	1834	1848	
R	10	Broad	Slade	John	butcher		46	3m	1676	1676	
G	3	Tower	Taylor	Richard	butcher		46	29	1717	1746	
K	116 to 117	Lower Gaulford	Taylor	Richard	butcher		46	? plus	?	1750	
K	116 to 117	Lower Gaulford	Taylor	Richard	butcher		46	24	1774	1798	
G	3	Tower	Taylor	Richard II	butcher		46	28	1746	1774	
K	116 to 117	Lower Gaulford	Taylor	Richard II	butcher		46	24	1750	1774	
C	6	King	Vaughan	Joseph	butcher		46	22 plus	1776	1798	
C	6	King	Vaughan	Samuel	butcher		46	35	1741	1776	
C	10	King	Vaughan	Samuel	butcher		46	11	1765	1776	
R	5 to 6	Broad	Vaughan	Samuel	butcher		46	54	1767	1821	
C	10	King	Vaughan	Samuel ii (son)	butcher		46	45	1776	1821	
B	Qu.Square	Castle	Wheatley	William	butcher		46	16	1788	1804	
J	Spring.Hs	Lower Gaulford	Wilding	Edward	butcher		46	11	1705	1716	
R	4	Broad	Wilding	Edward	butcher		46	? plus	1705	?	
J	50	Lower Gaulford	Wilding	John	butcher		46	16 plus	1671	1687	
J	Spring Hs	Lower Gaulford	Wilding	John	butcher		46	12	1693	1705	
J	Spring Hs	Lower Gaulford	Wilding	John	butcher		46	10	1716	1726	
J	58 to 60	Lower Gaulford	Wilding	John	butcher		46	11	1671	1682	
R	4	Broad	Wilding	John	butcher		46	1 plus	1705	1705	
G	25	Bull Ring	Williams	Charles	butcher		46	26	1815	1841	
F	113	Corve	Monger	Benjamin	cheesemonger		46	23	1723	1746	
C	2b/3	Bull Ring	Plummer	Richard	cheesemonger		46	5	1692	1697	
L	75	Old	Waldron	John	cheesemonger		46	12 plus	1798	1810	
G	1 to 2	Tower	Wilding	Charles	cheesemonger		46	7	1750	1757	
F	83	Corve	Wilding	Richard	cheesemonger		46	2	1750	1752	
	Total							1734			

occupation and status

blk no.	street	owner		status/doc.	add.inf.	cd	years		from	to	notes
R	42 to 46	Pearce		milkman	widow	47	1	plus	1786	?	
R	42 to 44	Pearce		milkman		47	5		1781	1786	
G	34 Bull Ring	Amies		innholder		48	1		1847	1848	
B	7 to 9 Church	Amies		innkeeper		48	22	plus	1826	1848	Rose and Crown
H	Candle Hs	Arnold		innholder		48	15		1724	1739	mortgagee
T	54 Broad	Ballard		innkeeper		48	1	plus	1727	?	White Hart
J	10 Lower Gaulford	Bateman		innholder	niece	48	2		1846	1848	
C	11 Bull Ring	Bishop		innholder	heirs	48	2		1709	1711	
C	12 Bull Ring	Bishop		innholder	heirs	48	2		1709	1711	
C	13 Bull Ring	Bishop		innholder	heirs	48	2		1709	1711	
C	11 Bull Ring	Bishop		innholder		48	18		1691	1709	
C	12 Bull Ring	Bishop		innholder		48	16		1691	1709	
C	13 Bull Ring	Bishop		innholder		48	16		1691	1709	
S	14 High	Bishop		innkeeper		48	1		1731	1731	
Y	54 to 56 Mill	Brimmel		innkeeper	widow	48	2		1676	1678	
Y	54 to 56 Mill	Brimmel		innkeeper		48	9		1667	1676	Greyhound
C	15 Bull Ring	Cadwallader		innholder		48	49		1781	1839	Elephant & Castle
D	14 Corve	Cadwallader		innholder		48	30		1770	1800	
F	137 Corve	Cadwallader		innholder		48	13		1787	1800	
C	10 Bull Ring	Cadwallader		innkeeper		48	31		1765	1796	
L	Mus.Store Old	Cantrel		innkeeper	widow	48	8		1840	1848	
H	5 to 7 Upper Gaulford	Cantrel		innkeeper		48	8		1840	1848	
H	5 to 7 Upper Gaulford	Cantrel		innkeeper		48	29		1811	1840	
L	Mus.Store Old	Cantrel		innkeeper		48	19		1821	1840	
H	1 Upper Gaulford	Carter		innholder		48	13		1830	1833	
K	82 to 87 Lower Gaulford	Carter		innholder		48	15	plus	1828	1843	
K	91 Lower Gaulford	Carter		innholder		48	1		1837	1838	
C	1/2A Bull Ring	Carter		innkeeper		48	22		1826	1848	
R	8 Broad	Causton		innkeeper		48	13		1782	1795	mortgagee
G	6 and 7 Tower	Clent		innholder		48	18		1665	1683	
F	102 Corve	Coleman		innholder		48	13		1787	1800	Trotting Horse
L	17 to 1 Tower/Old	Coney		innkeeper	daughter	48	12		1677	1691	Pheasant
H	Candle Hs. Upper Gaulford	Coney		victualler	grand-daughter	48	13		1678	1691	
L	17 to 1 Tower/Old	Coney		innkeeper		48	7		1670	1677	Pheasant
R	2 to 42 Old/Bull Ring	Crofts		innkeeper		48	8		1729	1737	Bear
H	5 to 7 Upper Gaulford	Cruddington		innholder		48	7		1804	1811	
R	28 Old	Davies		innkeeper		48	37		1789	1826	

occupation and status

R	24 to 26	Old	Davies	John	innkeeper		48	36		1790	1826	
L	3	Tower/Old	Davies	Meredith	innkeeper		48	20		1711	1731	Queen's Head
Y	Blue Boar	Mill	Davies	Richard	publican		48	8		1840	1848	Blue Boar
R	28	Old	Davies	Samuel	victualler		48	1		1821	1822	
K	116 to 117	Lower Gaulford	Davies	Thomas	innholder		48	1 plus		?	1812	mortgagee
L	11	Old	Dean	John	innkeeper		48	27		1806	1833	
L	11	Old	Dean	John II	innkeeper		48	15		1833	1848	
H	1	Upper Gaulford	Evans	Jane	victualler		48	9		1669	1678	
H	Candle Hs	Upper Gaulford	Evans	Jane	viuctualler	widow	48	9		1669	1678	
M	111	Old	Evans	Matthew	innkeeper		48	5 plus		1843	1848	
Q	Wh.Sheaf	St John's	Evans	Richard	innkeeper		48	5 plus		1843	1848	
H	1	Upper Gaulford	Evans	Thomas	victualler		48	6		1663	1669	
H	Candle Hs	Upper Gaulford	Evans	Thomas	victualler		48	9		1660	1669	
L	17 to 1	Tower/Old	Evans	THomas	victualler		48	8 plus		1660	1668	Pheasant
C	Ch.Inn	Church	Farrar	Joseph	innkeeper		48	8		1787	1795	Cross Keys; bankrupt
L	11	Old	Foster	William	innkeeper		48	15 plus		1711	1786	
L	51 to 57	Old	Foster	William	innkeeper		48	18		1768	1786	
R	34	Old	Foster	William	innkeeper		48	18		1768	1786	
R	32	Old	Foster	William	innkeeper		48	18		1768	1786	Green Dragon
H	Candle Hs	Upper Gaulford	Fothergill	Elizabeth	innholder	daughter	48	7		1717	1724	
G	1 and 2	Tower	Fothergill	Margaret	innholder	widow	48	26		1717	1741	
H	Candle Hs	Upper Gaulford	Fothergill	Nicholas	innholder		48	26		1691	1717	
G	1 to 2	Tower	Fothergill	Nicholas	innholder		48	1		1717	1717	
L	17 to 1	Tower/Old	Fothergill	Nicholas	innkeeper	heirs	48	17		1717	1734	Pheasant
L	17 to 1	Tower/Old	Fothergill	Nicholas	innkeeper		48	26		1691	1717	Pheasant
S	1	Church	Gardener	William	innkeeper		48	3		1737	1740	Harp
K	82 to 87	Lower Gaulford	Green	Charles	innholder		48	10		1787	1797	
L	10 to 12	Tower	Green	Elizabeth	innkeeper		48	8		1804	1812	Talbot
T	52	Broad	Green	Elizabeth	innkeeper		48	9		1839	1848	Crown, Victoria and Kent
K	82 to 87	Lower Gaulford	Green	Mary	innholder	widow	48	7		1797	1804	
Y	Din.H.garden	Dinham	Griffiths	Ann	innkeeper		48	25		1660	1685	
H	11 to 17	Upper Gaulford	Griffiths	Jean	victualler	widow	48	13		1667	1680	
H	11 to 177	Upper Gaulford	Griffiths	Joan	victualler	widow	48	13		1667	1680	
H	11 to 177	Upper Gaulford	Griffiths	Thomas	victualler		48	4 plus		1663	1667	
H	11 to 17	Upper Gaulford	Griffiths	THomas	victualler		48	4 plus		1663	1667	
Y	53	Mill	Griffiths	William	publican		48	1 plus		?	1843	Hop Pole
L	17 to 1	Tower/Old	Hall	Joan	victualler	kinswoman	48	2		1668	1670	Pheasant
K	Bishop M.	Lower Gaulford	Hand	William	innholder		48	18 plus		1788	1806	

occupation and status

B	7 to 9	Church	Harding	Thomas	innkeeper		48	22	1806	1826	
B	7 to 9	Church	Harding	Thomas	innkeeper		48	22	1806	1826	
Y	8	Dinham	Harding	William	innkeeper	widow	48	20	1828	1848	
Y	8	Dinham	Harding	William	innkeeper		48	1	1827	1828	
F	94 to 98	Corve	Heath	Margaret	innholder	widow	48	17	1742	1759	Green Dragon
F	94 to 98	Corve	Heath	Mary	innholder	widow	48	2	1770	1772	
F	94 to 98	Corve	Heath	Samuel	innholder		48	11	1759	1770	Green Dragon
F	94 to 98	Corve	Heath	Thomas	innholder		48	22	1720	1744	Green Dragon
B	7 to 9	Church	Hill	Thomas	innholder		48	12	1674	1686	
R	46	Bull Ring	Hitchcott	Ann	innkeeper	daughter	48	10	1683	1693	
R	45	Bull Ring	Hitchcott	Ann	innkeeper	widow	48	21	1665	1686	Bear
K	114 to 115	Lower Gaulford	Hitchcott	Thomas	innkeeper		48	29	1695	1724	
K	109 to 115	Lower Gaulford	Hitchcott	Thomas	innholder	heirs	48	29	1695	1725	
K	109 to 115	Lower Gaulford	Hitchcott	Thomas	innholder		48	10	1685	1695	
K	114 to 115	Lower Gaulford	Hitchcott	Thomas	innkeeper		48	10	1685	1695	
R	45	Bull Ring	Hitchcott	Thomas II	innkeeper		48	2	1663	1665	Bear
R	45	Bull Ring	Hitchcott	Thomas III	innholder	heirs	48	8	1695	1703	Bear
R	45	Bull Ring	Hitchcott	Thomas III	innholder	heirs	48	4	1720	1724	Bear
R	45	Bull Ring	Hitchcott	Thomas III	innholder		48	9	1686	1695	Bear
F	L.Powell	Corve	Hosier	Richard	innholder		48	41	1686	1727	
X	16 to 19	Raven	Jackson	Elizabeth	innkeeper	widow	48	21	1801	1822	Raven
X	16 to 19	Raven	Jackson	William	innkeeper		48	16	1785	1801	Raven
B	8	Castle	Jay	Elizabeth	innkeeper	daughter	48	19 plus	1824	1843	George
B	8	Castle	Jay	John	innkeeper		48	22	1802	1824	George
G	33	Bull Ring	Jones	John	innholder		48	14 plus	1829	1843	
X	16 to 19	Raven	Jones	Knowles	innkeeper		48	24	1733	1755	Raven
R	9	Broad	Jones	Mary	innkeeper	widow	48	2	1778	1780	Angel
R	9	Broad	Jones	Rachel	innkeeper	widow	48	6	1730	1736	Angel
H	57 to 75	Upper Gaulford	Jones	Samuel	beer retailer		48	8 plus	1840	1848	
R	9	Broad	Jones	Thomas	innkeeper		48	9	1721	1730	Angel
R	9	Broad	Jones	Thomas II	innkeeper		48	39	1736	1775	Angel
M	Hrs/Jockey	Old	Key	William	victualler		48	24	1825	1848	Horse & Jockey; mortgagee
R	2 to 42	Old/Bull Ring	Langford	Miss	innkeeper	daughter	48	10	1788	1798	
R	2 to 42	Old/Bull Ring	Langford	Sarah	innkeeper	widow	48	7	1781	1788	
R	2 to 42	Old/Bull Ring	Langford	William	innkeeper		48	1 plus	1780	1781	also watchmaker
T	56 to 58	Broad	Langton	Katherine	innkeeper	widow	48	4	1660	1664	Crown
X	Ass.Rooms	Mill/Castle	Leake	Edward	innkeeper	with heirs	48	433	1798	1838	White Horse
L	51 to 57	Old	Lewis	Thomas	innkeeper		48	9	1759	1768	

occupation and status

R	32 Old	Lewis	Thomas II	innkeeper	48	42	1726	1768	Green Dragon
V	10 to 11 Lower Mill	Mantle	James	innkeeper	48	16 plus	1782	1798	
Z	11 to 12 Dinham	Matthews	Thomas	innkeeper	48	35	1724	1759	
C	14 Bull Ring	Morgan	Richard	innholder	48	12	1793	1805	Bull
H	3 Upper Gaulford	Morris	Edward	innholder	48	8	1796	1804	Three Horseshoes
Y	Blue Boar Mill	Page	William	innkeeper	48	29	1687	1716	Blue Boar
F	153 Corve	Pawford	Elizabeth	innholder	48	21	1718	1739	
F	153 Corve	Pawford	Richard	innholder	48	27	1691	1718	
H	22 to 33 Upper Gaulford	Payne	Nicholas	innholder	48	23	1660	1683	also chandler
C	14 Bull Ring	Peach	Edward	innholder	48	1 plus	1731	?	Bull
J	10 Lower Gaulford	Playey	James	innholder	48	12	1826	1838	
J	10 Lower Gaulford	Playey	Susannah	innholder	48	8	1838	1846	
X	4 Mill	Potter	Jonathon	innkeeper	48	3	1822	1825	Three Tuns
X	4 Mill	Potter	Priscilla	innkeeper	48	18	1825	1843	
G	20 to 21 Bull Ring	Powford	Richard	innholder	48	27	1691	1718	
V	10 to 11 Lower Mill	Preece	Robert	innkeeper	48	1 plus	1782	?	
J	Elim Lower Gaulford	Prickett	Mary	innholder	48	9	1729	1738	
L	23 to 25 Old	Prickett	Mary	innkeeper	48	9	1729	1738	
J	Elim Lower Gaulford	Prickett	Rees	innholder	48	34	1695	1729	
L	23 to 35 Old	Prickett	Rees	innkeeper	48	18	1711	1729	
R	2 to 42 Old/Bull Ring	Prickett	Rees	innkeeper	48	16	1713	1729	Prince Rupert
B	8 Castle	Pugh	James	innkeeper	48	39 plus	1804	1843	Sun
J	10 Lower Gaulford	Pugh	William	innholder	48	38	1788	1826	
J	20 to 21 Lower Gaulford	Pugh	William	innholder	48	25	1801	1826	
K	105 to 108 Lower Gaulford	Pugh	William	innholder	48	26	1800	1826	
L	10 to 12 Tower	Pugh	William	innkeeper	48	11	1816	1827	Talbot
L	23 to 25 Old	Pugh	William	innkeeper	48	1	1796	?	
S	9 High	Pugh	William	innkeeper	48	18	1808	1826	
U	9 to 15 Bell	Pyfinch	William	innkeeper	48	4 plus	1840	1844	
U	8 Bell	Pyfinch	William	innkeeper	48	2 plus	1841	1843	Swan
C	14 Bull Ring	Rea	William	innholder	48	8 plus	1840	1848	Bull
R	11 to 12 King	Reynolds	Joan	innholder	48		1675	1679	
S	5 High	Reynolds	Joan	innkeeper	48	4	1675	1679	
R	11 to 12 King	Reynolds	John	innholder	48	15 plus	1660	1675	Three Cups; also corviser
X	Ass.Rooms Mill/Castle	Reynolds	John	innkeeper	48	16	1660	1676	White Horse
S	5 High	Reynolds	John	innkeeper	48	15	1660	1675	
G	24 Bull Ring	Rogers	John	innholder	48	5	1800	1805	Feathers
G	24 Bull Ring	Rogers	John	innholder	48	13	1787	1800	Feathers

occupation and status

R	10 to 12	Old	Sandwell	Martha	innkeeper	widow	48	5	1801	1806	
R	10 to 12	Old	Sandwell	William	innkeeper		48	16	1785	1801	
B	Qu.Square	Castle	Sayce	Samuel	innholder		48	19	1749	1768	
F	L.Powell	Corve	Sayce	Samuel	innholder		48	3	1765	1768	
W	16 to 20	Lower Raven	Sayce	Samuel	innkeeper		48	28	1759	1787	mortgagee
W	22 to 24	Lower Raven	Sayce	Samuel	innkeeper		48	17	1763	1780	
T	56 to 58	Broad	Scott	Katherine	innkeeper	widow	48	4	1685	1689	Crown
K	109 to 115	Lower Gaulford	Scott	Richard	innholder		48	24	1661	1685	
K	114 to 115	Lower Gaulford	Scott	Richard	innkeeper		48	25	1660	1685	
R	45	Bull Ring	Scott	Richard	innkeeper		48	3	1660	1663	Bear
R	46	Bull Ring	Scott	Richard	innkeeper		48	23	1660	1683	
T	56 to 58	Broad	Scott	Richard	innkeeper		48	21	1664	1685	Crown
C	17	Bull Ring	Smith	William	virtualler		48	4	1667	1671	
H	1	Upper Gaulford	Steenton	William	innholder		48	5	1843	1844	The Bell
F	89 to 93	Corve	Styche	Blanche	innholder	widow	48	11	1794	1805	
R	28	Old	Tipton	Benjamin	innholder		48	14	1720	1734	
F	150	Corve	Tipton	Mary	innholder		48	1 plus	1828	?	Holy Lamb
F	150	Corve	Tipton	THomas	innholder		48	13 plus	1809	1822	Holy Lamb; mortgagee
H	Candle Hs	Upper Gaulford	Tomkins	Elizabeth	innholder	widow	48	15	1803	1818	
H	Candle Hs	Upper Gaulford	Tomkins	Thomas	innholder		48	32	1771	1803	
S	15	High	Tomkins	Thomas	innkeeper	heirs	48	32	1768	1800	
L	17 to 1	Tower/Old	Tomkins	THomas	innkeeper		48	25	1773	1798	Pheasant
S	15	High	Tomkins	Thomas	innkeeper		48	2	1766	1768	
T	8 to 9	Raven	Tomlinson	William	innkeeper	heirs	48	11	1759	1770	
T	8 to 9	Raven	Tomlinson	William	innkeeper		48	25	1734	1759	
G	42	Bull Ring	Turford	Edward	innholder		48	3	1732	1735	
R	30	Old	Turford	Hannah	innkeeper		48	33	1735	1768	
G	42	Bull Ring	Turford	Mary	innholder	widow	48	36	1735	1771	
W	26	Lower Raven	Uncles	William	innkeeper		48	4	1708	1712	
X	16 to 19	Raven	Vaughan	Thomas	innkeeper		48	3 plus	1840	1843	Raven
F	152	Corve	Wayne	Philip	innholder		48	1 plus	1843	?	
R	45	Bull Ring	Whiteman	Richard	innholder		48	17	1703	1720	Bear
R	46	Bull Ring	Whiteman	Richard	innholder		48	17	1708	1725	
R	9	Broad	Whitney	William	innholderder		48	13	1808	1821	Angel: morgagee; bankrupt
Y	Blue Boar	Mill	Wigley	Mary	innkeeper		48	15	1774	1789	Blue Boar
Y	Blue Boar	Mill	Wigley	Richard	innkeeper		48	33	1789	1823	Blue Boar
R	20 to 22	Old	Williams	John	innkeeper		48	3 plus	1841	1844	
R	10 to 12	Old	Williams	John	innkeeper		48	16	1828	1844	

occupation and status

W	12 to 16	Bell	Williams	John	innkeeper		48	12	1836	1848	mortgagee (shared)	
V	68	Lower Broad	Williams	Joshua	innkeeper		48	34	1672	1706	Mermaid	
Q	4	Brand Lane	Williams	Joshua	victualler		48	36	1670	1706		
Q	30	Brand Lane	Williams	Roger	innkeeper		48	10	1798	1808		
S	1	Church	Winwood	Francis	innkeeper		48	9 plus	1761	1770		
T	8 to 9	Raven	Wood	Richard	innkeeper		48	20	1770	1790		
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Harding	Elizabeth	wine merchant	widow	49	1	1831	1832		
U	3 to 7	Lower Raven	Harford	Anne	vintner		49	18	1660	1678		
C	C.Williams	Church	Long	George	vintner		49	10	1708	1718		
Q	29	Broad	Long	George	vintner		49	41	1677	1718		
R	46	Bull Ring	Massey	Francis	vintner		49	13 plus	1798	1811		
B	18	Castle	Powell	Edward	wime merchant		49	2	1846	1848		
C	Church Inn	Church	Boyer	John	wine merchant		49	4	1795	1799		
Y	23/23A	Mill	Cross	Thomas	wine merchant		49	9	1761	1770		
D	7	Corve	Harding	Elizabeth	wine merchant	widow	49	17	1831	1848		
T	67	Broad	Harding	Elizabeth	wine merchant	widow	49	17 plus	1831	1848		
D	7	Corve	Harding	John	wine merchant		49	11	1820	1831		
K	62 to 66	Lower Gaulford	Harding	John	wine merchant		49	79	1752	1831	only 4 on inheritance	
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Harding	John	wine merchant		49	30	1801	1831	mortgagee	
T	67	Broad	Harding	John	wine merchant		49	23	1808	1831		
T	56 to 58	Broad	Long	George	wine merchant		49	29	1689	1718		
T	68 to 69	Broad	Long	George	wine merchant		49	14	1704	1718		
S	4	High	Long	George	wine merchant		49	14	1700	1714		
K	75 to 79	Lower Gaulford	Massey	Francis	wine merchant		49	1 plus	1807	?	mortgagee	
R	46	Bull Ring	Massey	Francis II	wine merchant		49	37	1811	1848		
R	11 to 12	King	Massey	Francis II	wine merchant		49	9	1839	1848		
B	20 to 22	Castle	Powell	Edward	wine merchant		49	18	1830	1848		

occupation and status

blck no.	street	owner	status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years	from	to	notes
R	9 Broad	Clarke	bookseller	daughter	51	3	1668	1671	
R	9 Broad	Clarke	bookseller		51	8	1660	1668	
R	18 King	Felton	bookseller		51	40	1808	1848	
R	corner King/Broad	Felton	bookseller		51	36	1812	1848	
D	10 Corve	Gill	stationer	wife	51	3m.	1777	?	
C	3 Bull Ring	Griffiths	stationer		51	47	1801	1848	with father John
R	10 Broad	Jones	bookseller		51	15	1833	1848	
R	10 Broad	Proctor	bookseller		51	32	1801	1833	
J	10 Lower Gaulford	Robinson	bookseller		51	36	1660	1696	
Q	23 Broad	Robinson	bookseller		51	41	1660	1701	
R	16 King	Robinson	bookseller		51	41	1660	1701	
S	9 High	Robinson	bookseller		51	41	1660	1701	
J	10 Lower Gaulford	Robinson	bookseller	heirs	51	17	1717	1734	
J	10 Lower Gaulford	Robinson	bookseller		51	21	1696	1717	
J	20 to 21 Lower Gaulford	Robinson	bookseller		51	3	1710	1713	
K	96 to 98 Lower Gaulford	Robinson	bookseller		51	16	1701	1717	
Q	23 Broad	Robinson	bookseller		51	1	1701	?	
R	16 King	Robinson	bookseller		51	16	1701	1717	
T	51 Broad	Robinson	bookseller		51	10	1699	1709	rebuilt
R	16 King	Robinson	bookseller	daughter	51	2	1717	1719	
S	9 High	Robinson	bookseller		51	16	1701	1717	
F	153 Corve	Wilde	bookseller		51	15	1754	1769	
K	109 to 113 Lower Gaulford	Wilde	bookseller		51	26	1743	1769	
K	109 to 113 Lower Gaulford	Wilde	bookseller		51	26	1743	1769	
R	45 Bull Ring	Wilde	bookseller		51	36	1733	1769	
R	46 Bull Ring	Wilde	bookseller		51	36	1733	1769	
R	1 Broad	Wilde	bookseller		51	10	1759	1769	
R	16 Broad	Wilde	bookseller		51	6	1760	1766	
						597			

Occupation and status									
blck no.	street	owner	status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years	from	to	notes
L	37 to 45 Old	Baldwyn	ironmonger	daughter	52	1	1719	1720	
H	19 to 21 Upper Gaultford	Bluck	ironmonger		52	11	1777	1788	
F	101 Corve	Bright	ironmonger		52	3	1743	1746	
S	4 High	Bright	ironmonger		52	42	1725	1767	
S	12 High	Bright	ironmonger		52	34	1733	1767	
C	St Leonards Linney	Davies	hardware dealer	daughter	52	1 plus	1760	?	
B	9 Church	Davies	hardware dealer	daughter	52	15	1760	1775	
R	7 Broad	Davies	hardware dealer	daughter	52	15	1760	1775	
S	13 High	Davies	ironmonger		52	4	1761	1765	later a farmer
R	8 Broad	Davies	hardware dealer		52	5	1728	1733	mortgagee
L	37 to 52 Old	Davies	hardware dealer		52	31	1702	1733	
R	43 Bull Ring	Davies	hardware dealer		52	17	1716	1733	
R	7 Broad	Davies	hardware dealer		52	17	1716	1733	
R	8 Broad	Davies	hardware dealer		52	10	1723	1733	
R	8 High	Davies	hardware dealer		52	48	1733	1781	
R	43 Bull Ring	Davies	hardware dealer		52	6	1775	1780	
R	7 Broad	Davies	hardware dealer		52	6	1775	1780	
R	8 Broad	Davies	hardware dealer	widow	52	1	1740	?	mortgagee
L	37 to 52 Old	Davies	hardware dealer	widow	52	27	1733	1760	
R	7 Broad	Davies	hardware dealer	widow	52	27	1733	1760	
R	8 Broad	Davies	hardware dealer	widow	52	20	1740	1760	
Y	9 Dinham	Davies	hardware dealer	widow	52	1 ?	1733	?	mortgagee
S	3 High	Davies	hardware dealer	widow	52	1	1733	1733	
B	10 Church	Davies	ironmonger	heirs	52	6	1743	1749	
S	Tamb.Hs High	Davies	ironmonger	widow	52	26	1718	1744	
B	10 Church	Davies	ironmonger		52	23	1678	1701	
B	10 Church	Davies	ironmonger		52	21	1676	1697	
B	Chris.Wms Church	Davies	ironmonger		52	17	1684	1701	
C	10 Bull Ring	Davies	ironmonger		52	40	1671	1701	
D	10 Corve	Davies	ironmonger		52	27	1691	1718	mortgagee
F	9 to 12 St Mary's	Davies	ironmonger		52	13	1679	1692	mortgagee
F	101 Corve	Davies	ironmonger		52	7	1692	1699	mortgagee
R	17 King Street	Davies	ironmonger		52	10	1691	1701	mortgagee
R	14 Broad	Davies	ironmonger		52	10	1691	1701	mortgagee

occupation and status

R	19	Broad	Davies	Richard II	ironmonger		52	17	1701	1718	
B	10	Church	Davies	Richard II	ironmonger		52	17	1701	1718	
D	10	Corve	Edwards	John	ironmonger		52	26	1787	1813	executors
C	St.Leonards	Linney	Edwards	John	ironmonger		52	12	1775	1787	
L	9	Old	Eggington	Edward	ironmonger	and heirs	52	33	1815	1848	
C	7	Bull Ring	Eggington	Edward	ironmonger	heirs	52	1 plus	1843	?	
J	41 to 42	Lower Gaulford	Eggington	Edward	ironmonger		52	43	1772	1812	
J	41 to 42	Lower Gaulford	Eggington	EDward	ironmonger		52	8	1840	1848	
J	41 to 42	Lower Gaulford	Eggington	Hannah	ironmonger	widow	52	1	1815	1816	
G	34	Bull Ring	Eggington	John	ironmonger	executors	52	4	1843	1847	
G	34	Bull Ring	Eggington	John	ironmonger		52	13	1830	1843	
J	41 to 42	Lower Gaulford	Eggington	John	ironmonger		52	24	1816	1840	
J	41 to 42	Lower Gaulford	Eggington	Joseph	ironmonger		52	3	1769	1772	
L	9	Old	Eggington	Joseph	ironmonger		52	17	1798	1815	
H	35 to 53	Upper Gaulford	Gardener	Elizabeth	ironmonger	widow	52	1	1690	1691	
S	12	High	Gardener	Henry	ironmonger		52	15	1690	1705	
H	35 to 53	Upper Gaulford	Gardener	William	ironmonger		52	7 plus	1669	1676	
S	12	High	Gardener	William	ironmonger		52	15	1675	1690	
H	35 to 53	Upper Gaulford	Gardener	William II	ironmonger		52	14	1676	1690	
S	10A/11	High	Hodson	Richard	ironmonger		52	5	1778	1783	
w	26	Lower Raven	Hosier	Richard	ironmonger	with heirs	52	12	1726	1738	
s	14	High	Long	Ann	ironmonger	widow	52	3	1728	1731	
T	56 to 58	Broad	Long	George	ironmonger		52	11	1726	1737	
U	40	Broad	Long	James	ironmonger		52	9	1719	1728	
U	9 to 13	L.Raven	Long	James	ironmonger		52	9	1719	1728	
T	56 to 58	Broad	Long	James	ironmonger		52	8	1718	1726	Crown Inn
T	68 to 69	Broad	Long	James	ironmonger		52	10	1718	1728	
S	14	High	Long	James	ironmonger		52	14	1714	1728	
S	8	High	Meredith	William	ironmonger		52	2	1796	1798	shared
S	8	High	Meredith	William	ironmonger		52	5	1798	1803	
R	11 to 12	King Street	Morris	Elizabeth	ironmonger	wid.of joiner	52	38	1782	1820	
H	19 to 21	Upper Gaulford	Pearce	Anne	ironmonger	widow	52	32	1689	1719	
L	11	Old	Pearce	Charles	ironmonger	brother	52	16	1695	1711	
H	19 to 21	Upper Gaulford	Pearce	John	ironmonger		52	25 plus	1662	1687	
L	11	Old	Pearce	John	ironmonger		52	27	1660	1687	
R	19	Broad	Pearce	John	ironmonger		52	10	74	1677	

L		11 Old	Pearce	John li	ironmonger		52	8	1687	1695	
R		45 Bull Ring	Pearce	Joseph	ironmonger		52	7	1724	1731	
R		46 Bull Ring	Pearce	Joseph	ironmonger		52	8	1725	1733	
S		1 High	Pearce	Joseph	ironmonger		52	23	1710	1731	
K		109 to 113 Lower Gaulford	Pearce	Joseph	ironmonger		52	1 plus	1731	1731	
F		102 Corve	Pearce	oseph	ironmonger		52	13 plus	1718	1731	
K		109 to 113 Lower Gaulford	Pearce	Thomas	ironmonger	son	52	12	1731	1743	
L		11 Old	Pearce	William	ironmonger		52	13	1711	1724	
Y		28 to 29 Mill	Penny	Thomas	ironmonger		52	20 plus	1828	1848	
T		69 Broad	Penny	Thomas	ironmonger		52	7	1828	1835	mortgagee
T		68 to 69 Broad	Pohle	Joseph	ironmonger	and widow	52	21	1756	1777	
S		8 High	Prickett	Mary	hardware dealer	wife	52	24	1714	1738	
L		37 to 45 Old	Prickett	Rees	hardware dealer		52	14	1699	1713	
R		2 to 4 Old	Prickett	Richard	hardware dealer		52	16	1698	1714	
C		2B/3 Bull Ring	Rawlins	Joan	ironmonger	widow	52	12	1660	1672	
S		12 High	Rawlins	Katherine	ironmonger	widow	52	15	1660	1675	
C		1 to 3 Bull Ring	Rawlins	William	ironmonger	heirs	52	15	1660	1675	
T		68 to 69 Broad	Sayce	Ann	ironmonger	widow	52	8	1748	1756	
T		56 to 58 Broad	Sayce	Thomas	ironmonger		52	42	1737	1779	
T		68 to 69 Broad	Sayce	Thomas	ironmonger		52	9	1739	1748	
B		5 Church	Smith	Humphrey	ironmonger		52	31 plus	1817	1848	redeemed mortgage
S		8 High	Smith	Humphrey	ironmonger		52	33 plus	1811	1844	
R		18 King Street					52	7 plus	1692	1699	mortgagee
		total						578			

	no.	street	owner	status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years		from	to	notes
R	7	Broad	Jolly	dealer		53	5		1843	1848	
B	10	Church	Baulcott	grocer	widow	53	5		1811	1816	
B	10	Church	Baulcott	grocer	trustees	53	8		1789	1797	
B	10	Church	Baulcott	grocer		53	13		1776	1789	
B	10	Church	Baulcott	grocer		53	14		1797	1811	
S	5	High	Baulcott	grocer	widow	53	1	plus	1791	?	
S	5	High	Baulcott	grocer		53	1		1790	1791	
L	15 to 16	Tower	Challoner	grocer		53	33		1799	1832	
R	22	Broad	Ellis	grocer		53	3		1845	1848	
R	22	Broad	Ellis	grocer		53	44		1801	1845	
Q	52 to 54	Old	Fleetwood	grocer	nephews	53	1		1809	1809	
Q	52 to 54	Old	Fleetwood	grocer		53	24		1783	1809	
B	8	Castle	Harding	grocer		53	5	plus	1843	1848	
C	7 to 9	King	Harding	grocer		53	17		1831	1848	
C	9A	King	Harding	grocer		53	27		1821	1848	
C	2b/3	Bull Ring	Harding	grocer		53	21		1827	1848	with Henry Whittell, druggist
K	62 to 66	Lower Gaulford	Harding	grocer		53	17		1831	1848	
F	89 to 93	Cove	Lewis	grocer	sons of	53	17		1777	1794	
L	23 to 35	Old	Noakes	grocer		53	24		1802	1826	became farmer at Ashford Carbonell
B	10	Church	Pugh	grocer		53	23		1825	1848	
C	15	Bull Ring	Pugh	grocer		53	1	plus	1839	?	mortgagee: with William Smith
F	101	Corbe	Reynolds	grocer		53	1	plus	1848	?	
G	42	Bull Ring	Roberts	grocer		53	22		1798	1820	
C	10	Bull Ring	Smith	grocer		53	23		1825	1848	
C	11	Bull Ring	Smith	grocer		53	38		1810	1848	
C	15	Bull Ring	Smith	grocer		53	1	plus	1839	?	mortgagee: with George Pugh
B	10	Church	Stephens	grocer		53	9		1816	1825	
L	13	Tower	Thompson	grocer	widow	53	15	plus	1833	1848	
L	3	Old	Thompson	grocer	widow	53	15	plus	1833	1848	
R	36 to 38	Old	Thompson	grocer	widow	53	6		1842	1848	
H	77 to 103	Upper Gaulford	Thompson	grocer		53	14		1826	1840	
K	90	Lower Gaulford	Thompson	grocer		53	1	plus	1816	?	mortgagee
L	13	Tower	Thompson	grocer		53	27		1806	1833	
L	3	Old	Thompson	grocer		53	13		1820	1833	
S	Tamb.Hs	High	Tyler	grocer		53	15		1817	1832	

occupation and status

R	4 Broad	Valentine	Ann	grocer	daughters	53	9	plus	1834	1843	
R	4 Broad	Valentine	James	grocer		53	33		1801	1834	
B	10 Church	White	William	grocer		53	17		1749	1766	
Y	23 to 23A Mill	White	William	grocer		53	12		1749	1761	
B	7 to 9 Church	Whittall	George	grocer		53	1	plus	1803	?	mortgagee
R	45 Bull ring	Whittall	George	grocer		53	18		1796	1814	
L	10 to 12 Tower	Whittall	George	grocer		53	3		1805	1808	mortgagee
B	10 Church	Wilkes	Richard	grocer		53	6		1770	1776	
R	10 Broad	Gardener	Edward	grocer/haberd.		53	8		1792	1801	
R	40 Old	Adams	William	merc		53	1	plus	1805	1806	
S	8 High	Borvyle	Margaret	merc	daughters	53	1	plus	1771	?	
S	8 High	Botvyle	Margaret	merc	widow	53	31		1741	1772	
F	131 Corve	Bowdler	John	merc		53	30		1660	1690	
R	17 and 1 King/Broad	Bowdler	John	merc		53	12		1678	1690	
Z	Lodge Dinham	Bowdler	John	merc		53	1		1661	1662	
R	17 and 1 King/Broad	Bowdler	John II	merc	heirs	53	35		1690	1725	
F	145 Corve	Burton	Edward	merc		53	12		1760	1772	
Y	Hall Dinham	Burton	Edward	merc		53	8		1770	1786	mortgagee
Y	41 Mill	Burton	Edward	merc		53	17		1786	1803	
H	19 to 21 Upper Gaulford	Careswell	Robert	merc		53	23		1741	1764	
X	9 Castle	Clarke	William	merc		53	24		1733	1757	
C	1 King	Cole	Bridget	merc	widow	53	1	plus	1727	?	
C	1 King	Cole	Richard	merc		53	29	plus	1698	1727	
S	1 Church	Crowther	Thomas	merc		53	5		1660	1665	
S	Tamb.Hs Church	Davies	Elizabeth	merc	widow	53	14		1747	1761	
F	145 Corve	Davies	Mary	merc	widow	53	31		1685	1716	widow of Tamberlaine
C	5 King	Davies	Mary	merc		53	26		1729	1755	
B	1 College	Davies	Somerset	merc		53	8		1703	1711	
C	5 King	Davies	Somerset	merc		53	30		1699	1729	
C	St Leonards Linney	Davies	Somerset	merc		53	7	plus	1720	1729	
S	Tamb.Hs Church	Davies	Tamberlaine	merc		53	25		1660	1685	half of Tamberlaine House
C	St Leonards Linney	Davies	Tamberlaine	merc		53	20		1665	1685	
T	54 Broad	Davies	Tamberlaine	merc		53	18		1664	1682	
S	Tamb.Hs Church	Davies	Tamberlaine II	merc		53	8		1739	1747	
C	St Leonards Linney	Davies	Thomas	merc		53	4		1685	1691	
S	Tamb.Hs Church	Davies	Thomas	merc		53	23		1685	1708	half of Tamberlaine House

S	Tamb.Hs	Church	Davies	Thomas II	merc		53	27	1708	1735	Tamberlaine House: all
C	Chris.Wms	Church	Dyke	John	merc		53	17	1801	1818	
V	2 to 6	L.Mill	Dyke	John	merc		53	30	1802	1828	
C	5	King	Edwards	William	merc		53	20	1828	1848	bankrupt
C	6	King	Edwards	William	merc		53	20	1828	1848	bankrupt
S	17	High	Edwards	William	merc		53	26	1792	1818	
W	22 to 24	L.Raven	Edwards	William	merc		53	39	1809	1848	
F	137	Corve	Grubb	Nathaniel	merc		53	7	1669	1676	
S	10A/11	High	Grubb	Nathaniel	merc		53	29	1673	1702	
X	16 to 19	Raven	Grubb	Nathaniel	merc		53	34	1671	1705	
Y	2 to 8	Corve	Harper	Charles	merc		53	13	1825	1838	
C	3	King	Haughton	Thomas	merc	heirs	53	7	1702	1709	
C	3	King	Haughton	Thomas	merc		53	30	1672	1702	
H	Candle Hs.	Upper Gaulford	Heming	Richard	merc		53	1	1738	1739	mortgagee
S	10A/11	High	Hemmings	John	merc		53	8	1756	1764	mortgagee and tenant
C	4	King	Hickman	Benjamin	merc		53	17	1814	1831	shared with Izard; bankrupt
S	13	High	Hitchcott	Catherine	merc	heirs	53	2	1699	1701	
S	13	High	Hitchcott	Catherine	merc	widow	53	2	1697	1699	
S	13	High	Hitchcott	Richard	merc		53	12	1660	1672	
Y	22	Mill	Ingram	Richard	merc		53	7	1798	1805	
C	4	King	Izard	Stephen	merc		53	27	1781	1808	
Z	Lodge	Dinham	Jones	Ann	merc		53	2	1743	1745	
R	7	Broad	Jones	Edward	merc		53	14	1702	1716	
Z	Lodge	Dinham	Jones	Henry	merc		53	34	1745	1779	
S	17	High	Jones	John	merc	heirs	53	22	1717	1749	
T	69	Broad	Jones	John	merc	heirs	53	26	1717	1743	
D	10	Corve	Jones	John	merc		53	53	1724	1777	
F	131	Corve	Jones	John	merc		53	3	1774	1777	
F	131	Corve	Jones	John	merc		53	11	1777	1778	
R	7	Broad	Jones	John	merc		53	?	1712	?	
S	17	High	Jones	John	merc		53	34	1683	1717	
T	54	Broad	Jones	John	merc		53	9	1682	1691	
T	69	Broad	Jones	John	merc		53	22	1695	1717	
T	69A	Broad	Jones	John	merc		53	33	1706	?	then with 69
S	17	High	Jones	John II	merc		53	28	1749	1777	
T	69	Broad	Jones	John li	merc		53	33	1743	1776	

occupation and status

S	17	High	Jones	Margaret	merc		53	21		1662	1683	
S	17	High	Jones	Walter	merc		53	2	plus	1660	1665	
C	4	King	Jones	William	merc		53	19		1724	1743	
Z	Lodge	Dinham	Jones	William	merc		53	20		1723	1743	
C	3	King	Jones	William II	merc		53	23		1756	1773	
C	4	King	Jones	William ii	merc		53	30		1743	1777	
F	135	Corve	Jones	William III	merc	heirs	53	19		1773	1792	
F	135	Corve	Jones	William III	merc	heirs	53	10		1792	1802	
C	3	King	Jones	William III	merc		53	35		1773	1808	
Q	28	Broad	Jones	William IV	merc		53	1		1848	?	
R	11 to 12	King	Jordan	Samuel	merc		53	46		1679	1726	
B	College	College	Meyricke	Thomas	merc		53	22		1702	1704	also woolstapler
B	8	Castle	Pryce	William	merc		53	14		1705	1719	
B	Quality Sq.	Castle	Pryce	William	merc		53	14		1705	1719	
K	105 to 108	Upper Gaulford	Pryce	William	merc		53	7		1698	1705	to son Francis by petition 1705
R	40	Broad	Pryce	William	merc		53	27		1692	1719	
S	4	High	Pryce	William	merc		53	38		1681	1719	
S	5	High	Pryce	William	merc		53	32		1687	1719	
U	3 to 7	Lower Raven	Pryce	William	merc		53	21		1698	1719	
U	9 to 13	Lower Raven	Pryce	William	merc		53	22		1697	1719	
Y	45 to 46	Mill	Pryce	William	merc		53	24		1692	1716	
B	6	Castle	Thomas	Harley	merc		53	7	plus	1815	1822	
R	17	King	Vernalls	Thomas	merc		53	9		1686	1695	
R	18	King	Vernalls	Thomas	merc		53	14		1685	1699	
M	T40	Weeping Cross L	Waring	James	merc	heirs	53	1		1815	1816	
M	T41	Weeping Cross L	Waring	James	merc	heirs	53	1		1815	1816	
C	Church Inn	Church	Waring	James	merc		53	17		1760	1777	
C	Chris.Wms	Church	Waring	James	merc		53	2	plus	1775	1777	
L	Suttons Cl.	Old	Waring	James	merc		53	28		1787	1815	
M	T40	Weeping Cross L	Waring	James	merc		53	28		1787	1815	
M	T41	Weeping Cross L	Waring	James	merc		53	28		1787	1815	
R	14	Broad	Waring	James	merc		53	47		1761	1808	
C	4	King	Weaver	Samuel	merc		53	17		1814	1831	shared with Hickman; bankrupt
R	14	Broad	Weaver	Samuel I	merc		53	1		1809	1831	bankrupt
C	5	King	Wellings	Edward	merc	assigns	53	4		1824	1828	
C	5	King	Wellings	Edward	merc		53	29		1785	1824	became banker; bankrupt

occupation and status

F		138	Corve	Wellings	Edward	merc		53	39	1760	1799	
F		142	Corve	Wellings	Edward	merc		53	41	1770	1811	
F		139	Corve	Wellings	Hannah	merc		53	8	1799	1807	
L		51 to 57	Old	Williamns	Rowland	merc		53	11	1660	1671	
R		17	King	Williams	Ann	merc	widow	53	14	1671	1685	
L		51 to 57	Old	Williams	Ann	merc		53	1	1671	1672	
R		18	King	Williams	Rowland	merc	widow	53	14	1671	1685	
H		77 to 103	Upper Gaulford	Williams	Rowland	merc		53	10	1660	1670	
R		44	Bull Ring	Williams	Rowland	merc		53	11	1660	1671	
R		17	King	Williams	Rowland	merc		53	11	1660	1671	
R		18	King	Williams	Rowland	merc		53	11	1660	1671	
V		34 to 36	L.Broad	Yapp	Francis	merc		53	19	1733	1752	
F		145	Corve	Davies	Mary	merc	trustees	53	25	1660	1685	widow of Tamberlaine
M		T40	Weeping Cross L	Brown	Mrs	merchant	widow	53	10	1822	1832	
M		T41	Weeping Cross L	Brown	Mrs	merchant	widow	53	10	1822	1832	
Q		2	Brand	Brown	Mrs	merchant	widow	53	10	1822	1832	
M		T40	Weeping Cross L	Brown	Wade	merchant	cloth	53	12	1810	1822	
M		T41	Weeping Cross L	Brown	Wade	merchant	cloth	53	12	1810	1822	
Q		2	Brand	Brown	Wade	merchant	cloth	53	12	1810	1822	
Q		46 to 50	Old	Brown	Wade	merchant	cloth	53	10	1812	1822	
Q		46 to 50	Old	Brown	Wade	merchant	widow	53	10	1822	1832	
Q		46 to 50	Old	Cunningham	Daniel	merchant	Barbadoes	53	5	1770	1775	
B		High Hall	Castle	Rogers	Charles	merchant	India	53	33	1787	1820	
W		13	Mill	Burnsell	Francis	shopkeeper		53	3	1846	1848	mortgagee
J		4 to 6	Lower Gaulford	Challoner	John	shopkeeper		53	23	1809	1832	
S		2	High	Haughton	Elizabeth	shopkeeper	d.of C.M.	53	15	1700	1715	
R		40	Old	Wright	Hannah	shopkeeper	widow	53	20	1823	1843	
R		40	Old	Wright	Thomas	shopkeeper		53	17	1806	1823	
		total							599			

blck no.	street	owner	status/occ.	add.inf.	cd years	from to	notes
D	69 Corve	Eyton & Co.	bankers		56	1840	1841 assigns
Q	31 Broad	Hutchins	banker	retired	56	1825	1846
U	Broad Gate Broad	Kinnersley	banker		56	1783	1813
Y	23 to 23A Mill	Kinnersley	banker		56	1795	1796
C	2B/3 Bull Ring	Prodgers	banker		56	1805	1824
S	12 High	Prodgers	banker		56	1810	1824
R	19 Broad	Prodgers	banker		56	1812	1824
Q	31 Broad	Prodgers	banker		56	1814	1824
R	18 Broad	Prodgers	banker		56	1814	1824
F	L.Powell Corve	Prodgers	banker		56	1817	1824
R	16 Broad	Prodgers	banker		56	1818	1824
R	1 Broad	Prodgers	banker		56	1820	1824
C	1/2A Bull Ring	Prodgers	banker		56	1823	1824 mortgagee
K	82 to 87 Lower Gaulford	Prodgers	banker		56	1823	1824 mortgagee
R	9 Broad	Prodgers	banker		56	1823	1824 mortgagee
S	11 High	Prodgers	banker		56	1823	1824 mortgagee
J	Spring.Hs. Lower Gaulford	Prodgers	banker		56	?	1824
R	18 Broad	Rocke/Eyton	bankers		56	1827	1848
W	30 to 32 L.Raven	Wellings	banker		56	1805	1826
F	138 Corve	Wellings	banker		56	1807	1826 in family since before 1699
W	26 Lower Raven	Wellings	banker		56	1809	1826
W	Barnaby hs. Mill	Wellings	banker		56	1809	1826
W	15 Mill	Wellings	banker		56	1809	1826
J	4 to 6 Lower Gaulford	Wellings	banker		56	1815	1816
L	15 to 16 Tower	Wellings	banker		56	1815	1826
V	74 to 76 Lower Broad	Wellings	banker		56	1816	1826
F	9 to 12 St Mary's	Wellings	banker		56	1817	1826 assigns
G	24 Bull Ring	Whittell	banker		56	1836	1848 also druggist
	total					310	

occupation and status

blck	no.	street	owner	status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years	from	to	notes
R		19 Broad	Ballard	labourer	and widow	57	36	1733	1769	
W		26 Lower Raven	Bennett	labourer	daughter	57	1	1680	1681	
V		74 to 76 Lower Broad	Bradley	labourer	grand-daughter	57	11	1730	1741	
V		74 to 76 Lower Broad	Bradley	labourer	grandson	57	1 plus	1749	?	
H		57 to 75 Upper Gaulford	Brecknock	labourer	widow	57	19	1730	1749	
H		57 to 75 Upper Gaulford	Brecknock	labourer	widow	57	12	1726	1738	
H		57 to 75 Upper Gaulford	Brecknock	labourer	widow	57	17 plus	1826	1842	
D		16 Corve	Brecknock	labourer	widow	57	1	1679	1680	
K		99 to 104 Lower Gaulford	Davies	labourer		57	1 plus	1794	?	
K		90 to 91 Lower Gaulford	Davies	labourer		57	21	1742	1763	son in law of John Davies (L3)
K		99 to 104 Lower Gaulford	Davies	labourer		57	42	1660	1702	
L		3 Old	Davies	labourer		57	44	1708	1752	
K		90 to 91 Lower Gaulford	Davies	labourer		57	13	1713	1726	
K		99 to 104 Lower Gaulford	Davies	labourer		57	23	1744	1767	
K		73 to 74 Lower Gaulford	Downes	labourer		57	7 plus	1765	1772	
L		77 Old	Fayres	labourer		57	3 plus	1766	1769	last PR ref.; migrated?
F		146 Corve	Fewtrell	labourer		57	20	1664	1684	
F		146 Corve	Fewtrell	labourer		57	1 plus	?	1730	
D		21 Corve	Heath	labourer		57	35	1678	1713	inventory: £4 15s
W		22 to 24 Lower Raven	Hgriffiths	labourer		57	37	1776	1811	also gardener, yeoman
L		73 Old	Morgan	labourer		57	1 plus	?	1730	
J		St.Stephens Upper Gaulford	Oliver	labourer		57	1 plus	?	1742	
D		21 Corve	Parks	labourer		57	20 plus	1662	1682	yeoman
F		141 Corve	Pinches	labourer		57	19	1660	1679	
L		71 Old	Preece	labourer		57	37	1676	1713	
W		26 Lower Raven	Richards	labourer		57	4	1788	1792	mortgagee: will, Tallow Chandler
K		73 to 74 Lower Gaulford	Robinson	labourer		57	38	1702	1740	
D		16 Corve	Walker	labourer		57	28	1738	1766	also thatcher
D		16 Corve	Walker	labourer		57	6	1711	1717	
L		3 Old	Williams	labourer		57	12 plus	1798	1810	2 houses
		total					511			

occupation and status

block no.	street	owner	status/occ.	add.inf.	cd.	years	from to	notes
L	5 to 7 Old	Collier	surveyor		58	2	1811	1813 mortgagee
K	99 to 101	Jenkins	Supervisor	widow	58	16	1832	1848
S	1 Church	Owen	exciseman		58	3	1780	1783
F	143 to 144 Corve	Phillips	exciseman		58	2	1792	1794
F	143 to 144 Corve	Phillips	exciseman	widow	58	6	1794	1800
R	1 Broad	Archer	Clerk (CM)		58A	34	1660	1694
B	College	Archer	Clerk (CM)		58A	27	1667	1694
L	Sutton's Cl. Old	Archer	Clerk (CM)		58A	26	1669	1685
B	College	Archer	Clerk (CM)	heirs	58A	8	1694	1702
F	146 Corve	Cam	Clerk of Fines (CM)	aunt	58A	9 plus	1660	1669
C	16 to 17 Bull Ring	Cam	Clerk of Fines (CM)		58A	39 plus	1667	1706
C	11 Bull Ring	Cam	Clerk of Fines(CM)		58A	4	1687	1691 in trust
C	12 Bull Ring	Cam	Clerk of Fines(CM)		58A	4	1687	1691 in trust
C	13 Bull Ring	Cam	Clerk of Fines(CM)		58A	4	1687	1691 in trust
C	Reader's hs Churchyard	Cam	Clerk of Fines (CM)		58A	15	1691	1706
C	16 to 17 Bull Ring	Cam	Clerk of Fines (CM)	sister	58A	4	1706	1710
C	Reader's hs Churchyard	Cam	Clerk of Fines (CM)	heirs	58A	6	1706	1712
M	2 Temeside	Deverel	Billets Officer (CM)		58A	10	1663	c.1673 to Richard's Castle
O	Lower Fee	Deverel	Billets Officer (CM)		58A	10	1663	c.1673 to Richard's Castle
U	3 to 7 Lower Raven	Deverel	Billets Officer (CM)		58A	1 plus	1669 ?	mortgagee
S	13 High	Digg	Judge (CM)		58A	7	1672	1679 mortgagee
X	2 and 3 Mill	Gough	Clerk of Signet (CM)		58A	25	1660	1685
Y	Blue Boar Mill	Gough	Clerk if Signet (M)		58A	25	1660	1685
Y	Blue Boar Mill	Gough	Clerk if Signet (M)		58A	25	1660	1685
G	26 Bull Ring	Griffiths	Sgt at Arms (CM)		58A	1	1660	1661 co-owner
T	52 Broad	Higgins	Pursuivant		58A	3	1678	1681
T	52 Broad	Hoggins	Pursuivant		58A	3	1681	1684
T	52 Broad	Hunton	Office holder (CM)		58A	15	1663	1678
P	St John's Close	Lane	Sec to Judge (CM)		58A	6	1670	1676
T	53 Broad	Lane	Sec to Judge (CM)		58A	6	1670	1676
Q	33 Broad	Lane	Sec to Judge (CM)		58A	1 plus	1672	mortgagee
S	15 High	Lane	Sec to Judge (CM)		58A	3	1673	1676 mortgagee
W	corner Mill/Bell	Lane	Sec to Judge (CM)		58A	3	1673	1676
S	15 High	Lane	Sec to Judge (CM)	widow	58A	11	1676	1687 later Mrs Carr
T	53 Broad	Lane	Sec to Judge (CM)	executors	58A	364	1676	long

occupation and status

blck no.	street	owner		status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years	from to	notes
Q	4 Brand	Edwards		Captain		61	17	1773 1790	
Q	29 Broad	Baker		Captain		61	9	1839 1848	
F	113 Corve	Hodges	Elizabeth	Captain	widow	62	20	1821 1841	
Q	Horse & J. Brand	Sneade	James	Captain		62	1 plus	1792 ?	mortgagee, with Ed.Lechmere
H	Candle Hs	Fenton	Richard	Captain		62	12	1800 1812	
D	12 Corve	Wilde	George	Lieutenant		62	2	1830 1832	mortgagee, with Ed.Lechmere
U	9 to 13 Broad	Whittington	Charles, Sir	Admiral		63	9	1806 1815	
Q	29 Broad	Baker	James	Admiral		63	34	1798 1832	
T	49 Broad	Baldwin	Elizabeth	Captain	heirs	63	2	1841 1843	
U	9 to 13 Lower Raven	Carless	James	Captain		63	6	1784 1790	
Y	55 Mill	Carless	Richard	Captain		63	10	1800 1810	
Q	4 Brand	Edwards	Thomas	Captain		63	12	1796 1809	
F	113 Corve	Hodges	John	dancing master		66	1	1848 1848	
R	18 Broad	Salwey	Benjamin	musician		66	22	1791 1813	
R	16 Brand	Sneade	Benjamin	musician		66	2	1794 1795	mortgager, with Ed.Lechmere
M	Horse & J. Old	Adams	Benjamin	musician		66	15	1798 1813	
T	49 Broad	Baldwin	Sarah	musician	widow	66	16	1813 1829	
Q	46 to 50 Old	Bulkey	Sarah	musician	widow	66	16	1813 1829	
Q	2 Brand	Bulkey	Thomas	schoolmaster		66	25	1738 1763	
U	9 to 13 Lower Raven	Carless	John	schoolmaster		66	1 plus	1734 ?	mortgager, with Wm Bowen
S	14 High	Carless	John Brooke	schoolmaster		66	4	1835 1839	
Y	55 Mill	Carless	Richard	schoolmaster		66	1 plus	1778 ?	mortgager
J	4 to Elim	Dansey	Richard	schoolmaster		66	48	1776 1824	
AB	1 to 5 Linney	Edwards	Richard Nicholas	schoolmaster		66	16	1824 1840	
B	7 to 9 Church	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmaster	trustees	66	6	1763 1769	
B	College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmaster		66	17	1738 1755	mortgager, will 1763,mathematician
B	1 College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmaster		66	15	1748 1763	
J	10 Lower Gaulford	Harris	William	schoolmaster		66	5 plus	1843 1848	
F	113 Corve	Hodges	William	schoolmaster		66	7	1839 1846	
R	36 Old	Hollingsworth	Eleanor	schoolmistress		66	29	1814 1843	
D	13 Corve	Jordan	James	writing master		66	14 plus	1729 1843	mortgager
T	52 Broad	Knowles	James	writing master		66	17	1729 1746	
K	118 to 119 Lower Gaulford	Marsh	Richard	schoolmaster		68	21	1798 1819	
L	13 Tower	Marsh	Thomas	schoolmaster		68	47	1807 1854	
B	20 to 22 Castle	Martin	Thomas	schoolmaster		68	3	1803 1806	

Appendix 4A

Owner residents in Ludlow, 1660 to 1848:
occupation and status

Professional: 61,62,66,68,69

Z	Dinham Lodge	Dinham	Meyrcike	Thomas	schoolmaster		68	54	1794	1848	
U		37 Broad	Poole	Thomas	schoolmaster		68	49	1799	1848	
F	143 to 144	Corve	Price	William	schoolmaster		68	16	1832	1848	
Y		22 Mill	Revis	Elizabeth	schoolmistress		68	51	1792	1843	
R		18 Broad	Salwey	Blaney	clergyman		69	6	1737	1743	
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Sankey	Charles	clergyman	Rector	69	1	1717		trustees
R		44 Bull Ring	Sankey	Constance	clergyman	widow	69	42	1759	1801	
F		131 Corve	Sankey	Elizabeth	clergyman	daughter	69	33	1815	1848	
R		44 Bull Ring	Sankey	Flavella	clergyman	heirs	69	25	1814	1839	
X	2 to 3	Mill	Smith	Flavella	clergyman	widow	69	6	1820	1826	
Q		3 Brand	Sneade	Herbert	clergyman	son	69	35	1788	1823	
R		16 Brand	Sneade	Herbert	clergyman		69	29	1759	1788	
R		18 Broad	Stephens	James	clergyman		69	3	1761	1764	
R		14 Broad	Tinson	James	clergyman		69	10	1738	1788	
D		24 Corve	Tinson	James	clergyman		69	18	1739	1757	
Y		22 Mill	Tinson	Jane	clergyman	widow	69	38	1763	1781	
L	59 to 67	Old	Vashon	Mary	clergyman	widow	69	5	1810	1815	
T		54 Broad	Vashon	Mary	clergyman	widow	69	14	1827	1841	
U		39 Broad	Vashon	Michael	clergyman		69	1 plus	1712	?	mortgageer
Q		29 Broad	Vashon	Philip Burt	clergyman		69	118	1832	1848	
T		60 Broad	Vashon	Robert	clergyman		69	18	1830	1848	
Q		3 Brand Lane	Wellings	Samuel	clergyman		69	26	1788	1814	
R		19 Broad	Whittington	Samuel	clergyman		69	28	1792	1820	
U		40 Broad	Whittington	Thomas	clergyman	heirs	69	2	1841	1843	
U	9 to 13	Broad	Whittington	Thomas	clergyman		69	10	1817	1827	
D		12 Corve	Wilde	Thomas (DD)	clergyman		69	17	1742	1759	
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blk no.	street	owner		status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years	from to	notes
Y	22 Mill	Adams	William	lawyer		64	17	1805 1822	
F	132 Corve	Adams	William	lawyer		64	1 plus	1806 ?	
V	37 to 39 Lower Broad	Adams	William	lawyer		64	1 plus	1821 1821	
Y	54 Mill	Anderson	George	lawyer		64	35	1813 1848	
B	14 Castle	Anderson	George	lawyer		64	11	1837 1848	
T	49 Broad	Baldwin	John	lawyer		64	16	1721 1737	
U	40 Broad	Baldwin	John	lawyer		64	1 plus	1727 1728	mortgagee
B	16 to 18 Castle	Baugh	Ann	lawyer	widow	64	36	1765 1801	
B	14 Castle	Baugh	Ann	lawyer	widow	64	36	1765 1801	
B	16 to 18 Castle	Baugh	Benjamin	lawyer		64	15	1750 1765	
B	14 Castle	Baugh	Benjamin	lawyer		64	15	1750 1765	
U	40 Broad	Baugh	Benjamin	lawyer		64	18	1791 1809	
F	143 to 144 Corve	Baugh	Benjamin	lawyer		64	18	1792 1810	
B	16 to 18 Castle	Baugh	Edward	lawyer	heirs	64	8	1742 1750	
B	16 to 18 Castle	Baugh	Edward	lawyer		64	30 plus	1712 1742	
B	14 Castle	Baugh	Edward	lawyer		64	26 plus	1716 1742	
F	116 Corve	Baugh	Edward	lawyer		64	15	1720 1738	
B	14 Castle	Baugh	Edwards	lawyer	heirs	64	8	1742 1750	
F	105A Corve	Baugh	Elizabeth	lawyer	widow	64	21	1801 1822	
U	40 Broad	Baugh	Mrs	lawyer	widow	64	12	1809 1821	
Q	30 Broad	Baxter	Elizabeth	lawyer	widow	64	15	1689 1704	
X	7 Mill	Beeston	Abigail	lawyer		64	1 plus	1711 ?	
X	2 to 3 Mill	Beeston	John	lawyer		64	27	1685 1712	
X	7 Mill	Beeston	John	lawyer		64	1 plus	1711 1711	
F	142 Corve	Brown	Richard	lawyer		64	14	1703 1717	
W	15 Mill	Brown	Richard	lawyer		64	34	1719 1758	
Y	40 Mill	Brown	Richard	lawyer		64	28	1725 1753	
B	16 to 18 Castle	Crump	Mary	lawyer	widow	64	25	1679 1704	
B	14 Castle	Crump	Mary	lawyer	widow	64	25	1679 1704	
B	16 to 18 Castle	Crump	Thomas	lawyer		64	19	1660 1679	
B	14 Castle	Crump	Thomas	lawyer		64	19	1660 1679	
D	8 Corve	Davies	James	lawyer		64	16	1832 1848	
W	13 Bell	Davies	Samuel	lawyer		64	22	1762 1784	
Q	27 Broad	Davies	Samuel	lawyer		64	23	1764 1787	
C	St Leonards Linney	Davies	Samuel II	lawyer		64	46	1729 1775	mortgagee
R	9 Broad	Davies	Somerset	lawyer		64	5	1710 1775	
D	8 Corve	Davies	Somerset	lawyer		64	33	1754 1787	
C	5 King	Davies	Somerset	lawyer		64	32	1755 1787	
F	Conduit Cl. Corve	Davies	Somerset	lawyer		64	14	1767 1781	
Q	4 Brand	Davies	Somerset	lawyer		64	9	1772 1781	

B	14	Castle	Dones	William	lawyer		64	9 plus	1828	1837	
Y	45 to 46	Mill	Downes	William	lawyer		64	10	1838	1848	
F	101	Corve	Downes	William	lawyer		64	9	1840	1849	
T	60	Broad	Holland	John	lawyer		64	7	1732	1739	
R	19	Broad	Holland	John	lawyer		64	3	1735	1738	
R	19	Broad	Holland	Thomas	lawyer		64	2	1755	1756	
S	4	Church	Jones	Elihu	lawyer		64	13	1821	1834	
Z	Castle Lodge	Castle	Karver	Benjamin	lawyer		64	27	1710	1737	
Y	54 to 56	Mill	Karver	Benjamin	lawyer		64	10	1727	1737	
S	13	High	Karver	Benjamin	lawyer		64	2	1728	1730	mortgagee
Y	54 to 56	Mill	Karver	Henry	lawyer	heirs	64	21	1776	1797	
Y	54 to 56	Mill	Karver	Henry	lawyer		64	10	1737	1747	
B	20 to 22	Castle	Kettleby	Abel	lawyer	grandson	64	8	1742	1764	
B	High Hall	Castle	Kettleby	Abel	lawyer		64	19	1725	1744	
B	20 to 22	Castle	Kettleby	Abel	lawyer		64	8	1734	1742	
B	High Hall	Castle	Kettleby	Edward	lawyer		64	43	1682	1725	
B	High Hall	Castle	Kettleby	Mary	lawyer	widow	64	29	1744	1773	
N	2	Teamside	Kinnersley	Mrs	lawyer	widowe	64	1 plus	?	1825	
C	5	Bull Ring	Lea	Edward	lawyer		64	3	1759	1762	mortgagee
B	High Hall	Castle	Littleton	Elizabeth	lawyer	widow	64	3	1679	1682	
B	High Hall	Castle	Littleton	Timothy, Sir	lawyer	Sgt at Law	64	12	1667	1679	
R	Broad Gate	Broad	Lloyd	Henry	lawyer		64	20	1814	1834	
D	15	Corve	Lloyd	John	lawyer		64	6	1826	1832	
R	Broad Gate	Broad	Lloyd	John	lawyer		64	14	1834	1848	
S	5	High	Lloyd	John	lawyer		64	8 plus	1835	1843	
S	4	High	Lloyd	John	lawyer		64	1 plus	1843	?	
M	T40	Weeping Cross	Lloyd	William	lawyer	executors	64	20	1816	1836	
Y	56	Mill	Lloyd	William	lawyer		64	8	1807	1815	
M	T41	Weeping Cross	Lloyd	William II	lawyer	trustees	64	5	1843	1848	
M	T41	Weeping Cross	Lloyd	William II	lawyer		64	6	1837	1843	
R	14	Broad	Lloyd	William	lawyer		64	1 plus	1843	?	
Q	23	Broad	Morris	George	lawyer		64	10	1833	1843	
Q	7 to 8	Brand	Morris	George	lawyer		64	10	1833	1843	
Q	24 to 25	Broad	Morris	George	lawyer		64	3	1841	1848	
Q	23	Broad	Morris	John Beebee	lawyer		64	32	1801	1833	
Q	7 to 8	Brand	Morris	John Beebee	lawyer		64	32	1801	1833	
B	20 to 22	Castle	Pardoe	Robert	lawyer		64	9	1764	1773	
L	Mus.Store	Old	Pardoe	Robert	lawyer		64	17	1769	1786	building
D	8	Corve	Perks	Richard	lawyer	widow	64	2	1752	1754	
D	8	Corve	Perks	Richard	lawyer		64	35	1717	1752	mortgagee
B	High Hall	Castle	Poole	James	lawyer		64	14	1773	1787	

F	89 to 95	Corve	Reynolds	Mary	lawyer		64	15		1698	1713	
F	89 to 93	Corve	Reynolds	Samuel	lawyer		64	11		1687	1698	
X	7	Mill	Rickards	John	lawyer		64	10		1660	1670	
Y	54 to 56	Mill	Rickards	John	lawyer		64	7 plus		1660	1667	
V	37 to 39	Lower Broad	Rickards	Richard	lawyer		64	9 plus		1660	1669	
B	High Hall	Castle	Rogers	Edward	lawyer		64	10		1820	1830	
B	5	Church	Russell	Richard	lawyer		64	5		1796	1801	mortgagee
R	42 to 44	Old	Russell	Richard	lawyer		64	1 plus		1810	?	
R	16	Broad	Russell	Richard	lawyer		64	3		1815	1818	
C	15	Bull Ring	Smallman	Edward	lawyer	executors	64	1		1718	1719	
W	15	Mill	Smallman	Edward	lawyer		64	22		1678	1700	
Y	40	Mill	Smallman	Edward	lawyer		64	19		1681	1700	
J	58 to 60	Lower Gaulford	Smallman	Edward	lawyer		64	36		1682	1718	
C	15	Bull Ring	Smallman	Edward	lawyer		64	34		1684	1718	
X	9	Castle	Smallman	Edward	lawyer		64	29		1689	1718	
F	142	Corve	Smallman	Edward	lawyer		64	1 plus		1703	1703	
j	50	Lower Gaulford	Smallman	Edward	lawyer		64	7 plus		?	1718	
W	15	Mill	Smallman	John	lawyer		64	19		1700	1719	
W	28	Lower Raven	Toldervy	Elizabeth	lawyer	executors	64	6		1797	1803	
W	28	Lower Raven	Toldervy	Elizabeth	lawyer	widow	64	1 plus		?	1797	
R	9	Broad	Toldervy	Elizabeth	lawyer		64	13		1784	1797	
W	30 to 32	Lower Raven	Toldervy	William	lawyer	widow & heirs	64	19		1784	1803	
R	9	Broad	Toldervy	William	lawyer		64	4		1780	1784	
O	78 to 82	Fee	Toldervy	William	lawyer		64	24		1782	1806	
J	4 to 6	Lower Gaulford	Unwick	William	lawyer		64	4		1826	1830	mortgager
R	16	King	Unwick	William	lawyer		64	1 plus		1843	?	mortgagee
R	corner	King/Broad	Williams	John	lawyer		64	1 plus		1829	?	
F	145	Corve	Woolley	John	lawyer		64	24		1716	1740	
F	145	Corve	Woolley	Sarah	lawyer		64	20		1740	1760	
								1606				

blck	no.	street	owner		status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years	from	to	notes
B	8	Castle	Cowdall	Ann	apothecary	widow	65	1 plus	1798	1800	
B	8	Castle	Cowdall	Richard	apothecary		65	7	1789	1798	
B	22 to 20	Castle	Cowdall	Richard	apothecary		65	8	1790	1798	
B	1	College	Davies	Richard	apothecary	heirs	65	20	1683	1703	
C	5	King	Davies	Richard	apothecary	heirs	65	16	1683	1699	
F	Conduit Cl.	Corve	Davies	Richard	apothecary	heirs	65	23 plus	1660	1683	
F	Conduit Cl.	Corve	Davies	Richard	apothecary	heirs	65	84	1683	1787	
Y	Dinham Hall	Dinham	Davies	Richard	apothecary	son	65	22	1700	1722	
R	7 to 10	King	Davies	Olive	apothecary	widow	65	2	1682	1684	married Dr Atkinson
G	24	Bull Ring	Davies	Edward	apothecary		65	1	1678	1679	
R	7 to 10	King	Davies	Edward	apothecary		65	13	1669	1682	
C	9	Bull Ring	Davies	Henry	apothecary		65	31	1725	1756	
R	9	Broad	Davies	Henry	apothecary		65	2	1778	1780	mortgagee
G	26	Bull Ring	Davies	Henry	apothecary		65	41	1715	1756	
G	27	Bull Ring	Davies	Henry	apothecary		65	41	1715	1756	
F	152	Corve	Davies	Henry	apothecary		65	13	1763	1756	
W	30 to 32	Lower Raven	Davies	Henry	apothecary		65	31 plus	1725	1756	
X	5 to 7	Castle	Davies	Henry	apothecary		65	17	1739	1756	
G	26	Bull Ring	Davies	Henry II	apothecary		65	45	1756	1801	
G	27	Bull Ring	Davies	Henry II	apothecary		65	38	1756	1794	
F	152	Corve	Davies	Henry II	apothecary		65	44	1756	1800	
W	30 to 32	Lower Raven	Davies	Henry II	apothecary		65	18	1756	1784	
X	5 to 7	Castle	Davies	Henry II	apothecary		65	44	1756	1800	
Y	Dinham Hall	Dinham	Davies	Olive	apothecary		65	17	1683	1700	Mrs Atkinson from 1685
B	1	College	Davies	Richard	apothecary		65	23	1660	1683	
C	4	King	Davies	Richard	apothecary		65	23	1660	1683	
C	4	King	Davies	Richard	apothecary		65	18	1683	1710	
C	5	King	Davies	Richard	apothecary		65	23 plus	16601	1683	
C	6	King	Davies	Richard	apothecary		65	23	1660	1683	
G	24	Bull Ring	Davies	Richard	apothecary		65	18	1660	1678	mortgagee
F	7	Corve	Hammond	Martha	apothecary	widow	65	34	1723	1757	
C	11	Bull Ring	Hammond	Martha	apothecary	widow	65	33	1724	1757	
C	12	Bull Ring	Hammond	Martha	apothecary	widow	65	33	1724	1757	
C	13	Bull Ring	Hammond	Martha	apothecary	widow	65	33	1724	1757	
D	7	Corve	Hammond	Bernard	apothecary		65	15	1686	1701	

D	7 Corve	Hammond	Bernard	apothecary		65	12	1711	1723	
C	11 Bull Ring	Hammond	Bernard	apothecary		65	13	1711	1724	
C	12 Bull Ring	Hammond	Bernard	apothecary		65	13	1711	1724	
C	13 Bull Ring	Hammond	Bernard	apothecary		65	13	1711	1724	
S	New House High	Hammond	Bernard	apothecary		65	1 plus	1686	?	2 shops
S	New House High	Hammond	Bernard	apothecary		65	7	1689	1696	shop & cellar
R	11 to 12 King	Jordan	Mary	apothecary	widow	65	3	1746	1749	
S	9 High	Jordan	Henry	apothecary		65	27	1717	1746	
R	16 King	Jordan	Henry	apothecary		65	30	1719	1749	
R	17 King	Jordan	Henry	apothecary		65	1 plus	1746	1746	
R	11 to 12 King	Jordan	Henry	apothecary		65	20	1726	1746	
D	17 to 19 Corve	Jordan	Henry	apothecary		65	3	1746	1749	
J	20 to 21 Lower Gaulford	Jordan	Henry	apothecary		65	8	1738	1746	
J	20 to 21 Lower Gaulford	Jordan	Mary	apothecary		65	3	1746	1749	
S	1 High	Turner	Richard	apothecary		65	43	1733	1776	
T	3 to 7 L.Raven	Turner	William	apothecary		65	12	1768	1780	
S	1 High	Vaughan	Anna Maria	apothecary	daughter	65	14	1766	1780	
S	1 High	Vaughan	Theophila	apothecary	widow	65	33	1733	1766	
V	71 Lower Broad	Grieves	J.E.	chemist		65	12	1836	1848	
L	5 to 7 Old	Grieves	John	chemist		65	13	1835	1848	
M	103 to 107 Old	Grives	John	chemist		65	5 plus	1843	1848	
C	4 King	Grounds	Ambrose	chemist		65	17	1831	1848	
T	56 Broad	Marston	Richard	chemist		65	25	1823	1848	
S	9 Jordan	Jordan	Henry	daughter		65	3	1746	1749	
T	56 Broad	Evans	Thomas	druggist		65	8	1815	1823	
C	2B to 3 Bull Ring	Prodggers	Giles	druggist		65	7	1798	1805	
R	45 Bull Ring	Whittall	Henry	druggist		65	34	1814	1848	
R	11 to 12 King	Whittall	Henry	druggist		65	19	1820	1839	
C	2B to 3 Bull Ring	Whittall	Henry	druggist		65	21	1827	1848	with Wm Harding, grocer
R	11 to 12 King	Whittall	Henry	druggist		65	26	1813	1839	
T	8 and 9 Raven	Adams	Jemima	physician		65	327	1832	1848	
R	7 to 10 King	Atkinson	Olive	physician	widow	65	2	1697	1699	
R	7 to 10 King	Atkinson	John	physician		65	13	1684	1687	
T	55 Broad	Carr	Frances	physician	widow	65	19	1688	1707	
T	55 Broad	Carr	Nicholas	physician		65	14	1674	1688	
Y	24 to 26 Mill	Dunne	Martin	physician		65	19	1796	1815	

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U	35 to 36	Broad	Dunne	Martin	physician		65	44		1770	1814	
T	55	Broad	Foxton	John	physician	reps of	65	1	plus	1820	?	
T	54	Broad	Lewis	Caroline	physician	widow	65	1		1837	1838	
T	54	Broad	Lewis	David	physician		65	4		1833	1837	
R	9	Broad	Moseley	James	physician		65	4		1797	1801	
R	10	Broad	Moseley	James	physician		65	9		1792	1801	mortgagee
O	78 to 82	Fee	Sprott	Margary	physician	widow	65	22		1760	1782	
R	Wheatsheaf	Lower Broad	Sprott	Mary	physician	widow/exec.	65	22		1760	1782	
U	Broad Gate	Broad	Sprott	Mary	physician		65	12		1760	1772	
U	Broad Gate	Broad	Sprott	Samuel	physician		65	19		1741	176p	
J	Shenston's Yd	Upper Gaulford	Sprott	Samuel	physician		65	5		1742	1767	mortgagee
T	Wheatsheaf	L.Broad	Sprott	Samuel	physician		65	4		1756	1760	
O	78 to 82	Fee	Sprott	Samuel;	physician		65	4		1756	1760	
Q	2	Brand	Stead	John	physician		65	24		1684	1708	
Q	32	Broad	Stead	John	physician		65	1		1719	1720	
M	111	Old	Stead	John	physician		65	16		1698	1714	
R	46 to 50	Old	Stead	John	physician		65	21		1687	1708	
M	91Old/3-4	FW Old	Stead	John	physician		65	16		1698	1714	
M	93 to 101	Old	Stead	John	physician		65	16		1698	1714	
K	Austin Friars	Lower Gaulford	Stead	John	physician		65	45		1684	1720	
U	Broad Gate	Broad	Stead	John	physician		65	49		1692	1741	
M	Horse & Jockey	Old	Stead	John	physician		65	16		1698	1714	
L	Sutton's Close	Old	Stead	John	physician		65	29		1685	1714	
M	T40	Weeping Cross L.	Stead	John	physician		65	29		1685	1714	
M	T41	Weeping Cross L.	Stead	John	physician		65	29		1685	1714	
U	39	Broad	Thorpe		physician	widow	65	17		1826	1843	
U	39	Broad	Thorpe	Gervase	physician		65	2		1824	1826	
R	17	Broad	Green	Thomas	suregeon		65	3		1806	1809	
Q	32	Broad	Adams	Jemima	surgeon	widow	65	12	plus	1832	1844	
M	123 to 125	Old	Adams	Jemima	surgeon	widow	65	1	?	1832	?	
V	2 to 6	Lower Mill	Adams	Jemima	surgeon	widow	65	12	plus	1832	1844	
T	8 and 9	Raven	Adams	Philip Biirt	surgeon		65	30		1802	1832	
Q	32	Broad	Adams	Philip Birt	surgeon		65	2		1808	1810	
V	2 to 6	Lower Mill	Adams	Philip Birt	surgeon		65	1	plus	1831	1832	
C	Chris Williams	Church	Adams	Philip Birt	surgeon		65	30		1818	1848	
M	Horse & Jockey	Old	Adams	Philip Birt	surgeon		65	17		1815	1822	

M	123 to 125 Old	Adams	Philip Birt	surgeon		65	10		1822	1832	
R	19 Broad	Cole	Herbert	surgeon	executors	65	1		1791	1792	
R	19 Broad	Cole	Herbert	surgeon		65	35		1756	1791	
Y	45 to 46 Mill	Edwards	Ann	surgeon	widow	65	13		1679	1692	
B	1 Church	Edwards	Anne	surgeon	widow	65	11		1679	1690	
B	1 Church	Edwards	Griffith	surgeon		65	15		1665	1679	
Y	45 to 46 Mill	Edwards	Griffith	surgeon		65	10		1669	1679	
B	1 Church	Edwards	William	surgeon		65	47		1690	1737	
C	3 King	Grainger	William	surgeon		65	1 plus		1674	1675	
R	17 Broad	Green	Misses	surgeon	daughters	65	20		1828	1848	
R	17 Broad	Green	Mrs	surgeon	widow	65	19		1809	1828	
X	8 to 9 Mill	Hawkins	Caesar	surgeon		65	39		1721	1760	
W	12 to 16 Bell	Hooper	George	surgeon		65	12		1836	1848	mortgagee
D	10 Corve	James	Richard	surgeon		65	7		1792	1799	
G	19 Bull Ring	King	Catherine	surgeon	widow	65	17		1704	1721	
G	19 Bull Ring	King	Charles	surgeon		65	25		1679	1704	
S	1 Church	King	Edmund	surgeon		65	34		1660	1694	
S	1 Church	King	Nathaniel	surgeon		65	44		1694	1738	
G	19 Bull Ring	King	Richard	surgeon		65	5		1674	1679	
Y	Blue Boar Mill	Pritchett	Gilley	surgeon	heirs	65	4		1836	1840	
Y	Blue Boar Mill	Pritchett	Gilley	surgeon	retired	65	8		1828	1836	
X	4 Mill	Russell	William	surgeon		65	17		1794	1811	
X	2 to 3 Mill	Russell	William	surgeon		65	17		1794	1811	
C	1 Church	Turner	Richard	surgeon		65	10		1777	1787	
S	1 High	Turner	Richard	surgeon		65	30		1776	1806	
Q	27 Broad	Turner	Richard	surgeon		65	17		1798	1806	
Q	27 Broad	Turner	Richard	surgeon		65	17		1789	1806	
Q	33 Broad	Turner	Richard	surgeon		65	8 plus		1798	1806	
M	137 Old	Turner	Richard	surgeon		65	45		1761	1806	
M	135 TO 147 Old	Turner	Richard	surgeon		65	9		1797	1806	
T	3 to 7 Lower Raven	Turner	Richard	surgeon		65	46		1760	1806	
S	1 High	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon	heirs	65	4		1844	1848	
D	11 Corve	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon	heirs	65	4		1844	1848	
D	11 Corve	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon		65	24		1820	1844	
D	12 Corve	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon		65	21		1843	1844	
W	30 to 32 L Raven	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon		65	22		1826	1848	

S		1	High	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon		65	9	1835	1844	mortgagee	
R	£	18.00	King	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon		65	8	1840	1844	mortgagee	
R		28	Old	Winston	Edward	surgeon		65	17	1703	1720		
V		10 to 11	Lower Mill	Winston	Edward	surgeon		65	18	1702	1720		
R		24 to 26	Old	Winston	Edward	surgeon		65	17	1703	1720		
V		7 to 9	Lower Mill	Winston	Edward	surgeon		65	18	1702	1720		
Q		29	Broad	Creswell		veterinary		65	5	1843	1848		
		total							1396				

occupation and status

blck no.	street	owner		status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years		from to	notes
T	60 Board	Pearce	John III	hairdresser	heirs	71	16		1832 1848	
T	60 Broad	Smith	Thomas	servant	heirs	70	59		1665 1724	John Smith of Newboroughg,Anglesey, nailer
T	69 Broad	Griffiths	Catherine	hairdresser	widow	71	8 plus		1840 1848	
L	10 to 12 Tower	Plummer	Ann	barber	widow	71	8		1769 1777	
F	16 Corve	Hammond	Thomas	servant	wife had been	70	16		1754 1770	from Wm Phillips, Gent
Q	28 Broad	Gaine	Mary	servant	woman	70	11		1694 1705	by Mrs Reed
Q	28 Broad	Gaine	Mary	servant	woman	70	6 plus		1699 1705	
B	5 Church	Jones	Mary	servant	woman	70	26		1761 1787	from John Griffiths, baker
Q	4 Brand	Jones	Seliva	servant	woman	70	1 plus		1848 ?	by Elizabeth Edwards
WV	15 Mill	Owen	Mary	servant	woman	70	3		1753 1756	by Richard Brown, solicitor
Q	28 Broad	Price	Jane	servant	woman	70	3		1805 1808	by Anna Vaughan; mar.Thoms Palmers,to Leam.;
T	60 Broad	Smith	Thomas	servant	woman	70	5		1660 1665	"my good mistress Mrs Ann Harford"
R	39 Broad	Tranter	Adah	servant	woman	70	3		1808 1811	by will of Ann Shepherd
K	71 to 72 Lower Gaulford	Wilkes	Timothy	servant	woman	70	45		1769 1814	ostler
R	5 and 6 Broad	Williams	Mary	servant	woman	70	7		1821 1828	left by Samuel Vaughan,butcher
B	8 Castle	Anderson	Samuel	hairdresser		71	185		1808 1837	
T	69 Broad	Griffiths	Benjamin	hairdresser		71	5		1835 1840	
J	St Stephens Upper Gaulford	Oliver	Charles	hairdresser		71	1 plus		1792 1793	mortgagee
T	69 Broad	Peach	Ann	hairdresser		71	14		1814 1828	
E	69 Corve	Peach	Richard	hairdresser		71	5		1801 1806	
T	69 Broad	Peach	Richard	hairdresser		71	27		1787 1814	
S	2 High	Pearce	John	barber		71	41		1774 1815	
T	60 Broad	Pearce	John II	hairdresser		71	13		1812 1825	
T	60 Broad	Pearce	John III	hairdresser		71	1		1831 1832	
S	2 High	Pearce	Thomas	hairdresser		71	12		1762 1774	
L	10 to 12 Tower	Plummer	Elisha	barber		71	18		1751 1769	
	total						377			

blk	no.	street	owner	status/occ.	add.inf.	cd	years	from to	notes
X		9 Castle	Adair	Esq.		72	15	1718 1733	married Catherine, d.of Ed.Smallman
U		39 Broad	Archer	Mrs	widow	72	8	1722 1731	
U		39 Broad	Archer	Mr		72	12	1710 1722	
U		39 Broad	Ashwood	Mrs		72	16	1768 1784	
U	Broad Gate	Broad	Ashwood	Mrs		72	11	1772 1783	
F		113 Corve	Baldwin	Esq.		72	24	1690 1714	
T		51 Broad	Baldwin	Esq.		72	17	1757 1772	
X		2 to 3 Mill	Baldwin	Gent		72	3	1719 1722	
X		2 to 3 Mill	Baldwin	Gent	widow	72	14	1722 1736	
X		2 to 3 Mill	Baldwin	Esq.		72	43	1736 1779	
F		113 Corve	Baldwin	Esq.		72	30	1660 1690	
L	17 and 1	Tower/Old	Baugh	Gent		72	30	1739 1769	
L	17 and 1	Tower/Old	Baugh	Gent	heirs	72	4	1769 1773	
F		133 Corve	Baugh	Mr		72	63	1773 1836	
B		14 Castle	Baugh	Gent		72	35	1801 1836	
B	College	College	Baugh	Mrs		72	23	1746 1769	mortgagee
F		145 Corve	Baugh	Gent		72	24	1824 1848	
W	22 to 24	Lower Raven	Baugh	Esq.		72	14	1780 1794	
X		2 to 3 Mill	Baugh	Esq.		72	8 plus	1786 1794	
F		145 Corve	Baugh	Gent		72	52	1772 1824	
T		54 Broad	Baxter	Esq.		72	10	1838 1848	
X		5 to 6 Mill	Berry	Esq.	widow (Lady)	72	4	1678 1682	
X	Castle Lodge	Castle	Berry	Esq.	widow (Lady)	72	4	1678 1682	
X		5 to 6 Mill	Berry	Esq.		72	18	1660 1678	
Y	Castle Lodge	Castle	Berry	Esq.		72	26	1660 1686	
H		9 Upper Gaulford	Bishop	Gent		72	1PLUS	1697 ?	mortgagee
J		Spr.Hs	Bright	Gent		72	14	1678 1692	
J		Spr.Hs	Bright	Gent	executors	72	1	1692 1693	
Y		Blue Boar	Bromley	Gent		72	14	1739 1753	
Y	2 to 8 Dinham	Dinham	Bromley	Gent		72	14	1739 1753	
Y		Blue Boar	Bromley	Gent	executors	72	21	1753 1774	
Y	2 to 8 Dinham	Dinham	Bromley	Gent	executors	72	29	1753 1782	
E		50 to 53 Corve	Child	Gent		72	15 plus	1717 1732	
F		133 Corve	Child	Gent		72	6	1746 1752	
F		133 Corve	Child	Gent		72	21	1752 1773	

D	17 to 19	Corve	Coates	Edward	Gent		72	7	1841	1848	
D	20	Corve	Coates	Edward	Gent		72	7	1841	1848	
D	21	Corve	Coates	Edward	Gent		72	7	1841	1848	
Y	41	Mill	Colbatch	Elizabeth	Miss		72	38	1741	1779	
R	16	Broad	Cole	Elizabeth	Miss		72	30	1727	1757	
R	16	Broad	Cole	Margaret	Miss		72	3	1757	1760	
W	22 to 24	Lower Raven	Cole	Margaret	Miss		72	6	1757	1763	
R	1	Broad	Cole	Muriel	Miss		72	4	1697	1701	
Y	24 to 26	Mill	Collins	Ann	Miss		72	9	1660	1669	mortgagee and occupant
U	37	Broad	Cooke	Thomas	Esq.		72	27	1778	1805	
U	37	Broad	Cooke	Thomas	Esq.		72	20	1805	1825	
R	18	King	Cornewall	Bridget	Gentlewoman	Madam	72	1 plus	1709	?	
Z	11 to 12	Dinham	Croismere	Charles de	Esq.		72	26	1822	1848	
F	Conduit Cl.	Corve	Croismere	Charles, Count de	Esq.		72	26	1822	1848	
Q	46 to 50	Old	Crowther	John	Mr		72	5	1666	1671	
Q	46 to 50	Old	Crowther	Thomas	Mr		72	6	1660	1666	
Y	24 to 26	Mill	Crowther	William	Gent		72	7 plus	1669	1676	
Y	24 to 26	Mill	Crowther	William	Gent		72	7 plus	1669	1676	
T	54	Broad	Crump	William	Gent		72	4	1660	1664	
S	Tamb.Hs	High	Davies	Francis	Gent		72	21	1788	1809	was ironmonger
Y	41	Mill	Davies	Mary	Miss		72	5	1843	1848	
T	49	Broad	Dawes	Valentine	Gent		72	15	1686	1711	
T	8 to 9	Raven	Dawes	Valentine	Gent		72	1 plus	1696	?	
T	49	Broad	Dawes	William	Gent		72	21	1665	1686	
Y	24 to 26	Mill	Downe	Clement	Gent		72	16	1711	1722	
Y	24 to 26	Mill	Downe	Clement	Gent		72	16	1711	1722	
L	37 to 45	Old	Dyer	Mary	Gent	widow & heirs	72	20	1821	1841	
L	Mus Store	Old	Dyer	Mary	Gentleman	widow	72	16	1821	1837	
L	Mus Store	Old	Dyer	Mary	Gentleman	trustees	72	5	1837	1844	
R	18	Broad	Dyer	William Herbert	Esq.		72	7	1814	1821	
L	37 to 45	Old	Dyer	William Herbert	Gent		72	1	1821	1821	
R	39	Old	Edgerton	Joan	Gentlewoman		72	1 plus	1667	?	mortgagee
X	7	Mill	Eysham	Tobias	Gent		72	43	1725	1758	
X	7	Mill	Graham	James	Gent		72	14	1768	1782	was Hereford tobacconist
X	7	Mill	Graham	James II	Gent		72	50	1782	1828	
U	40	Broad	Green	James	Mr	trustees	72	6	1763	1769	

U	8 to 13	Lower Raven	Green	James	Gent		72	22	1769	1791	
U	40	Broad	Green	James	Mr		72	22	1769	1791	
L	3	Old	Griffiths	Martha	Gent	widow	72	16	1688	1704	
R	14 to 15	King	Griffiths	Martha	Gent	widow	72	7	1688	1695	
L	3	Old	Griffiths	William	Gent		72	28	1660	1688	
R	14 to 15	King	Griffiths	William	Gent		72	10	1660	1679	
R	14	Broad	Griffiths	William	Gent		72	5	1660	1665	
S	6 to 7	High	Griffiths	William	Gent		72	14	1660	1674	
S	8	High	Griffiths	William	Gent		72	28	1660	1688	
H	77 to 103	Upper Gaolford	Griffiths	William	Gent		72	16	1670	1688	
R	14 to 15	King	Griffiths	William	Gent		72	3	1685	1688	
K	Bish.Mascall	Lower Gaulford	Hall	Jane	Gent	widow	72	2	1669	1671	
K	Bishop Mascall	Lower Gaulford	Hall	Mary	Mrs		72	6	1660	1666	
K	Bish.Mascall	Lower Gaulford	Hall	Somerset	Gent		72	3	1666	1669	
T	52	Broad	Handford	Eleanor	Esq.	widow	72	15	1684	1699	ejected
W	13	Mill	Hill	Eleanor	Mrs		72	32 plus	1730	1762	
F	136	Corve	Hodges	Ann	Mrs		72	24	1760	1784	
F	136	Corve	Hodges	Ann Maria	Miss	spinster	72	64	1784	1848	
F	134	Corve	Holland	James	Mr		72	29	1728	1757	
X	9	Castle	Holland	James	Gent		72	5	1752	1757	
F	110	Corve	Holland	Margaret	Gentlewoman	niece of Ed Lea	72	1 plus	1801	?	
F	106 to 109	Corve	Holland	Margaret	Gnetlewoman	niece of Ed Lea	72	1 plus	1801	?	
B	20 to 22	Castle	Hosier	Richard	Mr		72	4	1681	1685	
Z	Lodge Dinham		Hosier	Richard	Gent		72	12	1684	1696	
T	52	Broad	Johnston	Charles	Esq.		72	1	1805	1806	
D	20	Corve	Jones	Edward	Gent		72	17	1789	1806	son of blacksmith
R	28	Old	Jones	Elui	Gent		72	4	1822	1826	mortgagee
Q	29	Broad	Jones	Mary	Gentlewoman		72	2	1788	1790	
G	24	Bull Ring	Jones	Robert	Gent		72	28	1753	1781	
F	135	Corve	Jones	William	Esq.		72	1 plus	1833	?	
X	Castle Lodge	Castle	Karver	Henry	Gent		72	10	1737	747	
D	11	Corve	Kenyon	Stanley	Esq.		72	6	1814	1820	
D	30 to 32	Corve	Kinchant	John	Esq.		72	1	1788	1798	
Y	45 to 46	Mill	Knight	Frederick	Gent		72	14	1834	1848	
Y	45 to 46	Mill	Knight		Gent		72	3	1783	1786	to Henley (B)
F	106 to 109	Corve	Lea	Edward	Mr		72	50	1697	1747	

F		113	Corve	Lea	Edward	Gent		72	9	1714	1723	
F		110	Corve	Lea	Edward	Gent	nephew	72	54	1747	1801	
F		106 to 109	Corve	Lea	Edward	Mr	nephew	72	54	1747	1801	
F		105A	Corve	Lea	Edward	Gent		72	3	1798	1801	
F		110	Corve	Lea	Sarah	Gent	widow	72	3	1720	1723	
F		106 to 109	Corve	Lea	Thomas	Gent		72	9	1681	1690	small part aliened to him
F		110	Corve	Lea	Thomas	Gent		72	26	1694	1720	
B		High Hall	Castle	Lightbody	Robert	Gent		72	5	1843	1848	
K		82 to 87	Lower Gaulford	Lightbody	Thomas	Esq.		72	4	1819	1823	mortgagee
R		9	Broad	Lockead	David	Gent		72	17	1671	1688	
Q		23	Broad	Lutleu	Thomas	Gent		72	1 plus	1721	1721	
Q		23	Broad	Lutley	Elizabeth	Gent		72	20	1721	1741	
Q		23	Broad	Lutley	Elizabeth	Gent	heirs	72	5	1741	1746	
T		51	Broad	Lutley	Philip	Esq.		72	22	1709	1731	
R		19	Broad	Lutley	Philip	Gent		72	16	1717	1733	mortgagee
Q		29	Broad	Marsh		Mrs		72	8 plus	1790	1798	
F		134	Corve	Matthews	Thomas	Mr		72	1 plus	?	1816	
Y		Castle Lodge	Castle	McGhie	Mary	Miss		72	6	1838	1844	
B		College	College	Meyricke	Thomas II	Mr		72	13	1756	1769	
B		College	College	Meyricke	Adam	Gent		72	10	1724	1734	
Z		Lodge	Dinham	Meyricke	Edward	Gent		72	17	1781	1798	was London haberdasher
B		1	College	Meyricke	Judith	Gentlewoman		72	5	1794	1799	
B		College	College	Meyricke	Robert	Gent		72	12	1724	1736	
Z		Lodge	Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	Gent		72	36	1798	1834	
B		College	College	Meyricke	Robert II	Mr		72	22	1734	1756	
Y		D.Hall garden	Dinham	Nash	Frederick	Gent		72	14	1834	1848	
Y		Dinham Hall	Dinham	Nash	Frederick	Gent		72	14	1834	1848	
Y		45 to 46	Mill	Nash	Richard	Gent		72	26	1789	1815	agent for Knights
Y		D.Hall garden	Dinham	Nash	Richard	Gent	trustees	72	19	1815	1834	
Y		Dinham Hall	Dinham	Nash	Richard	Gent	trustees	72	19	1815	1834	
Y		D.Hall garden	Dinham	Nash	Richard	Gent		72	14 plus	1834	1848	
Y		Dinham Hall	Dinham	Nash	Richard	Gent		72	14 plus	1834	1848	
X		9	Castle	Newland	John	Gent		72	1	1669	?	
R		16 to 17	Brand	Oakley	Sarah	Mrs		72	16	1759	1775	
C		16 to 17	Bull Ring	Parsons	Edward	Gent		72	1	?	1798	
T		55	Broad	Phillips	John	Gent		72	11 plus	1663	1674	

F		116	Corve	Phillips	John	Gent		72	25	1710	1725	
F		116	Corve	Phillips	William	Gent		72	20	1735	1755	
D		9	Corve	Powell	Richard	Gent		72	5	1737	1742	
D		9	Corve	Powell	Richard	Gent	daughters	72	18	1742	1760	
K	Austin Friars		Lower Gaulford	Pritchett	Gilley	Mr		72	19	1817	1836	
W	Barnaby Hs		Mill	Pritchett	Gilley	Esq.		72	13	1833	1846	
W		15	Mill	Pritchett	Gilley	Esq.		72	7	1833	1840	
W	Barnaby Hs		Mill	Pritchett	Gilley	Esq.		72	2	1846	1848	
K	105 to 108		Lower Gaulford	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	32	1705	1737	
B	Quality Sq.		Castle	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	20	1717	1737	
B		8	Castle	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	19	1718	1737	
S		5	High	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	18	1719	1737	
U		3 to 7	Lower Raven	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	18	1719	1737	
Y	Blue Boar		Mill	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	17	1720	1737	
B		10	Castle	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	15	1722	1737	
Y		2 to 8	Dinham	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	12	1725	1737	
Y		9	Dinham	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	12	1725	1737	
Y		2 to 8	Dinham	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	12	1725	1737	
U		40	Broad	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	9	1728	1737	
U		9 to 13	Lower Raven	Pryce	Francis	Esq.		72	9	1728	1737	
U		40	Broad	Pryce	Francis	Esq.	heirs	72	1	1737	1738	
Q		32	Broad	Pryce	Harriet	Gentlewoman	spinster	72	23	1784	1807	
Q		32	Broad	Pryce	Harriet	Gentlewoman	heirs	72	1	1897	1808	
B	Quality Sq.		Castle	Pryce	Mary	Esq.	widow	72	1	1737	1738	
K	105 to 108		Lower Gaulford	Pryce	Samuel	Esq.		72	2	1737	1739	
S		5	High	Pryce	Samuel	Esq.		72	11	1737	1748	
U		3 to 7	Lower Raven	Pryce	Samuel	Esq.		72	9	1737	1746	
Y		2 to 8	Dinham	Pryce	Samuel	Esq.		72	2	1737	1739	
Q		30	Broad	Reed	Katherine	Mrs		72	15 plus	1684	1699	
R		7	Broad	Richards	Margaret	Mrs		72	14	1821	1835	mortgagee
F		140	Corve	Roberts	Thomas	Gent		72	1 plus	1831	?	
R		16	Broad	Rock	Jane	Gent	widow	72	15	1712	1727	
R		16	Broad	Rock	Thomas	Gent		72	25	1687	1712	
U		37	Broad	Rogers	Harriett	Gentlewoman	Miss	72	13	1835	1848	
L		5 and 7	Old	Sabery	Richard	Gent		72	14	1687	1701	
J	Add/Lloyds		Upper/Lower Gaol	Sabery	Thomas	Gent		72	19	1689	1708	

L	5 and 7	Old	Sabery	Thomas	Gent		72	7	1701	1708	
R	17	Broad	Salwey	Constance	Gentlewoman	widow	72	41	1760	1801	
R	17	Broad	Salwey	Constance	Gentlewoman	executors	72	5	1801	1806	
T	52	Broad	Salwey	Richard	Esq.		72	15	1744	1759	
R	46	Bull Ring	Salwey	Thomas	Gent		72	15	1693	1708	
T	52	Broad	Salwey	THomas	Esq.		72	1	1759	1759	
U	39	Broad	Shepherd	Ann	Miss		72	18	1790	1808	
X	2 to 3	Mill	Shepherd	John	Esq.		72	5	1712	1719	of Bitterley
Y	40	Mill	Smallman	John	Gent		72	25	1700	1725	
Q	24 to 25	Broad	Smith	Misses	Gentlewomen		72	5	1843	1848	
X	8 to 9	Mill	Sprott	Ann	Esq.	widow	72	25	1695	1721	
Q	23	Broad	Sprott	Elizabeth	Gentlewoman		72	1 plus	1771	1771	with Isabella
X	9	Castle	Sprott	Isabella	Gentlewoman		72	6	1727	1733	mortgagee
Q	23	Broad	Sprott	Isabella	Gentlewoman		72	1 plus	1771	1771	with Elizabeth
Q	23	Broad	Sprott	Isabella	Gentlewoman		72	17	1771	1788	
L	10 to 12	Tower/Old	Sprott	Isabella	Gentlewoman		72	1 plus	1778	?	mortgagee
R	22	Broad	Sprott	Isabella	Gentlewoman		72	1 plus	1780	?	mortgagee
R	9	Broad	Sprott	Mary	Gentlewoman	Mrs	72	3	1767	1770	mortgagee
G	3	Tower	Steenton		Mr		72	1 plus	?	1843	
R	30	Old	Steward	Miles	Mr		72	12	1768	1780	
Q	33	Broad	Stuart	Alexander	Esq.		72	61	1725	1786	
Z	11 to 12	Dinham	Syer	Elizabeth	Gent	widow	72	21	1779	1800	
F	Conduit Cl.	Corve	Syer	John	Esq.		72	5	1817	1822	
B	Quality Sq.	Castle	Syer	Margaret	Gentlewoman	widow	72	1 plus	1768	?	mortgagee
U	39	Broad	Syer	Maria	Gentlewoman	Miss	72	11	1811	1822	
Z	11 to 12	Dinham	Syer	Mary Ann	Gent	widow	72	19	1803	1822	
U	39	Broad	Syer	Sophia	Gentlewoman	Miss	72	11	1811	1822	
U	39	Broad	Syer	Sophia & Maria	Gentlewomen	executors	72	6	1822	1824	
F	146	Corve	Taylor	Richard	Gent		72	1 plus	1803	?	
E	69	Corve	Thomas	John	Mr		72	1	1840	?	mortgagee
D	24	Corve	Thomas	John	Gent		72	7 plus	1841	1846	son of currier
Y	Castle Lodge	Castle	Thompson	Charlotte	Miss		72	4	1844	1848	
R	18	Broad	Toldervy	George	Esq.		72	10	1803	1813	
R	18	Broad	Toldervy	George	Esq.	executors	72	1	1813	1814	
J	Sp.Hs	Lower Gaulford	Townshend	Robert	Esq.		72	18	1660	1678	
J	58 to 60	Lower Gaulford	Townshend	Robert	Esq.		72	8	1660	1668	

[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix 4

B: Owners living outside Ludlow (‘foreign’)

Column headings:

blc:	block
no:	number in street
street	
owner	
status/occ:	social status/occupational class
cd.:	code, class number
county	
parish	
zone:	see pages 24-26
years:	years of ownership
from:	known starting date
to:	known end date
notes	

b/c no	street	owner		status/occad.inf.	cd	county	parish	years	from	to	notes
B	Qual.Sq.	Stanley	Francis	clergy	69	Hertfordshire	Much Haddam	1	?	1749	
B	Qual.Sq.	Stanley	Francis	clergy	69	Hertfordshire	Much Haddam	1	?	1749	
G	6 to 7	Starr	Thomas	glover	29	Lancashire	Lancaster	1	1755	1756	
L	5 to 7	Preston	brothers	hosiers	29	Lancashire	Sibley	22	1798	1820	inheritance
R	7	Davies	Nathaniel	merc	53	Lancashire	Manchester	1	1781	1782	
R	8	Davies	Nathaniel	merc	53	Lancashire	Manm	1	1781	1782	
J	82 to 87	Morris	Joseph	yeoman	1	London	St Mn in Fields	1	?	1735	
G	6 to 7	Price	John	yeoman	1	London		9	1825	1834	
L	5 to 7	King	d.of Sarah	glazier	5	London	City	6	1765	1771	
J	War.Grdns	Warrington	John	joiner/cab.mkr	5	London		13	1835	1848	
O	78 to 82	Payne	Humphrey	goldsmith	11	London		5	1751	1756	
Q	Wheat Sh	Payne	Humphrey	goldsmith	11	London		5	1751	1756	
B	20 to 22	Doe	Charles, Sir	goldsmith	11	London		9	1660	1669	
U	9 to 13	Doe	Charles, Sir	goldsmith	11	London		8	1660	1668	
O	78 to 82	Payne	Humphrey	goldsmith	11	London		16	1735	1751	
Q	Wheat Sh	Payne	Humphrey	goldsmith	11	London		14	1737	1751	
J	23 to 24	Calloway	John	leather dresser	16	London	Southwark	1	1765	1766	mortgagee
B	7 to 9	Taylor		skinner	16	London	Southwark	28	1775	1803	
B	7 to 9	Taylor	William	skinner	16	London	Southwark	14	1761	1775	inheritance
Y	28 to 29	Hill	Benjamin	chandler	17	London	Commercial Rd	1	1819	1819	moved from Ludlow, 1817
R	40	Dixon	Thomas	trunkmaker	20	London	Fleet Street	33	1772	1805	with J.Collier, Portsea
L	23 to 35	Prickett	Rees	virtualler	24	London	City	24	1738	1762	
D	13	Griffiths	Walter	glover	29	London		18	1771	1789	
K	118 to 119	Harris	William	glover (?)	29	London	Whitechapel	1	1743	?	
W	corner	Winde	Sarah	tailor	29	London	Westminster	19	1763	1782	
K	90	Staunton	Francis	tailor	29	London	Russell Square	29	?	1816	mortgagee
D	46 to 49	Harley	Elizabeth	distiller	32	London		21	1787	1808	
D	46 to 49	Harley	John	distiller	32	London		12	1775	1787	inheritance
F	102	Lee	Willim/Rachel	maltster	32	London	Westmionster	18	1757	1775	inheritance
M	133 to 135	Morris	Thomas	coal mrchnt	42	London	Holborn	15	1810	1825	inherited
C	Chris Wms	Bramhall	Thomas	draper	45	London		16	1660	1666	
R	17 abd 1	Bramhall	Thomas	draper	45	London		18	1660	1678	
Z	Din.Lodge	Meyricke	Edward	haberdasher	45	London	Holborn	2	1779	1781	to Ludlow
C	Church Inn	Hayes	John	woolen draper	45	London		3	1799	1802	mortgagee
F	101	Dyke	Philip, junior	butcher	46	London	Pentonville	24	1807	1831	mortgagee
B	Qual.Sq.	Jeffries	Joseph	butcher	46	London		17	1717	1734	mortgagee
L	Old Fire S	Austwick	Thomas	innkeeper	48	London	Aldersgate	23	1708	1731	mortgagee

county, then occupation and status

L	Old Fire S	Old	Austwick	Thomas	innkeeper		48	London	Aldersgate	12	1713	1725	mortgagee
G	1 to 2	Tower	Greatorix	John	innkeeper		48	London		9	1741	1750	son-in-law of Mgt Fothergill
U	3 to 7	Lower Raven	Bury	Joan	vintner	daughter	48	London		20	1678	1698	
Q	33	Broad	Sergeant	Edward	vintner		48	London		48	1708	1725	
U	39	Broad	Langslow	John	wine mrchnt		48	London		1	1739	1739	
Y	41	Mill	Colbatch	Benjamin	stationer		51	London	Royal Exchange	16	1725	1741	
X	8 to 9	Mill	Robinson	Humphrey	stationer		51	London		9	1660	1669	
D	10	Corve	Gill	Mary	stationerq	wife	51	London		1	1777	1777	inherited
L	73	Old	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger		52	London	City	12	1831	1843	
L	75	Old	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger		52	London	City	17	1831	1848	
L	77	Old	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger		52	London	City	1	1831	?	
L	Sutton's C	Old	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger		52	London	City	13	1835	1848	
F	137	Corve	Hattam	Walter	ironmonger		52	London	Clerkenwell	3	1784	1787	inheritance
J	23 to 24	Lower Gaulford	Hattam	Walter	ironmonger		52	London	Clerkenwell	21	1766	1785	
K	82 to 89	Lower Gaulford	Hattam	Walter	ironmonger		52	London	Clerkenwell	25	1762	1787	inheritance
M	111	Old	Bradshaw	Humphrey	Esq		53	London	Wanstead	18	1680	1698	
M	H and J	Old	Bradshaw	Humphrey	Esq		53	London	Wanstead	18	1680	1698	
M	3 and 4	Friars Walk	Bradshaw	Humphrey	Esq.		53	London	Wanstead	18	1680	1698	
R	7	Broad	Harvey	John	merchant	and widow	53	London		11	1689	1701	
R	8	Broad	Harvey	John	merchant	and widow	53	London		11	1689	1701	
M	orchard	T40	Barnard	Henry	merchant	heirs	53	London	Wanstead	18	1680	1698	
M	Great Md	T41	Barnard	Henry	merchant	heirs	53	London	Wanstead	18	1680	1698	
M	91/3 & 4	Old/Friars Wlk	Barnard	Henry	merchant		53	London	Wanstead	18	1660	1678	mortgagee
M	93 to 101	Old	Barnard	Henry	merchant		53	London	Wanstead	20	1660	1680	
M	orchard	T40	Barnard	Henry	merchant		53	London	Wanstead	20	1660	1680	
M	Great Md	T41	Barnard	Henry	merchant		53	London	Wanstead	20	1660	1680	
J	Spr.Hs	Lower Gaulford	Barnard	Henry	merchant		53	London		18	1660	1678	mortgagee
K	82 to 89	Lower Gaulford	Barnard	Henry	merchant		53	London		18	1660	1678	mortgagee
C	14	Bull Ring	Crundall	Humphrey	merchant		53	London		31	1660	1691	
C	15	Bull Ring	Crundall	Humphrey	merchant		53	London		24	1660	1684	
M	133 to 135	Old	Morris	Thomas	bank-clerk	son of	56	London		15	1810	1824	inherited
F	101	Corve	Prodgers	Edward	banker	son	56	London	Kensington	1	1840	1840	administration
C	2B to 3	Bull Ring	Plummer	Richard			58	London	South Sea Hs	11	1776	1787	
C	St Lnds	Linney	Aston	John	lawyer		64	London	Hackney	5	1660	1665	
G	6 to 7	Tower	Aston	John	lawyer		64	London	Hackney	6	1660	1665	
B	High Hall	Castle	Aston	John	lawyer		64	London		7	1660	1667	
Y	2 to 8	Dinham	Lutwyche	Thomas	lawyer		64	London		16	1709	1725	
Q	28	Broad	Stedman	Henry	lawyer		64	London	Inner Temple	11	1683	1694	

county, then occupation and status

U	39	Broad	Thomas	Benjamin	lawyer		64	London	lawyer	1	?	1755	
N	Mill	Temeside	Gretton	Alexander	courtier		72	London	Westminster	15	1660	1685	
M	3 and 4	Friars Walk	Bradshaw	Humphrey	Esq		72	London	Wanstead	1	?	1680	
T	51	Broad	Baldwyn	Richard	Esq.		72	London		33	1772	1805	
Q	29	Broad	Green	William	Esq.		72	London	Salisbury Sq.	3	1818	1821	
Q	32	Broad	Colbatch	Robert	Gent	and heirs	72	London	Shoreditch	42	1677	1719	
B	Qual.Sq.	Castle	Backhouse	William	Gent		72	London	Tower	1	1734	?	mortgagee
Y	41	Mill	Colbatch	Robert	Gent		72	London	Shoreditch	23	1702	1725	
K	109 to 113	Lower Gaulford	Coppack	James	Gent		72	London	Westminster	2	1839	1841	
K	114 to 115	Lower Gaulford	Coppack	James	Gent		72	London	Westminster	9	1839	1848	
S	6 and 7	High	Coppack	James	Gent		72	London	Westminster	1	1843	?	
T	55	Broad	Eaton	Thomas	Gent		72	London	Aldersgate	16	1740	1756	mortgagee
K	82 to 89	Lower Gaulford	Highman	James	Gent		72	London	Scots Yard	3	1825	1828	
J	10	Lower Gaulford	Pulley	Edward	Gent		72	London	Westminster	31	1734	1765	
L	10 to 12	Tower	Mason	Elizabeth	Miss		72	London		4	18108	1812	mortgagee
Y	Lodge	Castle	Babbington	Thomas			72	London		33	1805	1838	
T	52	Broad	Whitney	Mary			72	London	Holborn	12	1699	1711	
Y	Lodge	Castle	Whitter	John Rogers			72	London		33	1805	1838	
J	War.Grdns	Lower Gaulford	Bigley	Ann	Gent	daughter	99	London	Edgeware Rd	15	1835	1835	
F	111 to 112	Corve	Ashman	John			99	London		13	1678	1691	inheritance (probably)
W	Barn.Hs	Mill	Massey	Thomas			99	London	Whitechapel	12	1797	1809	
S	5	High	Meadow	Ralph			99	London		8	1679	1687	marriage
F	141	Corve	Pinches	Edward			99	London		7	1767	1774	
L	Mus.Store	Old	Roper	James			99	London	Cornhill	1	1821	?	mortgagee
E	71	Corve	Jennings	John	farmer		1	Middlesex	Hornsey	1	?	1818	purchase
F	101	Corve	Holland	James	maltster	nephew	32	Nottinghamshire	Southall	7	1757	1764	
Q	33	Broad	Stuart	Charles	doctor		4	Scotland	Dunaim	1	1786	?	
Q	33	Broad	Stuart	Alexander	Esq.		72	Scotland	Dunaim	61	1725	1786	
F	Conduit Cl	Corve	Davies	James	doctor	widow	65	Somerset	Bath	1	?	1787	
R	9	Broad	Poston	George	Gent		72	Somerset	Bristol	7	1808	1815	mortgagee
Y	54 to 56	Mill	Rudhall	Henry			99	Somerset	Bristol	3	1838	1841	
K	80 to 81	Lower Gaulford	Botteley	James	coalminer		3	Staffordshire	West Bromwich	1	1836	?	
K	80 to 81	Lower Gaulford	Lily	William	coalminer		3	Staffordshire	West Bromwich	3	1840	1843	
Y	31 to 39	Mill	Price	Anne	inkeeper	wife	48	Staffordshire	Wolverhampton	4	1844	1848	
Q	31	Broad	Jackson	Patience	Mrs		58	Staffordshire	Stafford	29	1669	1689	inherited from King's Mess.
B	7 to 9	Church	Goodwin	Charles	clergy		69	Staffordshire	Enfield	15	1660	1674	inheritance
R	18	Broad	Goodwin	Charles	clergy		69	Staffordshire	Enfield	15	1660	1674	inheritance
R	19	Broad	Goodwin	Charles	clergy		69	Staffordshire	Enfield	15	1660	1674	inheritance

county, then occupation and status

R		9 Broad	Mosley	Walter	Esq.		72 Staffordshire	Leaton	7	1801	1808	
R		7 Broad	Mapp	John	Gent		72 Staffordshire	Cheddleton	15	1835	1848	mortgagee, to J.Jolly, carrier
F		150 Corve	Smallman	William			72 Staffordshire	Tipton	1	1706	?	mortgagee
L	51 to 57	Old	Alcock	Thomas	Gent		72 Surrey		3	1840	1843	
M	93 to 101	Old	Alcock	Thomas	Gent		72 Surrey		3	1840	1843	
R	24 to 26	Old	Alcock	Thomas	Gent		72 Surrey		5	1840	1845	
R	20 to 22	Old	Alcock	Thomas	Gent		72 Surrey		1	1840	1841	
T	22 to 26	Bell	Alcock	Thomas	Gent		72 Surrey		3	1840	1843	
W	13 Mill		Weaver	Robert	mason		5 Warwickshire	Birmingham	1	1848	1848	from Ludlow
J	49 Lower Gaulford		Smallwood	Mary	chandler	wife	17 Warwickshire	Coventry	16	1832	1848	inheritance
R	13 Broad		Waring	William IV	glover		29 Warwickshire	Birmingham	20	1783	1803	
C	10 King		Cropper	Elizabeth	baker	cousin	31 Warwickshire	Birmingham	21	1822	1843	inheritance
C	4 to 6 Bull Ring		Davies	Mary	maltster	heiress	32 Warwickshire	Coventry		1776	1776	inheritance
C	Chris.Wms Church		Cottrell	Dulcibella	ironmonger	wife	52 Warwickshire	Birmingham	15	1718	1733	
Q	29 Broad		Cottrell	Dulcibella	ironmonger	wife	52 Warwickshire	Birmingham	10	1718	1728	inheritance
B	10 Church		White	George	grocer		53 Warwickshire	Birmingham	4	1766	1770	inheritance
T	60 Broad		Pearce	John	hairdresser	heirs	71 Warwickshire	Birmingham	6	1825	1831	
L	51 to 57 Old		Oakley	Mary	spinster		72 Warwickshire	Leamington	3	1832	1835	mortgagee
Q	28 Broad		Palmer	Jane	heirs		99 Warwickshire	Leamington	1	1847	1848	
Q	28 Broad		Palmer	Jane	widow		99 Warwickshire	Leamington	12	1835	1847	
M	T41 Weeping Cross		Brown	Wade II	Gent		72 Wiltshire		5	1832	1837	inheritance
Q	46 to 50 Old		Brown	Wade II	Gent		72 Wiltshire		5	1832	1837	inheritance
C	11 Bull Ring		Fletcher	Abigail	clergy	daughter	69 Yorkshire		27	1660	1687	inheritance
C	12 Bull Ring		Fletcher	Abigail	clergy	daughter	69 Yorkshire		27	1660	1687	inheritance
C	13 Bull Ring		Fletcher	Abigail	clergy	daughter	69 Yorkshire		27	1660	1687	inheritance
C	Rds. Hs Churchyard		Fletcher	Abigail	clergy	daughter	69 Yorkshire		27	1660	1687	inheritance with R.Keyes
C	Rds. Hs Churchyard		Keyes	Richard	clergy		69 Yorkshire	Bamborough	27	1660	1687	inheritance with Abigail F.
S	4 Church		Keyes	Richard	clergy		69 Yorkshire	Bamborough	26	1660	1686	inheritance
S	4 Church		Keyes	Richard	clergy		69 Yorkshire	Bamborough	26	1660	1686	inheritance
S	Tamb.Hs High		Keyes	Richard	clergy		69 Yorkshire	Bamborough	26	1660	1686	inheritance
S	Tamb.Hs High		Keyes	Richard	clergy		69 Yorkshire	Bamborough	26	1660	1686	inheritance

Appendix 4B

[illegible]

Owners living outside Ludlow ('foreign'):
county, then occupation and status

Distant

Appendix 4B

Owners living outside Ludlow ("foreign"): county, then occupation and status

Distant

[illegible]

Appendix 4B

Owners living outside Ludlow ('foreign'):

Distant

[illegible]

Appendix 4B

Owners living outside Ludlow ('foreign'): county, then occupation and status

Distant

[illegible]

blk no	street	owner	status/occ	ad.inf	cd	parish	zone	years	from	to	notes
E	71 Corve	Briscoe	farmer		1	Brimfield	2	1	?	1818	mortgagee
C	4 to 6 Bull Ring	Davies	farmer		1	Brimfield	2	2	1793	1795	
Q	33 Broad	Wright	yeoman		1	Burrington	2	8	1664	1672	
L	73 Old	Davenport	yeoman	trustees	1	Burrington	2	1	1831	1831	
L	75 Old	Davenport	yeoman		1	Burrington	2	11	1822	1831	
L	73 Old	Davenport	yeoman		1	Burrington	2	6	1825	1	
L	75 Old	Davenport	yeoman		1	Burrington	2	6	1825	1831	
L	Mus.St Old	Wright	yeoman		1	Burrington	2	5	1664	1669	mortgagee
F	140 Corve	Fewtrell	yeoman		1	Burrington	2	6	1750	1756	
F	140 Corve	Fewtrell	yeoman		1	Burrington	2	10	1740	1750	
M	123 to 125 Old	Cowper	yeoman		1	Downton	2	3	1740	1743	mortgagee
H	9 Upper Gaulford	Cowper	yeoman		1	Downton	2	4	1740	1744	mortgagee
N	4 to 16 Temeside	Evans	farmer		1	Elton	2	63	1794	1825	
R	34 Old	Smith	yeoman		1	Little Hereford	2	23	1786	1809	
R	34 Old	Smith	yeoman		1	Little Hereford	2	23	1786	1809	
L	51 to 57 Old	Smith	yeoman	mariner	1	Little Hereford	2	20	1786	1806	
L	11 Old	Smith	yeoman		1	Little Hereford	2	20	1786	1806	
D	14 Corve	Lea	yeoman		1	Little Hereford	2	21	1670	1691	
J	41 to 42 Lower Gaulford	Price	yeoman		1	Ludford	2	1	1815	?	mortgagee
D	9 Corve	Weaver	yeoman		1	Ludford	2	3	1732	1735	mortgagee
V	74 to 76 L.Broad	Baker	yeoman		1	Orleton	2	4	1772	1776	
R	7 Broad	Yapp	yeoman		1	Orleton	2	1	1713	1713	mortgagee
N	4 to 16 Temeside	Evans	farmer		1	Orleton	2	23	1825	1848	
V	71 Lower Broad	Maund	carpenter		5	Little Hereford	2	1	1768	1769	
C	4 to 6 Bull Ring	Botterell	joiner		5	Ludford	2	3	1795	1798	
X	8 to 9 Mill	Knight	ironmaster		10	Burrington	2	3	1751	1754	
X	9 Castle	Knight	ironmaster		10	Burrington	2	6	1727	1733	
R	24 to 26 Old	Davenport	forgeman		10	Burrington	2	1	1831	?	mortgagee
R	46 Bull Ring	Knight	ironmaster		10	Burrington	2	3	1730	1733	
R	45 Bull Ring	Knight	ironmaster		10	Burrington	2	1	1731	1733	mortgagee
Q	3 Brand	Knight	ironmaster		10	Burrington	2	18	1700	1718	
L	75 Old	Davenport	forgeman		10	Burrington	2	15	1810	1825	
J	114 to 115 Lower Gaulford	Knight	uronmaster		10	Burrington	2	12	1731	1743	
F	103 to 104 Corve	Knight	ironmaster		10	Burrington	2	17	1731	1748	in trust

F	9 to 12	St Marys'	Young	Walter			14	Ludford	2	2	1731	1733		
L	37 to 45	Old	Harris	Richard	paper-maker		22	Ludford	2	12	1823	1835		
M	133 to 135	Old	Jones	Samuel	tailor		29	Ludford	2	1	1757	?		
L	17-Jan	Tower/Old	Arnold	Thomas	innkeeper		48	Ludford	2	5	1734	1739		
D	30 to 32	Corve	Fletcher	James	innkeeper		48	Ludford	2	6	1776	1781		
Y	stables	Mill Street	Proctor	Thomas	clergy		69	Orleton	2	1	1785	1786		
Z	C.Lodge	Castle	Edmunds	George	Gent		72	Brimfield	2	29	1747	1776	mortgagee	
Y	53	Mill	Edmunds	George	Gent		72	Brimfield	2	29	1747	1776	mortgagee	
Y	54 to 56	Mill	Edmunds	George	Gent		72	Brimfield	2	29	1747	1776	mortgagee	
J	New Inn	Upper Gaulford	Pryce	Joseph	Gent		72	Brimfield	2	8	1814	1822	mortgagee	
G	19	Bull Ring	Edmunds	George	Gent		72	Brimfield	2	1	1788	?		
X	9	Mill	Knight	Thos Andrew	Esq.		72	Downton	2	10	1838	1848		
X	9	Mill	Knight	Thos Andrew	Esq.		72	Downton	2	25	1813	1838		
R	16 to 17	Brand	Dansey	Dansey	Esq.		72	Little Hereford	2	15	1775	1790		
R	16 to 17	Brand	Dansey	Dansey	Esq.		72	Little Hereford	2	2	1790	1792		
L	71	Old	Phillips	William	Gent		72	Little Hereford	2	23	1825	1848		
X	7	Mill	Graham	James	Gent		72	Ludford	2	8	1826	1834		
X	7	Mill	Graham	James	Gent		72	Ludford	2	11	1832	1843		
V	37 to 39	Lower Broad	Adams	William	Gent		72	Ludford	2	5	1821	1826		
Q	28	Broad	Cam	Mary	Gent	widow	72	Ludford	2	24	1727	1751		
N	2	Temeside	Charlton	Edmund Lechmere	Esq.	heirs	72	Ludford	2	3	1845	1848		
N	2	Temeside'	Charlton	Edmund Lechmere	Esq.		72	Ludford	2	20	1825	1845		
G	24	Bull Ring	Jones	Smerset	Gent		72	Ludford	2	33	1720	1763		
G	24	Bull Ring	Jones	Thomas 1	Gent		72	Ludford	2	10	1660	1670		
G	24	Bull Ring	Jones	Thomas II	Gent		72	Ludford	2	50	1670	1720		
S	15	High	Poughnell	Henry	Gent		72	Orleton	2	9	1748	1757	mortgagee	
F	101	Corve	Salwey	Thomas	Esq.		72	Orleton	2	1	1840	?	mortgagee	28
Y	53	Mill	Ward	Adam			99	Little Hereford	2	1	1749		mortgagee	
M	123 to 125	Old	Carrier	James			99	Ludford	2	1	1847	1848		
M	123 to 125	Old	Parton	Benjamin			99	Ludford	2	1	1847	1848		
X	16 to 19	Raven	Hall	Edward			99	Orleton	2	14	1719	1733	guardian	
S	4	High	Gould	Mary			99	Orleton	2	6	1769	1775		
S	4	High	Gould	Thomas			99	Orleton	2	6	1769	1777		
R	18	King	Stephens	James			99	Orleton	2	5	1789	1794	mortgagee	
Q	31	Broad	Town	William	yeoman		1	Eye	1	39	1736	1775	mortgagee	
O	84 to 88	Old	Collins	Thomas	yeoman		1	Eye	1	29	1709	1738	shared	

F	136	Corve	Southall	Mary	yeoman	widow	1	Kingsland	1	1+	?	1744	
G	35 to 41	Bull Ring	Wellings	William	yeoman		1	Kington	1	27	1804	1831	mortgagee
C	19	Bull Ring	Davenport	Thomas	yeoman		1	Laysters	1	11	1787	1798	mortgager
S	13	High	Lowe	George	farmer		1	Leinthall Starkses	1	13	1811	1824	
Y	54 to 56	Mill	Dayos	Thomas	farmer		1	Leintwardine	1	6	1827	1833	mortgagee
M	133 to 135	Old	Bayliss	William	yeoman		1	Leintwardine	1	1	1847	1848	mortgagee (shared)
M	133 to 135	Old	Cumpton	Thomas	yeoman		1	Leintwardine	1	1	1847	1848	mortgagee (shared)
M	133 to 135	Old	Wellings	Thomas	farmer		1	Leintwardine	1	1	1847	1848	mortgagee (shared)
G	35 to 41	Bull Ring	Wellings	William	yeoman		1	Leintwardine	1	23	1808	1831	mortgagee
G	6 to 7	Tower	Wellings	William	yeoman		1	Leintwardine	1	2	1810	1812	mortgagee
D	17 to 19	Corve	Wellings	William	farmer		1	Leintwardine	1	7	1815	1822	
B	5	Church	Bedford	John	yeoman		1	Leintwardine	1	15	1801	1816	mortgagee
G	35 to 41	Bull Ring	Griffiths	John	yeoman		1	Lyonshall	1	2	1831	1835	
Q	31	Corve	Adams	William	yeoman		1	Middleton on Hill	1	4	1732	1736	
Q	31	Corve	Smith	Richard	yeoman		1	Middleton on Hill	1	28	1704	1732	
C	14	Bull Ring	Farmer	James	yeoman		1	Middleton on Hill	1	7	1691	1698	mortgagee
C	14	Bull Ring	Farmer	John	yeoman		1	Middleton on Hill	1	7	1698	1705	mortgagee
K	75 to 79	Lower Gaulford	Lowe	Joanathon	farmer		1	Pitchfield ?	1	5	1843	1848	
D	30 to 32	Corve	Jones	John	yeoman		1	Wigmore	1	2	1773	1775	
V	71	Lower Broad	Morris	John	yeoman		1	Yarpole	1	6	1769	1775	mortgagee
F	153	Corve	Marston	John	blacksmith		1	Brampton Bryan	1	6	1744	1750	
K	71 to 72	Lower Gaulford	Smith	Elizabeth	wheelwright	widow	1	Leintwardine	1	15	1739	1754	
K	71 to 72	Lower Gaulford	Jennings	Thomas	wheelwright		1	Leintwardine	1	7	1732	1739	
Y	Din.Hall	Dinham	Morgan	William	glover		1	Leominster	1	13	1723	1736	
Y	8	Dinham	Barrar	Thomas	baker		1	Leominster	1	3	1724	1727	
C	Church Inn	Church	Sayer	John	baker		1	Leominster	1	3	1787	1790	mortgagee.with Mills
F	153	Corve	Hicks	Edward	maltster		1	Leominster	1	4	1750	1754	
E	72	Corve	Harris	Joseph	maltster		1	Leominster	1	1	1797	?	mortgagee
E	75	Corve	Harris	Joseph	maltster		1	Leominster	1	2	1797	1799	mortgagee
B	Ch.Inn	Church	Lewis	Ann	butcher	wife	1	Aymestrey	1	28	1820	1848	widow
C	Chris Wms	Church	Cottrell	Elizabeth	ironmonger	daughter	1	Lyonshall	1	32	1733	1775	
C	Church Inn	Church	Coleman	Thomas	banker		1	Leominster	1	5	1790	1795	
C	11	Bull Ring	Coleman	Thomas	banker		1	Leominster	1	8	1802	1810	
Y	Din.Hall	Dinham	Goodwyn	Mrs	Council of M/	widow	1	Eyton	1	2	1660	1662	
Y	6	Castle	Thomas	John	schoolmaster		1	Leominster	1	1	1838	?	mortgagee
Q	28	Broad	Owen	David	clergy		1	Aymestrey	1	28	1761	1789	

D	30 to 32	Corve	Kinchant	Francis, Revd.	clergy		69	Middleton on Hill	1	1	1788	1789	
Y	2 to 7	Dinham	Taylor	Mary	Gent	widow	72	Aymestrey	1	4	1844	1848	
Y	2 to 7	Dinham	Taylor	William	Gent		72	Aymestrey	1	8	1836	1844	
Y	23 to 23A	Mill	Weaver	Robert	Esq.		72	Aymestrey	1	22	1727	1749	mortgagee
R	18	King	Turner	James	Gent		72	Aymestrey	1	8	1800	1808	
Z	Din.Hall	Dinham	Johnes	Thomas	Esq.		72	Croft	1	20	1760	1780	
Z	Din.Hall	Dinham	Johnes	Thomas	Esq.		72	Croft	1	11	1780	1791	
W	15	Mill	Davies	Somerset	Esq.		72	Croft	1	27	1784	1811	
Q	4	Brand	Davies	Somerset	Esq.		72	Croft	1	29	1781	1810	
Q	27	Broad	Davies	Somerset	Esq.		72	Croft	1	2	1787	1789	
D	8	Corve	Davies	Somerset	Esq.		72	Croft	1	19	1787	1795	inheritance
C	5	King	Davies	Somerset	Esq.		72	Croft	1	8	1787	1795	inheritance
B	Qual.Sq.	Castle	Smallman	Ann	spinster		72	Croft	1	13	1791	1804	mortgagee
W	Barn.Hs	Mill	Cornewall	Robert	Esq.		72	Eye	1	47	1660	1707	
Q	2	Brand	Cornewall	Humphrey	Esq.	heirs	72	Eye	1	12	1699	1700	
Q	2	Brand	Cornewall	Humphrey	Esq.		72	Eye	1	19	1669	1688	
W	Barn.Hs	Mill	Coates	Benjamin	Esq.		72	Eyton	1	6	1827	1833	
D	17 to 19	Corve	Wellings	John	Gent		72	Laysters	1	12	1822	1834	
Y	24 to 26	Mill	Dunne	Thomas II	Esq.		72	Leinthall Earls	1	33	1815	1848	inherited
Y	23 to 23A	Mill	Dunne	Thomas II	Esq.		72	Leinthall Earls	1	33	1815	1848	inherited
U	Broad	35 to 36	Dunne	Thomas	Esq.		72	Leinthall Earls	1	15	1755	1770	
U	Broad	35 to 36	Dunne	Thomas II	Esq.		72	Leinthall Earls	1	34	1814	1848	
K	Aus.Friars	Lower Gaulford	Townshend	Robert	Esq.		72	Leinthall Starkes	1	20	1664	1684	
W	17	Mill	Lowke	Ann	Mrs		72	Leintwardine	1	29	1794	1823	
W	17	Mill	Wheeler	Ann	baronnet		72	Leintwardine	1	5	1843	1848	
W	17	Mill	Wheeler	James, Sir			72	Leintwardine	1	20	1823	1843	
R	13	Broad	Lowke	Ann	Mrs		72	Leintwardine	1	6	1788	1794	mortgagee
R	30	Old	Sheward	John	Mrs		72	Leominster	1	16	1780	1796	
G	35 to 41	Bull Ring	Hammond	John	Gent		72	Leominster	1	15	1833	1848	
C	Church Inn	Church	Mills	Richard	Gent		72	Leominster	1	3	1787	1790	mortgagee: with Sayer
Q	28	Broad	Marsh	Mary	spinster		72	Lucton	1	10	1751	1761	
J	58 to 60	Lower Gaulford	Davies	Somerset	Esq.		72	Wigmore	1	30	1770	1800	
F	101	Corve	Prince	John	Gent	executors	72	Wigmore	1	9	1798	1807	mortgagee
F	Conduit Cl	Corve	Davies	Somerset	Esq.		72	Wigmore	1	19	1781	1780	
F	101	Corve	Prince	John	Gent		72	Wigmore	1	1	1797	1798	mortgagee
C	Chris.Wrms	Church	Collier	Richard	Gent		72	Wigmore	1	24	1777	1801	mortgagee

Owners living outside Ludlow ('foreign'):
occupation and status

T	69A	Broad	Davies	John				99	Aymestrey	1	23	1665		mortgagee	
T	69A	Broad	Tiler	John				99	Aymestrey	1	1	1665		mortgagee	2
L	37 to 45	Old	Eales	John				99	Kingsland	1	1	1675	1698		
X	5 to 6	Mill	Lumbard	John				99	Leinthal Starks(Long)	1	1	1763	?	trustee	
Q	28	Broad	Price	Thomas				99	Leominster	1	1	1705	1706	in trust	
Q	30	Broad	Price	Thomas				99	Leominster	1	1	1705	1706	in trust	
S	5	High	Davies	Mary				99	Lyonshall	1	1	1830	1835		
E	50 to 53	Corve	Child	William				99	Middleton on Hill	1	25	1799	1799	inherited	
S	4	Church	Douglas	James			gardener	1	Hereford	0	8	1782	1790	inherited	
R	22	Broad	Wall	William			yeoman	1	Hereford	0	13	1788	1801		
L	Mus.St.	Old	Gallie	William			farmer	1	King's Pyon	0	1	1821	?	mortgagee	
K	91	Lower Gaulford	Millichamp	Thomas			yeoman	1	Wellington	0	16	1816	1832	inheritance	
T	67	Broad	Grundy	John			mason	5	Bromyard	0	1	1776	?	mortgagee	
F	153	Corve	Wilde	Thomas			bookseller	52	Hereford	0	24	1769	1793		
F	153	Corve	Wilde	Thomas			bookseller	52	Hereford	0	15	1754	1769		
Y	30	Mill	Reynolds	Griffith			registrat	58	Hereford	0	29	1662	1691		
R	9	Broad	Reynolds	Elizabeth			registrar	58	Hereford	0	25	1696	1721		
R	9	Broad	Reynolds	Griffith			registrar	58	Hereford	0	21	1675	1696	mortgagee	
R	18	King	Johnstone	William			lawyer	64	Hereford	0	1	1794	1795	marriage	
C	11	Bull Ring	Johnstone	William			lawyer	64	Hereford	0	5	?	1802	marriage	
C	12	Bull Ring	Johnstone	William			lawyer	64	Hereford	0	5	?	1802	marriage	
C	13	Bull Ring	Johnstone	William			lawyer	64	Hereford	0	5	?	1802	marriage	
D	9	Corve	Clarke	M.			Revd.	69	Edwyb Ralph	0	18	1742	1760	mortgagee	
E	46 to 49	Corve	Powell	Roger			clergy	69	Moreton on Lugg	0	22	1695	1717	inheritance	
L	3	Old	Duppa	William			Gent	72	Bromyard	0	7	1785	1792	mortgagee	
S	4	Church	Cooke	Thomas			Gent	72	Hereford	0	4	1790	1794	mortgagee	
J	4 to Elim	Lower Gaulford	Lechmere	Edward			Gent	72	Hereford	0	1	1830	1831	mortgagee	
J	49	Lower Gaulford	Lechmere	Edward			Gent	72	Hereford	0	2	1830	1832	mortgagee	
Y	Din.Hall	Dinham	Nash	Samuel			Gent	72	Holmer	0	3	1786	1789		
Y	Din.Hs grdn	Dinham	Nash	Samuel			Gent	72	Holmer	0	2	1787	1789		
J	Shenston Yd	Upper Gaulford	Fletcher	William			Gent	72	Wellington	0	1	1793	1793	mortgage	
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Cheese	Mary				99	Hope (under Din)	0	1	1756	1757	mortgagee	
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Coleman	Alice			spinster	99	Ross	0	7	1749	1756		
B	College	College	Davies	Edward				99	Stanton Bishop	0	6	1774	1780	mortgagee	
Q	33	Broad	Dalton	Thomas				99	Stoke Edith	0	4	1660	1664		
L	Mus.Store	Old	Dalton	Thomas				99	Stoke Edith	0	9	1660	1669		

occupation and status

E	75	Corve	Smith	John			99	Wellington	0	5	1799	1804	mortgagee	
C	7 to 10	King	Davies	John	apothecary		65	Woodhampton	0	14	1731	1744	inheritance	

Owners living outside Ludlow ('foreign'):
occupation and status

blk	no	street	owner		status/occad.inf.	cd.	parish	zone	yrs	from	to	notes
V	46 to 50	Lower Broad	Collins	Francis	yeoman		1 Ashford Bowd.	2	3	1800	1803	mortgagee
R	8	Broad	Collins	Francis	yeoman		1 Ashford Carb.	2	6	1795	1801	
K	75 to 79	Lower Gaulford	Evans	Richard	farmer		1 Ashford Carb.	2	28	1815	1843	
C	10	Bull Ring	Noakes	John	farmer		1 Ashford Carb.	2	17	1818	1825	
L	23 to 35	Old	Noakes	Mary	yeoman	widow	1 Ashford Carb.	2	22	1826	1848	
J	Shenton's Yd	Upper Gaulford	Shenton	Thomas	farmer		1 Ashford Carb.	2	41	1807	1848	
D	21	Corve	Turner	Joseph	yeoman		1 Ashford Carb.	2	7	1776	1783	mortgagee
O	84 to 88	Fee	Caldwell	John	yeoman	& widow	1 Bitterley	2	33	1738	1771	inheritance
R	11 to 12	King	Cheeves	William	yeoman		1 Bitterley	2	1	1810	1811	
R	17 and 1	King/Broad	George	James	farmer		1 Bitterley	2	27	1785	1812	mortgagee
R	18	Old	Jones	James	farmer		1 Bitterley	2	1	1803	1803	mortgagee
Y	2 to 6	Dinham	Millichamp	Richard	farmer		1 Bitterley	2	11	1814	1825	mortgagee
D	24	Corve	Bird	John	farmer		1 Bromfield	2	23	1765	1788	
B	6	Castle	Carter	John	farmer	devisees	1 Bromfield	2	2	1806	1808	
B	6	Castle	Carter	John	farmer		1 Bromfield	2	17	1789	1806	
Q	31	Broad	Carter	John	yeoman		1 Bromfield	2	1	1778	?	
V	34 to 36	Lower Broad	Cawston	Thomas	yeoman		1 Bromfield	2	36	1757	1763	
D	30 to 32	Corve	Davies	John	farmer		1 Bromfield	2	1	1772	1773	mortgagee
H	1	Upper Gaolford	Hickman	Margaret	yeoman	widow	1 Bromfield	2	27	1746	1773	
H	1	Upper Gaolford	Hickman	John	yeoman		1 Bromfield	2	1		1746	
D	24	Corve	Hickman	John	farmer		1 Bromfield	2	30	1788	1818	
R	16	Broad	Hughes	Christopher	farmer		1 Bromfield	2	10	1829	1839	mortgagee
O	84 to 88	Fee	Jennings	Thomas	yeoman		1 Bromfield	2	32	1799	1831	purchase
S	4	Church	Lane	William	farmer		1 Bromfield	2	2	1794	1796	mortgagee
D	23	Corve	Passey	Thomas	yeoman		1 Bromfield	2	5	1775	1780	
F	150	Corve	Passey	Thomas	farmer		1 Bromfield	2	33	1810	1843	mortgagee
D	24	Corve	Pearce	Richard	farmer		1 Bromfield	2	9	1818	1827	mortgagee
J	20 to 21	Lower Gaulford	Powell	Thomas	farmer		1 Bromfield	2	6	1795	1801	
S	4	Church	Pugh	William	farmer		1 Bromfield	2	25	1796	1821	mortgagee
O	84 to 88	Fee	Caldwell	Samuel	yeoman		1 Culmington	2	28	1771	1799	
K	91	Lower Gaulford	Camel	John	yeoman		1 Culmington	2	10	1838	1848	
H	9	Upper Gaolford	Weaver	Henry	yeoman		1 Culmington	2	26	1697	1723	marriage
R	11 to 12	King	Dawes	Robert	yeoman		1 Diddlebury	2	31	1779	1810	
H	3	Upper Gaulford	Morris	John	farmer		1 Diddlebury	2	18	1829	1847	
L	18	Old	Roberts	William	yeoman		1 Diddlebury	2	1	1803	1803	mortgagee

D		23	Corve	Watts	Thomas	farmer		1	Diddlebury	2	51	1797	1848	
E		46 to 49	Corve	Pryce	Jeremy	farmer		1	Onibury	2	1	1808	1808	mortgagee
F		153	Corve	Wood	William	yeoman		1	Onibury	2	21	1806	1827	
V		34 to 36	L.Broad	Collins	Francis	farmer		1	Richard's Castle	2	16	1832	1848	inheritance
D		21	Corve	Hoskins	William	yeoman		1	Richard's Castle	2	10	1744	1754	mortgagee
C		4 to 6	Bull Ring	Patrick	Margaret	yeoman	wife	1	Richard's Castle	2	335	1776	1776	
O		84 to 88	Fee	Smith	Richard	yeoman		1	Richard's Castle	2	29	1709	1738	with Thos.Collins
O		78 to 82	Fee	Caldwell	John	yeoman		1	Stanton Lacy	2	16	1686	1702	inherited
O		80 to 84	Fee	Caldwell	John	yeoman		1	Stanton Lacy	2	14	1686	1702	inherited
L		3	Old	Chandler	Richard	farmer		1	Stanton Lacy	2	1	1820	1820	mortgagee
J		St Stephens	UpperGaolford	Cheeves	William	farmer		1	Stanton Lacy	2	1	1817	1846	
F		9 to 12	St Mary's	Cooks	William	farmer		1	Stanton Lacy	2	16	1829	1845	
F		9 to 12	St Mary's	Cox	Francis	farmer		1	Stanton Lacy	2	3	1845	1848	
H		1	Upper Gaolford	Evans	John	farmer		1	Stanton Lacy	2	3	1660	1663	
L		3	Old	Lane	William	farmer		1	Stanton Lacy	2	15	1805	1820	mortgagee
L		15 to 16	Tower	Norgrove	Thomas			1	Stanton Lacy	2	37	1762	1799	
K		82 to 89	Lower Gaulford	Preece	Richard	yeoman		1	Stanton Lacy	2	10	1809	1819	mortgagee
E		50 to 53	Corve	Rea	Benjamin	farmer		1	Stanton Lacy	2	1	1821	?	mortgagee
L		3	Old	Tayloe	John	farmer		1	Stanton Lacy	2	11	1754	1765	mortgagee
L		13	Tower	Taylor	John	farmer		1	Stanton Lacy	2	28	1746	1774	
L		15 to 16	Tower	Tipton	Richard	farmer		1	Stanton Lacy	2	38	1734	1762	
W		12 to 16	Bell	Wigley	Edward	yeoman		1	Stanton Lacy	2	1	1805	1805	mortgagee
F		101	Corve	Harper	Rowland	farmer		1	Stokesay	2	9	1831	1840	mortgagee
S		1A	High	Nott	Giles	yeoman		1	Stokesay	2	20	1663	1683	mortgagee
Z		21	Corve	Shelton	Thomas	yeoman		1	Stokesay	2	13	1783	1796	mortgagee
F		111 to 112	Corve	Shepherd	Edward	farmer	& son	1	Stokesay	2	45	1798	1843	
H		35 to 53	Upper Gaulford	Tomkins	Thomas	farmer		1	Stokesay	2	1	1798	?	
J		New Inn	Upper Gaolford	Price	Joseph	mason		5	Ashford Carb.	2	16	1798	1814	
F		83	Corve	Harding	Anne	gunsmith	widow	8	Bromfield	2	4	1786	1790	
F		83	Corve	Harding	William	gunsmith		8	Bromfield	2	34	1752	1788	
K		105 to 108	Lower Gaulford	Harding	Mary	gunsmith	heirs	8	Bromfield	2	1	1799	1800	
K		105 to 108	Lower Gaulford	Harding	Mary	gunsmith	widow	8	Bromfield	2	41	1758	1799	
K		105 to 108	Lower Gaulford	Harding	William	gunsmith		8	Bromfield	2	8	1750	1758	
H		35 to 53	Upper Gaolford	George	Mary	ironmaster	widow	10	Bitterley	2	26	1822	1848	
H		35 to 53	Upper Gaolford	George	James	ironmaster		10	Bitterley	2	16	1806	1822	
E		50 to 53	Corve	George	Mary	ironmaster	widow	10	Bitterley	2	5	1843	1848	mortgagee

occupation and status

E	50 to 53	Corve	George	James	ironmaster		10	Bitterley	2	13	1808	1821	mortgagee
R	2	Broad	George	James	ironmaster		10	Cainham	2	1	1819	1819	mortgagee
B	6	Castle	Lewis	James George	ironmaster		10	Cainham	2	5	1838	1843	
R	19	Broad	Lewis	James George	ironmaster		10	Cainham	2	18	1825	1843	
R	19	Broad	Lewis	James George	ironmaster		10	Cainham	2	5	1843	1848	
J	Spr.House	Lower Gaulford	Lewis	James George	ironmaster		10	Cainham	2	1	1826	1826	mortgagee
R	32	Old	Watkins	Richard	blacksmith		10	Onibury	2	20	1828	1848	
r	34	Old	Watkins	Richard	blacksmith		10	Onibury	2	20	1828	1848	
F	134	Corve	Watkins	Richard	blacksmith	trustees	10	Onibury	2	1	1822	1822	
F	134	Corve	Watkins	Richard	blacksmith		10	Onibury	2	10	1832	1842	
L	51 to 57	Old	Watkins	Richard	blacksmith		10	Onibury	2	9	1823	1832	mortgagee
L	Meth.Chapel	Walker	Mary	ironmaster	widow		10	Stanton Lacy	2	1	1666	?	
L	Meth.Chapel	Old	Walker	Richard	ironmaster		10	Stanton Lacy	2	6	1660	1666	
G	35 to 41	Bull Ring	Jones	John	cooper		19	Bromfield	2	24	1807	1831	
J	Ad/Lloyds	Lower Gaulford	Townsend	John	innholder		19	Bromfield	2	19	1718	1737	
D	24	Corve	Holland	William	flaxdresser		26	Diddlebury	2	3	1762	1765	
R	14 to 15	Kiong	Dalby	Jonathon	hatter		29	Bromfield	2	15	1822	1837	
R	4	Broad	Valentine	James	maltster		32	Stanton Lacy	2	3	1798	1801	
R	13	Broad	Bowen	Thomas	innkeeper		48	Bromfield	2	21	1803	1824	
D	22	Corve	Clarke	Henry	stationer	son of	51	Bitterley	2	8	1669	1678	
K	90 to 91	Lower Gaulford	Preece	William	labourer	& widow	57	Stanton Lacy	2	15	1816	1831	
Q	28	Broad	Stedman	Edward	C.of M.		58	Ashford Bowd.	2	9	1674	1683	
M	2	Temeside	Deverell	Willima	C.of M.		58	Richard's Castle	2	16	1673	1689	
F	133	Corve	Marston	Susan	clergy	widow	69	Bitterley	2	7	1739	1746	
R	9	Broad	Adams	Philip Birt	clergy		69	Cainham	2	15	1833	1848	
T	56 to 58	Broad	Dale	Hugh	clergy	& wife	69	Culmington	2	1	1726	1726	mortgagee
R	14 to 15	King	Salwey	John	clergy		69	Richard's Castle	2	43	1695	1738	
L	71	Old	Griffiths	Richard	clergy		69	Stanton Lacy	2	2	1785	1787	
S	14	High	Hall	Richard II	Gent	heirs	72	Ashford Bowd.	2	24	1771	1795	
S	14	High	Hall	Richard II	Gent		72	Ashford Bowd.	2	23	1748	1771	
R	14	High	Hall	Thomas	Gent		72	Ashford Bowd.	2	15	1733	1748	
R	19	Broad	Harper	Richard	Gent		72	Ashford Bowd.	2	33	1792	1825	
S	14	High	Richard	Gent			72	Ashford Bowd.	2	2	1731	1733	trustee
F	101	Corve	Smith	Samuel	Gent		72	Ashford Bowd.	2	21	1810	1821	mortgagee
R	17 and 1	King/Broad	Carrier	James	Gent		72	Ashford Carb.	2	1	1829	1829	
Y	44	Mill	Downes	John Foxe	Gent		72	Ashford Carb.	2	9	1839	1848	

Appendix 4B

Owners living outside Ludlow ('foreign'):

Shropshire

occupation and status

L	Meth.Chapel	Old	Downes	John Foxe	Gent		72	Ashford Carb.	2	28	1820	1848	
L	Meth.Chapel	Old	Downes	Samuel II	Gent		72	Ashford Carb.	2	34	1786	1820	
N	Mill	Temeside	Downes	John Foxe	Gent		72	Ashford Carb.	2	28	1820	1848	
N	Mill	Temeside	Downes	Samuel	Gent		72	Ashford Carb.	2	23	1769	1792	
N	Mill	Temeside	Downes	Samuel II	Gent		72	Ashford Carb.	2	28	1792	1820	
Q	46 to 50	Old	Hall	Charles Pearce	Gent		72	Bitterley	2	1	1794	1794	
X	8	Mill	Knight	Elizabeth	Esq.	widow	72	Bitterley	2	10	1803	1813	
X	8	Mill	Knight	Thomas	Esq.		72	Bitterley	2	39	1764	1803	
X	9	Mill	Knight	Elizabeth	Esq.	widow	72	Bitterley	2	10	1803	1813	
X	9	Mill	Knight	Thomas	Esq.		72	Bitterley	2	23	1780	1803	
Y	45 to 46	Mill	Knight	Elizabeth	Esq.	widow	72	Bitterley	2	6	1803	1809	
y	45 to 46	Mill	Knight	Thomas	Esq.		72	Bitterley	2	20	1783	1803	
W	12 to 16	Bell	Millichope	Mary	Mrs		72	Bitterley	2	14	1822	1836	mortgagee
Q	32	Broad	Pearce	Elizabeth	Gent	daughter	72	Bitterley	2	11	1745	1756	
Q	32	Broad	Pearce	Elizabeth	Gent	heirs	72	Bitterley	2	1	1783	1784	
R	7	Broad	Shepherd	Richard	Gent		72	Bitterley	2	3	1715	1718	
Q	32	Broad	Shepherd	Richard	Gent		72	Bitterley	2	25	1720	1745	
S	6 to 7	High	Shepherd	Anne	Gent	daughter	72	Bitterley	2	10	1798	1808	
S	6 to 7	High	Shepherd	Mary	Gent	widow	72	Bitterley	2	52	1746	1798	
S	6 to 7	High	Shepherd	Richard II	Gent		72	Bitterley	2	13	1733	1746	
Q	2	Brand	Walcot	John	Esq.		72	Bitterley	2	3	1741	1744	
Q	46 to 50	Old	Walcot	John	Esq.		72	Bitterley	2	1	1743	1744	
Q	28	Broad	Bishop	Edward	Gent		72	Bromfield	2	14	1660	1674	
Q	29	Broad	Bishop	Edward	Gent		72	Bromfield	2	17	1660	1677	
Q	30	Broad	Bishop	Edward	Gent		72	Bromfield	2	6	1660	1666	
F	136	Corve	Bishop	Thomas	Gent		72	Bromfield	2	16	1744	1760	Oakly Park
S	1	Church	Brettell	James	Gent		72	Bromfield	2	20	1783	1803	
Z	Dinham Ldg	Dinham	Bulkley	Benjamin	Gent		72	Bromfield	2	22	1662	1684	
V	71	Lower Broad	Burgawin	Benjamin	Gent		72	Bromfield	2	4	1820	1824	mortgagee
C	7 to 8	Bull Ring	Griffiths	William	Gent		72	Bromfield	2	19	1669	1688	
R	17	Broad	Hall	Jane	Gent	widow	72	Bromfield	2	3	1668	1671	
R	17	Broad	Hall	Somerset	Gent		72	Bromfield	2	8	1660	1668	
R	45	Bull Ring	Herbert	Henry Arthur	Esq.		72	Bromfield	2	1	1731	1731	mortgagee
S	1 and 1A	High	Herbert	Henry Arthur	Esq.		72	Bromfield	2	1	1731	1731	mortgagee
L	71	Old	Hodges	Richard	Gent	heirs	72	Bromfield	2	12	1798	1810	
L	71	Old	Hodges	Richard	Gent		72	Bromfield	2	11	1787	1798	

Owners living outside Ludlow ('foreign'):
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d	4 Church	Tilley	William	Gent		72 Bromfield	2	7	1790	1797	mortgagee: Cockeridge
H	3 Upper Gaulford	Urwick	Edward	Gent		72 Bromfield	2	1	1747	1748	
S	4 Church	Vaughan	James Bret.	Gent		72 Bromfield	2	45	1803	1845	
Y	54 to 56 Mill	Vaughan	James Bret.	Esq.		72 Bromfield	2	6	1827	1833	
G	24 Bull Ring	Foxe	Somerset	Esq.		72 Cainham	2	3	1679	1682	mortgagee
F	132 Corve	Beddoes	Richard	Gent		72 Culmington	2	11	1806	1817	mortgagee
W	12 to 16 Bell	Beddoes	Richard	Gent		72 Culmington	2	13	1805	1818	mortgagee
T	54 Broad	Dale	John	Gent		72 Culmington	2	5	1691	1696	mortgagee
R	2 Broad	Duppa	Richard	Gent		72 Culmington	2	1	1757	1757	
C	2B to 3 Bull Ring	Duppa	Richard	Gent		72 Culmington	2	1	1787	1787	
F	103 tp 104 Corve	Greaves	Samuel	Gent		72 Culmington	2	32	1660	1692	
C	4 to 6 Bull Ring	Hill	Richard	farmer		72 Culmington	2	2	1793	1795	mortgagee:shared
T	52 Broad	Johnstone	Charles	Esq.		72 Culmington	2	17	1805	1806	
F	Conduit Close Corve	Johnstone	Charles	Esq.		72 Culmington	2	17	1800	1817	
D	21 Corve	Willis	Thomas	yeoman		72 Culmington	2	4	1790	1794	mortgagee
T	49 Broad	Baldwin	Charles	Gent		72 Diddlebury	2	5	1660	1665	
T	49 Broad	Davies	Edward	Gent		72 Diddlebury	2	3	1837	1840	
F	143 to 144 Corve	Gough	William	Gent		72 Diddlebury	2	7	1810	1817	mortgagee
X	7 Mill	Lutley	Bartholomew	Gent		72 Diddlebury	2	24	1697	1721	
Q	23 Broad	Lutley	Elizabeth	Gent	heirs	72 Diddlebury	2	5	1741	1746	
Q	23 Broad	Lutley	Elizabeth	Gent	widow	72 Diddlebury	2	20	1721	1741	
Q	23 Broad	Lutley	Thomas	Gent		72 Diddlebury	2	1	1721	1721	
C	St Leonard's Linney	Powell	Charles	Gent		72 Diddlebury	2	35	1813	1848	
S	1 High	Turner	Edward	Gent	& son	72 Diddlebury	2	42	1806	1848	
Q	27 Broad	Turner	Edward	Gent		72 Diddlebury	2	30	1806	1836	
Q	27 Broad	Turner	Edward II	Gent		72 Diddlebury	2	12	1836	1848	
M	137 to 145 Upper Gaulford	Turner	Edward	Gent		72 Diddlebury	2	40	1806	1846	
U	3 to 7 L.Raven	Turner	Edward	Gent		72 Diddlebury	2	28	1806	1834	
M	T315 Weeping Cross	Turner	Edward	Gent	and son	72 Diddlebury	2	42	1806	1848	
K	131 Coerve	Broome	Richard	Gent		72 Richard's Castle	2	15	1709	1724	
S	2 High	Colerick	Thomas	Gent		72 Richard's Castle	2	1	1817	1817	mortgagee
L	3 Old	Salwey	John	Esq.		72 Richard's Castle	2	7	1704	1711	
S	8 High	Salwey	John	Esq.		72 Richard's Castle	2	13	1688	1701	marriage
R	9 Broad	Salwey	Henry	Esq.		72 Richard's Castle	2	1	1721	1721	trustee
R	17 Broad	Salwey	Edward	Esq.		72 Richard's Castle	2	1	1759	1760	
R	17 Broad	Salwey	John	Esq.		72 Richard's Castle	2	43	1671	1714	marriage

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R		17	Broad	Salwey	Richard	Esq.		72	Richard's Castle	2	45	1714	1759	
R		18	Broad	Salwey	John	Esq.		72	Richard's Castle	2	2	1801	1803	
R		18	Broad	Salwey	Richard	Esq.		72	Richard's Castle	2	6	1736	1742	
R		19	Broad	Salwey	Richard	Esq.		72	Richard's Castle	2	16	1717	1733	mortgagee
H		77 to 103	Upper Gaulford	Salwey	John	Esq.		72	Richard's Castle	2	34	1686	1720	
K	Bishop Mas.	Lower Gaulford	Salwey	John	John	Esq.		72	Richard's Castle	2	38	1671	1709	
K	Bishop Mas.	Lower Gaulford	Salwey	John	John	Esq.		72	Richard's Castle	2	1	1709	1710	
S	6 to 7	High	Wall	Walter	Walter	Gent		72	Richard's Castle	2	15	1808	1823	mortgagee
G	19	Bull Ring	Baugh	Edward	Edward	Gent		72	Stanton Lacy	2	12	1740	1752	mortgagee
Y	53	Mill	Baugh	Edward	Edward	Gent		72	Stanton Lacy	2	1	1749	1749	mortgagee
V	10 and 11	Lower Mill	Baugh	Edward	Edward	Gent		72	Stanton Lacy	2	27	1742	1769	mortgagee
L	23 to 35	Old	Baugh	Edward	Edward	Gent		72	Stanton Lacy	2	32	1762	1794	
V	7 to 9	Lower Mill	Baugh	Edward	Edward	Gent		72	Stanton Lacy	2	27	1742	1769	mortgagee
H	Candle Hs	Upper	Baugh	Edward	Edward	Gent		72	Stanton Lacy	2	2	1769	1771	
H	Candle Hs	Upper Gaulford	Baugh	Edward	Edward	Gent		72	Stanton Lacy	2	30	1739	1769	
Q	3	Brand	Boughton	Charles W.R.	Charles W.R.	Esq.		72	Stanton Lacy	2	6	1782	1788	
L	15 to 16	Tower	Davies	James	James	Mr		72	Stanton Lacy	2	3	1829	1832	mortgagee
M	Horse & J. Old		Davies	James	James	Mr		72	Stanton Lacy	2	1	1825	?	mortgagee
R	7	Broad	Grosvenor	Timothy	Timothy	Gent		72	Stanton Lacy	2	2	1713	1715	mortgagee
Q	3	Brand	Hall	William Pearce	William Pearce	Esq.		72	Stanton Lacy	2	18	1764	1782	
Y	23 to 23A	Mill	Lockier	John	John	yeoman		72	Stanton Lacy	2	3	1784	1787	
Q	2	Brand	Pearce	Elizabeth	Elizabeth	Mrs	& heirs	72	Stanton Lacy	2	56	1744	1800	
U	39	Broad	Pearce	Elizabeth	Elizabeth	spinster		72	Stanton Lacy	2	1	1741	1741	mortgagee
Q	46 to 50	Old	Pearce	Elizabeth	Elizabeth	Mrs	& heirs	72	Stanton Lacy	2	26	1744	1770	
S	6 to 7	High	Wall	Eaton	Eaton	Gent		72	Stoke St M.	2	1	1832	1832	mortgagee (inherited)
Z	Dinham hs	Dinham	Baugh	William	William	Esq.		72	Stokesay	2	16	1667	1683	
R	22	Broad	Powell	George	George	Esq.		72	Stokesay	2	9	1660	1669	
E	73	Corve	Parish					74	Diddlebury	2	128	1720	1848	
L	23 to 35	Old	Eaton	William	William			99	Ashford Carb.	2	5	1773	1738	mortgagee
J	4 to 6	Lower Gaulford	Yate	Richard	Richard			99	Ashford Carb.	2	1	1708	?	mortgagee
F	116	Corve	Prosser	Isaac	Isaac			99	Bromfield	2	1	1715	1716	mortgagee
Y	5 to 6	Mill	Davies	Richard	Richard			99	Culmington	2	3	1833	1836	mortgagee
F	82	Corve	Radnor	Margaret	Margaret	spinster		99	Diddlebury	2	32	1816	1848	mortgage
R	32	Old	Skeet	Jane	Jane		widow	99	Onibury	2	10	1818	1828	
R	34	Old	Skeet	Jane	Jane		widow	99	Onibury	2	8	1818	1826	mortgagee
G	33	Bull Ring	Waring	Joyce	Joyce	widow		99	Stanton Lacy	2	1	1669	1669	

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C	10	Bull Ring	Davies		yeoman		1	Abdon	1	3	1802	1805	mortgagee
H	5 to 7	Upper Gaulford	Dewce	Abraham	yeoman		1	Abdon	1	7	1660	1667	
H	5 to 7	Upper Gaulford	Dewce	Anne	yeoman		1	Abdon	1	4	1667	1671	
C	4 to 6	Bull Ring	Griffiths	Thomas	yeoman		1	Abdon	1	1	?	1734	mortgagee
R	7	Brand	Perry	John	yeoman		1	Burford	1	1	1713	?	mortgagee
S	13	High	Morris	John	farmer		1	Clun	1	5	1806	1811	
K	80 to 81	Lower Gaulford	Blakeway	Thomas	yeoman		1	Eaton-under-H	1	1	1711	1711	mortgagee
H	3	Upper Gaulford	Fortune	Thomas	yeoman		1	Eaton-under-H	1	1	1804	1804	mortgagee
H	3	Upper Gaulford	Whitefoot	THomas	farmer		1	Eaton-under-H	1	25	1804	1829	mortgagee
L	71	Old	Beddoe	Richard	farmer		1	Greele	1	23	1726	1749	mortgagee
S	8	High	Marsh	John	farmer		1	Hopesay	1	8	1803	1811	trustee
F	153	Corve	Morris	James	farmer		1	Lydbury North	1	1	1841	1841	mortgagee
H	57 to 75	Upper Gaulford	Medlicott	John	farmer		1	Moreton Corbett	1	1	1826	1826	mortgagee
F	139	Corve	Longmore	Richard	yeoman		1	Munslow	1	7	1669	1676	
H	9	Upper Gaolford	Weaver	Henry	yeoman		1	Norbury	1	1	1723	1723	from Culmington
D	30 to 32	Corve	Acton	John	yeoman		1	Shipton	1	4	1744	1748	
V	71	Lower Broad	Adams	Elizabeth	farmer	widow	1	Silvingtomn	1	11	1824	1835	
V	71	Lower Broad	Adams	Richard Devey	farmer		1	Silvington	1	15	1805	1824	inheritance
S	High Hall	Castle	Powell	William	yeoman		1	Stottesdon	1	1	1818	1821	mortgagee
L	37 to 45	Old	Bright	Edward	farmer		1	Westbury	1	5	1820	1835	mortgagee
L	3	Old	Beddoes	Richard	farmer		1	Wistanstow	1	3	1802	1805	mortgagee
E	72	Corve	Dyke	Francis	yeoman		1	Wistanstow	1	39	1758	1797	purchased
E	75	Corve	Dyke	Francis	yeoman		1	Wistanstow	1	1	1754	?	
V	74 to 76	Lower Broad	Jones	Edward	yeoman		1	Wistanstow	1	1	1834	?	mortgagee
F	153	Corve	Marston	Francis	farmer		1	Wistanstow	1	1	1743	1744	
L	37 to 45	Old	Robinson	Thomas	farmer		1	Wistanstow	1	5	1830	1835	mortgagee
F	153	Corve	Tomlinson	John	farmer		1	Wistanstow	1	6	1841	1847	mortgagee
Z	11 and 12	Dinham	Campbell	Duncan	builder		1	Bishops Castle	1	8	1771	1779	
Y	Din.Hall	Dinham	Campbell	Duncan	architect		1	Bishops Castle	1	2	1776	1778	mortgagee
D	10	Corve	Giles	Benjamin	ironmaster		1	Hope Bagot	1	15	1777	1792	
D	10	Corve	Giles	John	ironmaster		1	Hope Bagot	1	7	1825	1832	mortgagee
S	17	High	Giles	Benjamin	ironmaster		1	Hope Bagot	1	15	1777	1792	
Y	41	Mill	Giles	John	ironmaster		1	Hope Bagot	1	1	1824	?	
T	69	Broad	Giles	Benjamin	ironmaster		1	Hope Bagot	1	11	1776	1787	
Q	2	Brand	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster		1	Hopton Wafers	1	5	1838	1843	
T	55	Broad	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster		1	Hopton Wafers	1	21	1824	1843	

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E		69	Corve	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster		10	Hopton Wafers	1	2	1841	1843	purchase
Q		46 to 50	Old	Botfield	THomas	ironmaster		10	Hopton Wafers	1	1	1842	1843	
B		High Hall	Castle	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster		10	Hopton Wafers	1	13	1830	1843	
L		Mus. Store	Old	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster		10	Hopton Wafers	1	1	1842	1843	
L		37 to 45	Old	Marshall	Elizabeth	skinner	daughter	16	Much Wenlock	1	?	1768	?	inheritance
E		67 to 68	Corve	Lloyd	Samuel	tanner	& heirs	16	Wistanstow	1	51	1734	1795	
E		67 to 68	Corve	Lloyd	Thomas	tanner	grandson	16	Wistanstow	1	38	1795	1833	bankrupt
E		70 to 71	Corve	Lloyd	Samuel	tanner		16	Wistanstow	1	54	1744	1798	
S		12	High	Lucas	Charles	saddler		21	Bishops Castle	1	30	1790	1810	
D		17 to 19	Corve	Gough	William	wheelwright		21	Munslow	1	6	1809	1815	
T		55	Broad	Tasker	John	maltster		32	Sibdon Carwood	1	1	1740	?	later in Ludlow
R		28	Old	Brown	John	clockmaker		34	Wistanstow	1	14	1807	1821	mortgagee
C		3	Bull Ring	Griffiths	John	stationer		51	Bishops Castle	1	47	1801	1848	
Y		2 to 8	Dinham	Holland	William	lawyer	heirs	64	Burwarton	1	26	1669	1725	
Y		2 to 8	Dinham	Holland	William	lawyer		64	Burwarton	1	10	1689	1699	
X		9	Castle	Morris	Charlotte	clergy	widow	69	Clun	1	18	1802	1820	
X		9	Castle	Morris	Philip	clergy		69	Clun	1	4	1798	1802	
J		Ad/Lloyds	Lower Gaulford	Rocke	John	clergy		69	Clungunford	1	15	1833	1848	mortgagee
X		16 to 19	Raven	Webb	Thomas			69	Clungunford	1	14	1719	1733	
F		135	Corve	Oakley	Herbert	clergy		69	Hopton Castle	1	10	1802	1812	marriage
R		16 to 17	Brand	Pardoe	George	clergy		69	Hopton Castle	1	22	1826	1848	
R		16	Broad	Baugh	Edward	clergy		69	Neem Sollars	1	28	1766	1794	
E		16	Broad	Baugh	Edward	clergy		69	Neen Sollars	1	21	1794	1815	
R		16	Broad	Baugh	Edward	clergy		69	Neen Sollars	1	9	1757	1766	mortgagee
Y		Castle Ldg	Castle	Baugh	Edward	clergy		69	Neen Sollars	1	6	1747	1753	
X		4	Mill	Baugh	Edward	Gent		72	Acton Scott	1	12	1660	1672	
F		153	Corve	Walters	Roger	Mr		72	Bishops Castle	1	5	1830	1835	
Z		Dinham Ldg	Dinham	Wollaston	Walter	Gent	with heirs	72	Bishops Castle	1	18	1705	1723	
R		28	Old	Good	Eleanor	Mrs	widow	72	Boraston	1	8	1781	1789	mortgagee
C		3	King	Crump	George	Gent		72	Bouldon	1	10	1707	1717	mortgagee
S		15	High	Green	Jonathon	Gent		72	Burford	1	7	1757	1764	mortgagee
S		15	High	Green	Jonathon	Gent		72	Burford	1	2	1764	1766	
W		14	Mill	Hamilton	Gustavus	Lord(Boyne)		72	Burwarton	1	38	1810	1840	
U		40	Broad	Hamilton	Gustavus	Lord(Boyne)		72	Burwarton	1	27	1821	1848	
W		18 to 20	L.Raven	Hamilton	Gustavus	Lord(Boyne)		72	Burwarton	1	40	1803	1848	
W		14	Mill	Holland	Bernard	Esq.	heirs	72	Burwarton	1	7	1803	1810	

W		14 Mill	Holland	Bernard	Esq.		72	Burwarton	1	30	1773	1803	
W	16 to 20	L.Raven	Holland	Bernard	Esq.		72	Burwarton	1	5	1798	1803	
Y	9	Dinham	Newton	John	Esq.		72	Chirbury	1	27	1662	1689	
Y	2 to 8	Dinham	Newton	John	Esq.		72	Chirbury	1	27	1662	1669	
F	116	Corve	Fleming	Richard	Gent		72	Clun	1	4	1716	1720	mortgagee
X	9	Castle	Morris	Philip II	Gent		72	Clun	1	28	1820	1848	
T	56 to 58	Broad	Sayce	William	Gent		72	Clun	1	38	1779	1815	
T	68 to 69	Broad	Sayce	William	Gent		72	Clun	1	11	1777	1778	
Q	27	Broad	Harris	Luke	Gent		72	Clungunford	1	42	1660-	1702	inheritance
J	Ward.Gdns	Lower Gaulford	Penny	John	Esq.	Broadwood	72	Clungunford	1	1	1833	1838	mortgagee
S	1	High	Turner	EDward	Gent		72	Clunton	1	12	1836	1848	
Q	27	Broad	Turner	Edward	Gent		72	Clunton	1	12	1836	1848	inheritance
U	3 to 7	L.Raven	Turner	Edward	Gent		72	Clunton	1	14	1834	1848	
F	135	Corve	Maud	John	Fgent		72	Eaton-under-H	1	21	1660	1661	
E	69	Corve	Botfiel;d	Beriah	Gent		72	Hopton Wafers	1	5	1843	1848	inheritance
Q	2	Brand	Botfield	Beriah	Gent		72	Hopton Wafers	1	5	1843	1848	
T	56	Broad	Botfield	Beriah	Gent		72	Hopton Wafers	1	5	1843	1848	
Q	46 to 50	Old	Botfield	Beriah	Gent		72	Hopton Wafers	1	1	1843	1845	
B	High Hall	Castle	Botfield	Beriah	Gent		72	Hopton Wafers	1	5	1843	1848	
L	Mus.Store	Old	Botfield	Beriah	Gent		72	Hopton wafers	1	1	1842	1845	
R	16 to 17	Brand	Walcot	John	Esq.		72	Lydbury North	1	16	1743	1759	
Q	33	Broad	Hill	Thomas	Gent		72	Nash	1	17	1706	1723	
D	23	Corve	Watts	Thomas	Gent	& heirs	72	Neen Savage	1	52	1723	1775	
E	75	Corve	Marshall	THomas	Gent		72	Norbury	1	1	1758	1758	mortgagee
Y	2 to 8	Dinham	Lutwyche	Edward	judge		72	Rushbury	1	20	1689	1709	trustee
E	75	Corve	Botterell	Edward	Gent		72	Stoke St M.	1	10	1695	1705	mortgagee
R	17 to 19	King	Morley	Thomas II	Gent		72	Whitton	1	39	1773	1812	
R	19	Broad	Rogers	Thomas	Mr		72	Wistanstow	1	2	1733	1735	mortgagee
Y	54 to 56	Mill	Urwock	William	Gent		72	Wistanstow	1	16	1797	1816	
T	51	Broad	Pinches	Mary	spinster		89	Eaton-under-H.	1	2	1844	1846	mortgagee
S	12	High	Bright	George			99	Bishops Castle	1	13	1767	1780	
S	13	High	Bright	George			99	Bishops Castle	1	39	1767	1806	
L	75	Old	Taylor	James			99	Burford	1	27	1723	1750	
L	75	Old	Turner	John			99	Chuchstoke	1	1	1809	1810	
B	10 Church	Church	Blakey	Charles			99	Clungunford	1	1	1847	1848	
Q	52 to 54	Old	Bridgwater	James			99	Clungunford	1	2	1774	1776	mortgagee

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Q	28	Broad	Palmers	Thomas			99	Clungunford	1	27	1808	1835	
M	133 to 135	Nott	William I				99	Greete	1	1	?	1810	
M	133 to 135	Nott	William II				99	Greete	1	11	?	1810	
C	2A	Bull Ring	Hayes	Joan			99	Lydbury North	1	17	1664	1679	mortgagee
D	17 to 19	Corve	Bluck	Samuel			99	Munslow	1	3	1834	1837	
S	6 and 7	High	Newman	Samuel			99	Rushbury	1	7	1713	1733	
B	5	Church	Pitt	Thomas	yeoman		1	Barrow	0	1	1787	1787	
E	75	Corve	Weaver	THomas	yeoman		1	Dowles	0	15	1678	1693	mortgagee
K	80 to 81	Lower Gaulford	Harris	Richard	yeoman		1	Hope Bowdler	0	4	1740	1744	mortgagee
F	82	Corve	Thomas	Martin	yeoman	& widow	1	Pitchford	0	17	1765	1782	
X	4	Mill	Kite	Thomas	yeoman		1	Pontesbury	0	1	1762	1762	
D	7	Corve	Mall	Roger	yeoman		1	Shrewsbury	0	5	1757	1762	inheritance
C	11	Bull Ring	Mall	Roger	yeoman		1	Shrewsbury	0	2	1757	1759	inheritance
C	12	Bull Ring	Mall	Roger	yeoman		1	Shrewsbury	0	2	1757	1759	inheritance
C	13	Bull Ring	Mall	Roger	yeoman		1	Shrewsbury	0	2	1757	1759	inheritance
X	7	Mill	Baldwin	Richard	ironmaster		10	Willey	0	4	1721	1725	
E	73	Corve	Pountney	Samuel	tanner		16	Church Stretton	0	1	1723	1723	
L	37 to 45	Old	Bickerton	Elizabeth	skinner	daughter	16	Oswestry	0	48	1762	1810	mortgagee
C	1 and 2A	Bull Ring	Acton	William	glover	daughters	29	Bridgnorth	0	1	1799	1800	
C	1 and 2A	Bull Ring	Acton	William	glover		29	Bridgnorth	0	22	1767	1799	from Ludlow
N	4 to 16	Temeside	Haslewood	George	tailor		29	Bridgnorth	0	27	1707	1734	
M	137 to 143	Old	Price	Richard	pointmaker	& heirs	29	Bridgnorth	0	54	1694	1748	
R	8	Broad	Poole	Mary	baker	daughter	31	Shrewsbury	0	18	1830	1848	
T	51	Broad	Smith	James	coal merchant		42	Leebotwood	0	2	1848	1848	mortgagee
R	46	Bull Ring	Parry	James	tobacconist	son of	47	Moreton Corbett	0	2	1796	1798	
R	1	Broad	Parry	Edward	tobacconist		47	Shrewsbury	0	27	1769	1796	
R	45	Bull Ring	Parry	Edward	tobacconist		47	Shrewsbury	0	27	1769	1796	marriage
R	46	Bull Ring	Parry	Edward	tobacconist		47	Shrewsbury	0	27	1769	1796	marriage
K	114 to 115	Lower Gaulford	Parry	Edward	tobacconist		47	Shrewsbury	0	27	1769	1796	
C	4	King	Izard	Stephen	merc		53	Bridgnorth	0	33	1781	1814	
G	6 to 7	Tower	Davies	Thomas	shopkeeper		53	Shrewsbury	0	9	1801	1810	to Ashford Bowdler
R	14	Broad	Eaton	Mary	banker	widow	56	Shrewsbury	0	1	1831	?	
L	5 to 7	Old	Holloday	John	excise officer		58	Broseley	0	27	1771	1798	
F	111 to 112	Corve	Baldwin	Thomas	lawyer		64	Shrewsbury	0	1	1669	?	
X	7	Mill	Nicholls	Mary	clergy	daughter	69	Barrow	0	24	1675	1697	
X	7	Mill	Nicholls	Richard	clergy		69	Barrow	0	3	1670	1673	

Owners living outside Ludlow ('foreign'):
occupation and status

L	51 to 57	Old	Oakley	Anne	clergy		daughter	69	Shrewsbury	0	1	1835	1836	mortgager: married
L	51 to 57	Old	Oakley	Catherine	clergy		daughter	69	Shrewsbury	0	3	1836	1839	
D	11	Corve	Powell	Thomas	Gent			72	Bridgnorth	0	4	1795	1799	mortgagee
F	150	Corve	Smallman	William	Gent			72	Bridgnorth	0	11	1689	1706	
K	80 to 81	Lower Gaulford	Blakeway	Thomas	Gent			72	Church Stretton	0	1	1740	1740	
N	Mill	Temeside	Powell	Thomas	Gent			72	Church Stretton	0	19	1674	1693	inheritance
F	135	Corve	Mainwaring	Andrew	Mr			72	Little Wenlock	0	1	1694	1694	
L	5 to 7	Old	Harper	Edward	Gent			72	Madeley	0	13	1798	1811	mortgagee
V	37 to 39	Lower Broad	Baker	John	Esq.			72	Shrewsbury	0	1	1828	1834	mortgagee
K	109 to 113	Lower Gaulford	Parry	James	Gent			72	Shrewsbury	0	28	1796	1797	marriage
Z	Dinham Hs	Dinham	Probert	John	Esq.		& widow	72	Shrewsbury	0	35	1781	1826	
D	10	Dinham	Scott	Henry	Gent			72	Shrewsbury	0	15	1799	1814	purchase
Q	3	Brand	Charlton	Francis, Sir	baronet		heirs	72	Whittington	0	35	1729	1764	
Q	3	Brand	Charlton	Francis, Sir	baronet			72	Whittington	0	11	1718	1729	
Q	4	Band	Charlton	Francis, Sir	baronet			72	Whittington	0	9	1720	1729	
Q	4	Brand	Charlton	Job, Sir	baronet			72	Whittington	0	32	1729	1761	
Q	27	Broad	Charlton	Francis, Sir	baronet			72	Whittington	0	24	1705	1729	
Q	27	Broad	Charlton	Job, Sir	baronet			72	Whittington	0	32	1729	1761	
Q	28	Broad	Charlton	Job, Sir	baronet			72	Whittington	0	1	?	1751	
Q	27	Broad	Kinchant	John	Esq.			72	Whittington	0	3	1761	1764	
Q	4	Brand	Kinchent	John	Esq.			72	Whittington	0	11	1761	1772	
T	55	Broad	Pemberton	Ed.and Robert	Esq.			72	Wrockwardine	0	21	1769	1790	mortgagee
E	67 to 68	Corve	Lloyd	Charles/John				99	Acton Round	0	10	1833	1843	
S	3	High	Boyle	Edward				99	Longnor	0	10	1723	1733	mortagee
S	3	High	Boyle	Roger				99	Longnor	0	8	1715	1723	mortgagee
V	71	Lower Broad	Trevor	Thomas				99	Meole Brace	0	8	1797	1805	marriage
F	9 to 12	St Mary's	Cund	Mary				99	Shrewsbury	0	1	1829	?	mortgagee
R	13	Broad	Meyricke	Sarah	Mrs			99	Shrewsbury	0	9	1660	1669	

occupation and status

blck	no.	street	owner	status/occ.	cd	zone	county	parish	years from	to	notes
Wales											
F	83	Corve	Esp	John		1	Radnorshire	Stanage	1	1833	?
C	4 to 6	Bull Ring	Farmer	Thomas		32	Radnorshire	Presteign	1	1776	?
B	High Hall	Castle	Rogers	Charles		53	Radnorshire	Stanage	33	1787	1820
B	High Hall	Castle	Rogers	Edward		64	Radnorshire	Stanage	10	1820	1830
S	2	High	Codnor	Peter		65	Radnorshire	Knighton	32	1730	1762
B	Qual.Sq.	Castle	Gough	Hugh	son in law	72	Radnorshire	Knighton	1	1738	?
B	5	Castle	Gough	Hugh	son-in-law	72	Radnorshire	Knighton	1	1738	?
F	131	Corve	Bowdler	Jane		99	Radnorshire	Knighton	22	1737	1759
L	Mus.Store	Old	Whiteman	Richard		1	Carmarthenshire	Carmarthen	1	1728	?
L	17 and 1	Tower/Old	Tomkins	Edward		1	Montgomeryshire	Guisfield	45	1798	1843
H	Candle Hs	Upper Gaolford	Tomkins	Thomas		1	Montgomeryshire	Guisfield	30	1818	1848
V	68	Lower Broad	Come	Joseph		1	Montgomeryshire	Holt	11	1832	1843
V	10 to 11	Lower Broad	Come	Joseph		1	Montgomeryshire	Holt	32	1811	1843
V	10 to 11	Lower Mill	Corne	Joseph		1	Montgomeryshire	Welshpool	32	1811	1843
Y	40	Mill	Hill	Henry		1	Radnorshire	Glasbury	21	1756	1777
Y	40	Mill	Hill	Henry	heirs	1	Radnorshire	Glasbury	17	1777	1794
W	15	Mill	Hill	Henry		1	Radnorshire	Glasbury	21	1756	1777
W	15	Mill	Hill	Henry	heirs	1	Radnorshire	Glasbury	17	1777	1794
Y	42	Mill	Davies	Rice	son-in-law	1	Radnorshire	Llandrindod	22	1728	1750
E	69	Corve	Green	Charles		8	Breconshire	Hay	1	1815	1815
T	60	Broad	Smith	John		10	Anglesey	Newborough	8	1724	1732
E	69	Corve	Owens	John		16	Radnorshire	Llanmihangl	23	1817	1840
R	14	Broad	Morgan	James		20	Monmouthshire	Chepstow	28	1780	1808
F	82	Corve	Morgan	James		20	Monmouthshire	Chepstow	5	1799	1804
S	1	Church	Morgan	James		20	Monmouthshire	Chepstow	5	1775	1780
H	9	Upper Gaolford	Morgan	James		20	Monmouthshire	Chepstow	27	1776	1803
U	35 to 37	Broad	LLoyd	Francis, Sir		64	Carmarthenshire	Lampeter	17	1676	1693
S	4	High	Watkins	Henry		69	Breconshire	Defynog	1	?	1681
Q	2	Brand	Vaughan	William		69	Breconshire	Lladiloe	2	1684	1684
Q	2	Brand	Owen	Roger		69	Glamorgan	Llandaff	25	1660	1682
S	New Hs.shps	High	Weaver	John		69	Radnorshire	Radnor	7	1679	1686
B	10	Church	Weaver	John		69	Radnorshire	Radnor	3	1675	1678
R	9	Broad	Bishop	John		72	Carmarthenshire	Carmarthen	3	1775	1778

occupation and status

U	35 to 37	Broad	Lloyd	Francis	Sir		72	0	Camarthenshire	Lampeter	8	1660	1668	inherited	
U	35 to 37	Broad	Lloyd	Frances	widow		72	0	Camarthenshire	Lampeter	29	1724	1751	inherited	
U	35 to 37	Broad	Lloyd	Frances	heirs		72	0	Camarthernshire	Lampeter	2	1753	1755	inherited	
U	35 to 37	Broad	Lloyd	Mary	Lady		72	0	Camarthernshire	Lampeter	8	1668	1676	inherited	
U	35 to 37	Broad	Lloyd	Charles	Sir (M.P.)		72	0	Camarthernshire	Lampeter	31	1693	1724	inherited	
T	49	Broad	Blaney	Arthur	Gent		72	0	Montgomeryshire	Tregonyon	1	1737	?	mortgagee	
Z	Dinham Hall	Dinham	Clive	Viscount	later Earl of Powis		72	0	Montgomeryshire	Welshpool	22	1826	1848		
L	Mus.Store	Broad	Francis	Thomas	and Ann		99	0	Camarthenshire	Llansawell	1	-	1749		
Y	24 to 26	Mill	Sneade	Jeremy			99	0	Montgomeryshire	Forden	3	1793	1796	inherited	
Overseas															
C	7 to 10	King	King	Edward	merchant		53		Barbadoes		7	1744	1751	marriage	
D	13	Corve	Jordan	Edward			99		Canada		1	1842	?	inherited	
Z	11 to 12	Dinham	Syer	William, Sir	judge		64		India	Bombay	3	1800	1893		

Appendix 4B

Owners living outside Ludlow ('foreign'):
Occupation and status

Worcestershire

blck no.	street	owner		status/occ.	add.inf.	cd.	parish	zone	years	from	to	notes
J	St Stephens	Bedford	Martha	tiler	widow	5	Worcester	0	14	1760	1774	
G	3 Tower	Collins	John	butcher		46	Tenbury	1	1	1729	?	mortgagee
L	13 Tower	Powys	Edward	sexton		59	Worcester	0	27	1660	1687	
L	10 to 12 Tower	Green	Henry	clergy		69	Upton Sodsbury	0	42	1777	1779	
L	15 to 16 Tower	Scarlett	Anthony	merchant		53	Worcester	0	5	1795	1800	
G	6 to 7 Tower	Karver	John	lawyer		64	Worcester	0	4	1749	1753	mortgagee;with B.Budley
Q	4 Ombersley	Prattington	William & James	glass merchant		42	Bewdley	0	6	1770	1776	
Q	4 Ombersley	Walter	Peter	merc		53	Bewdley	0	1	1689	?	mortgagee
R	18 Old	Lee	John	baker		31	Dudley	0	9	1816	1825	mortgagee
R	28 Old	Crow	George	blacksmith		10	Bayton	1	2	1693	1695	mortgagee
R	28 Old	Bottrell	John	mariner		62	Kidderminster	0	13	1741	1754	
L	75 Old	Spenser	Thomas	glover		32	Worcester	0	5	1722	1727	
R	24 to 26 Old	Green	Henry	clergy		69	Upton Sodsbury	0	2	1777	1779	
R	36 to 38 Old	Hill	Phillip Gilley	Gent		72	Tenbury	1	19	1821	1840	mortgagee
L	5 to 7 Old	Vernon	Thomas	registrar		58	Worcester	0	18	1669	1687	
L	59 to 67 Old	Herbert	Ann	maltster	niece	32	Worcester	0	5	1799	1804	
M	Horse & Jockey Old	Tipton	John			99	Worcester	0	23	1734	1767	
Y	41 Mill	Powys	Jane	daughter		59	Worcester	0	18	1687	1705	
Y	31 to 39 Mill	Skyme	Jane	widow		99	Bromyard	0	25	1769	1794	
X	5 to 6 Mill	Martin	Henry	Gent		72	Worcester	0	6	1792	1798	mortgagee
J	48 Lower Gaulford	Weston	Edward	merchant	and heirs	53	Worcester	0	28	1749	1777	
J	49 Lower Gaulford	Colbatch	Thomas	husbandman		1	Tenbury	1	2	1786	1788	mortgagee
J	50 Lower Gaulford	Taylor	John	clergy	carrier	41	Rochford	1	41	1750	1791	
K	67 Lower Gaulford	Tipton	Martha	barber	niece	71	Worcester	0	83	1720	1803	
J	20 to 21 Lower Gaulford	Rawlins	Valentine	clergy		69	Rochford	1	11	1660	1671	
K	75 to 79 Lower Gaulford	Tipton	John	apothecary		65	Worcester	0	14	1720	1734	
K	75 to 79 Lower Gaulford	Tipton	Benjamin	apothecary		65	Worcester	0	22	1767	1779	
K	75 to 79 Lower Gaulford	Skyme	Jane	widow		99	Bromyard	0	25	1769	1794	
V	10 to 11 Lower Mill	White	John	chandler		17	Kidderminster	0	4	1766	1770	inheritance
V	7 to 9 Lower Mill	Robinson	Thomas	dye		28	Kidderminster	0	1	?	1742	mortgagee (grandson)
R	16 King	Shelton	Joseph	farmer		1	Eastham	1	34	1682	1718	
R	17 King	Rawlins	Valentine	clergy		69	Rochford	1	14	1660	1674	
R	18 King	Wakeman	James	banker		56	Worcester	0	5	1827	1832	
R	18 King	Vashon	James	clergy		69	Salwarp	0	1	1832	1833	inherited
R	11 to 12 King	Rawlins	Valentine	clergy		69	Rochford	1	29	1660	1689	

Owners living outside Ludlow ('foreign'):
occupation and status

R	14 to 15	King	Stokes	Mary		widow	99	Eastham	1	1	1779	?	mortgagee
S		2	High	Valentine	clergy		69	Rochford	1	7	1672	1679	
S		9	High	Valentine	clergy		69	Rochford	1	9	1660	1669	
S		9	High	Joseph	farmer			Eastham	1	62	1682	1744	
R		28	Fee	Thomas	lawyer	and widow	64	Worcester	0	8	1660	1669	
M		T313	Fee	Samuel	watch-maker		34	Tenbury	1	2	1815	1817	
M		T35	Fee	Elizabeth	tiler	dau/&/husb	5	Worcester	0	18	1774	1792	
D		17 to 19	Corve Street	Francis	Gent/farmer		72	Knighton on Teme	1	56	1765	1817	was ironmonger
D		20	Corve	William	grocer	and heirs	53	Dudley	0	14	1834	1848	
D		24	Corve	Samuel	yeoman		1	Ribbesford	0	2	1693	1695	mortgagee
E		69	Corve	Josiah	maltster		32	Worcester	0	17	1744	1761	
E		72	Corve	Anthony	hop merchant		43	Worcester	0	9	1798	1807	
E		75	Corve	John	apothecary		65	Worcester	0	14	1720	1734	
E		75	Corve	John	Gent.		72	Kyre	1	30	1774	1804	
E		75	Corve	Josiah	maltster	and son	32	Worcester	0	75	1682	1757	
F		136	Corve	Elinor		widow	99	Ombersley	0	22	1698	1720	mortgagee
F		136	Corve	Francis		and heirs	99	Ombersley	0	22	1672	1798	mortgagee
F		138	Corve	Edward	merchant	and heirs	53	Worcester	0	30	1749	1779	
D		17 to 19	Corve	William	Gent		72	Bredon	0	9	1691	1702	mortgagee
F		Bl	Corve	Charles	Gent		72	Tenbury	1	16	1708	1724	later Cardington
B		1	College	Ann	Mrs	and heirs	99	Bewdley	0	77	1750	1780	30
B		College	College	Thomas	grocer		53	Bewdley	0	6	1660	1666	mortgagee
S		4	Church	John	Esq.		72	Shelshey Walsh	0	28	1663	1691	
B		10	Church	John II	clergy	and heirs	69	Worcester	0	47	1738	1785	
B		10	Church	Botterell	tobacconist		47	Tenbury	1	1	1797	1797	
S		Tamb.House	Church	Edward	merchant		53	Worcester	0	10	1749	1759	
B		6	Castle	Thomas	mason	son in law	5	Stanford Bridge	1	1	1792	1792	marriage
G		35	Bull Ring	Charles	clockmaker		34	Worcester	0	19	1788	1807	
G		35	Bull Ring	Anthony	hop merchant		43	Worcester	0	10	1798	1808	
C		2 to 3b	Bull Ring	Edward	merchant		53	Worcester	0	31	1746	1777	
C		2b to 3	Bull Ring	Mary	widow		99	Tenbury	1	11	1744	1755	mortgagee
C		4 to 6	Bull	Randolph			99	Birchley	0	1	1733	?	
R		16	Broad	Edward	Esq.		72	Kyre	1	1	?	1824	mortgagee
R		16	Broad	Richard	Gent		72	Powick	0	25	1753	1778	mortgagee
Q		27	Broad	Henry	stationer		51	Comberton	0	6	1822	1828	mortgagee
Q		27	Broad	Benjamin			99	Claines	0	4	1749	1753	mortgagee with J.Karver

occupation and status

Q		28	Broad	Collins	Bridget	butcher	mother	46	Tenbury	1	1	1728	?	mortgagee
T		51	Broad	Scarlett	Anthony	hop merchant		43	Worcester	0	1	1787	1808	
T		54	Broad	Waring	Priscilla	glover	widow	29	Dudley	0	12	1818	1830	
T		67	Broad	Shelton	Josiah	maltster	heirs	32	Worcester	0	1	1720	?	

Appendix 5

Ludlow properties, 1843

From Ludlow Borough Poor Rate Book, 1843 (LB 15/2/245)

Column headings:

No:	sequence in rate book
	street number (if known)
street	
surname	
first name	
occupation	
cd.:	code, occupational and social status class
residence:	if not in Ludlow
property	
property	
property	
valuation	

TEXT BOUND INTO THE SPINE

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

owners		street	surname	first name	occupation	cd	residence	property	property	property	£	s	d
9	91	Lower Gaolford	Camel	John	farmer	1	Culimington	house	garden		6	0	0
8	16	High Street	Carrier	James	farmer	1	Ashford C,	house			20	0	0
1	52	Lower Broad St	Carrier	James	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden				
2	51	Lower Broad St	Carrier	James	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden	brewhouse	7	10	0
0	1/2A	Bull Ring	Carter	John	farmer	1	Bromfield	house			15	0	0
3		Upper Gaolford	Clewes	William	farmer	1	Stanton Lacy	house	garden		2	0	0
9		Upper Gaolford	Clewes	William	farmer	1	Stanton Lacy	house	garden		2	0	0
0		Upper Gaolford	Clewes	William	farmer	1	Stanton Lacy	house	garden		3	0	0
1	20	Upper Gaolford	Clewes	William	farmer	1	Stanton Lacy	house	garden		3	15	0
2	18	Upper Gaolford	Clewes	William	farmer	1	Stanton Lacy	house	garden		6	0	0
5	36	Lower Broad St	Collins	Francis	farmer	1	Richards C.	house	garden		3	15	0
8	11	Lower Mill St	Corne	Joseph	farmer	1	Holt, Mont	house	garden		3	15	0
9	10	Lower Mill St	Corne	Joseph	farmer	1	Holt, Mont	house	garden		4	15	0
0	10A	Lower Mill St	Corne	Joseph	farmer	1	Holt, Mont	house			6	5	0
2	68	Lower Broad St	Corne	Joseph	farmer	1	Holt, Mont.	house	garden		7	10	0
3	69	Lower Broad St	Corne	Joseph	farmer	1	Holt, Mont	house	garden		3	0	0
4	70	Lower Broad St	Corne	Joseph	farmer	1	Holt, Mont	house	garden		2	0	0
5	70	Lower Broad St	Corne	Joseph	farmer	1	Holt, Mont	house	garden		2	0	0
6	70	Lower Broad St	Corne	Joseph	farmer	1	Holt, Mont	house	garden		1	0	0
7	70	Lower Broad St	Corne	Joseph	farmer	1	Holt, Mont	house	garden		2	0	0
8	70	Lower Broad St	Corne	Joseph	farmer	1	Holt., Mont	house	garden		2	0	0
1		St Mary's Lane	Cox	Francis	farmer	1	Stanton Lacy	house			2	0	0
2		St Mary's Lane	Cox	Francis	farmer	1	Stanton Lacy	house			1	10	0
3		St Mary's Lane	Cox	Francis	farmer	1	Stanton Lacy	house			2	10	0
4		St Mary's Lane	Cox	Francis	farmer	1	Stanton Lacy	house			2	10	0
6	75	Lower Gaolford	Evans	Richard	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden		3	0	0
7	76	Lower Gaolford	Evans	Richard	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden		3	0	0
8	77	Lower Gaolford	Evans	Richard	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden		3	0	0
9	78	Lower Gaolford	Evans	Richard	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden		3	0	0
1		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house			2	10	0
2		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house			2	10	0
3		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house			2	10	0
4		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house			3	0	0
5		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house			2	0	0
6		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house			2	10	0
7		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house			1	10	0
8		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house			3	0	0
9		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house			3	10	0
0		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house	yard	bakehouse	7	10	0
1		Fee	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house			2	10	0
6		Temeside	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house	garden		3	15	0
7		Temeside	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house	garden		3	15	0
8		Temeside	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house	garden		3	15	0
9		Temeside	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house	garden		3	15	0
0		Temeside	Evans	Benjamin	farmer	1	Orleton	house	garden		3	15	0
2	13	Bull Ring	Griffiths	George	farmer	1		house			14	0	0
7	2	Upper Gaolford	Morris	John	farmer	1	Diddlebury	inn(HorseSh)			37	0	0
8		Dinham	Nicholls	William	farmer	1		house	garden		4	15	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

205	16	Mill Street	Nicholls	William	farmer	1		house	garden		14	15	0
1041		Fee	Powell	Powell	farmer	1	Orleton		garden	buildings	3	0	0
686		Upper Gaolford	Shenton	Thomas	farmer	1	Ashford C.		malthpouse		9	0	0
687		Upper Gaolford	Shenton	Thomas	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden		3	0	0
688		Upper Gaolford	Shenton	Thomas	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden		3	0	0
689		Upper Gaolford	Shenton	Thomas	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden		3	0	0
690		Upper Gaolford	Shenton	Thomas	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden		3	0	0
691		Upper Gaolford	Shenton	Thomas	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden		3	10	0
692		Upper Gaolford	Shenton	Thomas	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house	garden		3	10	0
693		Upper Gaolford	Shenton	Thomas	farmer	1	Ashford C.	house		premises	4	10	0
298	111	Corve Street	Shepperd	Jeremiah	farmer	1	Stokesay	house	orchard	malthouse	26	10	0
299	112	Corve Street	Shepperd	Jeremiah	farmer	1	Stokesay	house	garden		7	10	0
300		Corve Street	Shepperd	Jeremiah	farmer	1	Stokesay	house	garden		2	10	0
125	13	Dinham	Thomas	Edward	farmer	1		house	garden		11	0	0
631		Upper Gaolford	Tomkins	Thomas	farmer	1	Guildsfield		garden		3	0	0
860	16	Tower Street	Tomkins	Thomas	farmer	1	Guildsfield	house			7	10	0
861	17	Tower Street	Tomkins	Thomas	farmer	1	Guildsfield	inn(Pheasant)			22	0	0
862	1	Old Street	Tomkins	Thomas	farmer	1	Guildsfield			shop/slghtrh	6	0	0
635		Upper Gaolford	Tomkyns	Thomas	farmer	1	Guildsfield			malthouse	3	0	0
636		Upper Gaolford	Tomkyns	Thomas	farmer	1	Guildsfield		garden		1	10	0
17		Linney	Tyler	Thomas	farmer	1		house	premises		7	10	0
152	17	Corve Street	Wellings	John	farmer	1	Leysters	inn(Eagle)	house	stable	14	0	0
375	76	Lower Broad St	Bradley	Elizabeth	wid(grdnr)	1		house	garden		6	0	0
376	74	Lower Broad St	Bradley	Elizabeth	wid(grdnr)	1		house			4	15	0
266	34	Lower Raven L	Davenport	William	yeoman	1	Downton	house			4	15	0
267		Lower Raven L	Davenport	William	yeoman	1	Downton	house			4	15	0
268		Lower Raven L	Davenport	William	yeoman	1	Downton	house			3	15	0
269		Lower Raven L	Davenport	William	yeoman	1	Downton	house			3	15	0
270		Lower Raven L	Davenport	William	yeoman	1	Downton	house		coach fcty	17	0	0
271		Lower Raven L	Davenport	William	yeoman	1	Downton			stable	3	15	0
272		Barnaby Lane	Davenport	William	yeoman	1	Downton	house			3	15	0
273		Barnaby Lane	Davenport	William	yeoman	1	Downton	house	garden		4	15	0
67	18	Castle Street	Powell	Edward	brickmaker	3		house	premises		22	5	0
68	18	Castle Street	Powell	Edward	brickmaker	3				malthouse	9	10	0
69	20	Castle Street	Powell	Edward	brickmaker	3		house			11	10	0
70	22	Castle Street	Powell	Edward	brickmaker	3		house	garden		22	10	0
214	16	Bell Lane	Powell	Edward	brickmaker	3		house			9	0	0
215	15	Bell Lane	Powell	Edward	brickmaker	3		house			7	10	0
216	14	Bell Lane	Powell	Edward	brickmaker	3		house			11	5	0
217	13	Bell Lane	Powell	Edward	brickmaker	3		house			8	10	0
810	80	Lower Gaolford	Botley	Thomas	coal-miner	3	West.Brom.	house	garden		7	10	0
499	33	Broad Street	Jones	Edward	builder	4		house	garden	stables	26	0	0
305	115	Corve Street	Atkins	Robert	builder	5		house	garden	malthouse	24	0	0
309		Corve Street	Atkins	Robert	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
310		Corve Street	Atkins	Robert	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
311		Corve Street	Atkins	Robert	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
312		Corve Street	Atkins	Robert	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
313		Corve Street	Atkins	Robert	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
314		Corve Street	Atkins	Robert	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
315	131	Corve Street	Atkins	Robert	builder	5		inn(ND)	garden		11	0	0
519	21	Brand Lane	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	0	0
520	21	Brand Lane	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		room			2	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

662	50	Upper Gaolford	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			4	0	0
663	51	Upper Gaolford	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			4	10	0
664	52	Upper Gaolford	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			2	10	0
665	53	Upper Gaolford	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	10	0
666	54	Upper Gaolford	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	10	0
667	55	Upper Gaolford	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			2	10	0
668	56	Upper Gaolford	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	15	0
052	10	Frog Lane	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	0	0
053	9	Frog Lane	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	15	0
054	8	Frog Lane	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	0	0
055	7	Frog Lane	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	15	0
056	6	Frog Lane	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	15	0
057	5	Frog Lane	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	15	0
058	4	Frog Lane	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			3	15	0
074		Old Street	Brittain	Mrs	builder	5		house			6	0	0
013		Fee	Cook	Thomas	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
014		Fee*	Cook	Thomas	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
015		Fee	Cook	Thomas	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
016		Fee	Cook	Thomas	builder	5		house	garden		1	10	0
640	11	Upper Gaolford	Grosvenor	William	builder	5		house	garden		5	10	0
641	12	Upper Gaolford	Grosvenor	William	builder	5		house	garden		4	10	0
642	13	Upper Gaolford	Grosvenor	William	builder	5		house	garden		5	10	0
643	14	Upper Gaolford	Grosvenor	William	builder	5		house	garden		2	0	0
644	15	Upper Gaolford	Grosvenor	William	builder	5		house	garden		4	10	0
645	16	Upper Gaolford	Grosvenor	William	builder	5		house	garden		3	0	0
646	17	Upper Gaolford	Grosvenor	William	builder	5			warehouse	stable	6	0	0
647	19	Upper Gaolford	Grosvenor	William	builder	5			yard	workshop	4	10	0
648	20	Upper Gaolford	Grosvenor	William	builder	5		house	garden	yard	9	10	0
649	21	Upper Gaolford	Grosvenor	William	builder	5		house			2	0	0
909 1th.C		Old Street	Grosvenor	John	builder	5		house	garden		8	10	0
910 1th.C		Old Street	Grosvenor	John	builder	5		house	garden		6	0	0
911 1th.C		Old Street	Grosvenor	John	builder	5		house	garden		8	10	0
912 1th.C		Old Street	Grosvenor	John	builder	5		house			3	15	0
1203	54	Corve Street	Smith	Edward	builder	5		house			3	15	0
1204	55	Corve Street	Smith	Edward	builder	5		house			3	15	0
1205	56	Corve Street	Smith	Edward	builder	5		house			3	15	0
1206	57	Corve Street	Smith	Edward	builder	5		house			3	15	0
1207	58	Corve Street	Smith	Edward	builder	5		house			3	15	0
1208	59	Corve Street	Smith	Edward	builder	5				warehouse	7	10	0
1209		Corve Street	Smith	Edward	builder	5		house	garden		9	0	0
1210		Corve Street	Smith	Edward	builder	5		house	garden		9	0	0
1272	L.P.	Corve Street	Smith	E.B.	builder	5		workshop	garden	stable	9	10	0
903	50	Lower Broad St	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		8	10	0
904	49	Lower Broad St	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		8	0	0
905	48	Lower Broad St	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		7	10	0
906	47	Lower Broad St	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		7	0	0
907	46	Lower Broad St	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5				premises	7	10	0
907	45	Lower Broad St	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house		premises	7	10	0
907	44	Lower Broad St	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5							
917	59	Old Street	Watkins	Mrs	builder	5		house	garden		5	15	0
918	61	Old Street	Watkins	Mrs	builder	5		house	garden		3	0	0
919	63	Old Street	Watkins	Mrs	builder	5		house	garden		9	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

920	65	Old Street	Watkins	Mrs	builder	5		house	garden		9	0	0
921	67	Old Street	Watkins	Mrs	builder	5		house	garden		9	0	0
922	67A	Old Street	Watkins	Mrs	builder	5		house			4	0	0
981	72	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		4	10	0
982	74	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		4	10	0
983	76	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		4	10	0
984	78	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
985	80	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
986	82	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		3	15	0
990	90	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		3	10	0
991	92	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		3	10	0
992	94	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		3	10	0
993	96	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		3	10	0
994	98	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		3	10	0
995	100	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		2	10	0
996	102	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		2	10	0
997	104	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		2	10	0
998	106	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		2	10	0
999	108	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		2	10	0
1000	108	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		3	10	0
1001	108	Fee	Watkins	Alexander	builder	5		house	garden		2	10	0
309	15	High Street	Jones	Miss	dau of builder	5		house			19	15	0
842	116	Lower Gaolford	Bennett	Richard	joiner	5		house		workshop	8	10	0
824	96	Lower Gaolford	Crundall	Edward	joiner	5		house			3	15	0
825	97	Lower Gaolford	Crundall	Edward	joiner	5		house			2	0	0
826	98	Lower Gaolford	Crundall	Edward	joiner	5		house			3	0	0
158	39	Mill Street	Maund	Francis	joiner	5		house	garden		12	0	0
159	38	Mill Street	Maund	Francis	joiner	5		house	garden		5	5	0
160	37	Mill Street	Maund	Francis	joiner	5		house	garden		3	15	0
161	36	Mill Street	Maund	Francis	joiner	5		house	garden		3	15	0
162	35	Mill Street	Maund	Francis	joiner	5		house			4	5	0
163	34	Mill Street	Maund	Francis	joiner	5		house			5	5	0
164	33	Mill Street	Maund	Francis	joiner	5		house			5	5	0
165	32	Mill Street	Maund	Francis	joiner	5		house			7	10	0
203	18	Mill Street	Maund	Francis	joiner	5		house	garden		10	0	0
734		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		3	0	0
735		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		2	10	0
736		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		2	10	0
737		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		2	0	0
738		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		3	0	0
739		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		3	0	0
740		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		2	10	0
741		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		4	10	0
742		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		2	10	0
743		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		2	10	0
744		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		2	0	0
745		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		2	5	0
746		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		2	0	0
747		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house		premises	8	0	0
748		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house	garden		4	5	0
749		Lower Gaolford	Warrington	John	joiner	5	London	house		premises	8	10	0
804	73	Lower Gaolford	Bluck	Mary	mason	5		house	garden		4	10	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

444	16	Lower Broad St	Cook's	executors	mason	5		inn (B.Mow)	premises	18	10	0	
445	17	Lower Broad St	Cook's	executors	mason	5		house		3	15	0	
316	132	Corve Street	Hammonds	Andrew	mason	5		house	garden	7	10	0	
317		Corve Street	Hammonds	Andrew	mason	5		house	garden	3	0	0	
318		Corve Street	Hammonds	Andrew	mason	5		house	garden	3	15	0	
319		Corve Street	Hammonds	Andrew	mason	5		house	garden	3	15	0	
320		Corve Street	Hammonds	Andrew	mason	5		house	garden	3	15	0	
321		Corve Street	Hammonds	Andrew	mason	5		house	garden	3	15	0	
322		Corve Street	Hammonds	Andrew	mason	5		house	garden	3	15	0	
66	16	Castle Street	Stead	Samuel	mason	5		house	premises	27	0	0	
85		Dinham	Stead	Samuel	mason	5			sawing mill/garden/yard	8	0	0	
155	42	Mill Street	White	Anne	painter	5	Shrewsbury	house	garden	7	10	0	
154	42	Mill Street	White	Anne	painter	5	Shrewsbury	house	premises	33	10	0	
239	25	Raven Lane	Ward	James	Painter/glazie	5		house		11	0	0	
713	3	Lower Gaolford	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house	garden	7	10	0	
714	4	Lower Gaolford	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house	garden	6	0	0	
715	5	Lower Gaolford	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house	garden	5	0	0	
716		Lower Gaolford	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house	garden	3	15	0	
717		Lower Gaolford	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house	garden	3	15	0	
718		Lower Gaolford	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house	garden	3	0	0	
719		Lower Gaolford	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house	garden	3	15	0	
720		Lower Gaolford	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house	garden	3	0	0	
721		Lower Gaolford	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house	garden	4	5	0	
858	14	Tower Street	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house		12	0	0	
859	15	Tower Street	Collings	Francis	plumber	5		house		7	10	0	
940	16	Broad Street	Page	Robert	plumber	5		house	garden	stable	37	0	0
929	13	Brand Lane	Williams	Mary Ann	plumber	5		house		11	0	0	
930	13A	Brand Lane	Williams	Mary Ann	plumber	5		house		3	0	0	
955	8	Raven Lane	Bowen	John	blacksmith	10			workshop	4	5	0	
996		Frog Lane	Knight	John	blacksmith	10			blchsmth shop	3	0	0	
958		Lower Raven L	Pyfinch	William	blacksmith	10			stable	3	15	0	
977	34	Old Street	Watkins	Richard	blacksmith	10	Onibury	house		malthouse	12	0	0
978	32	Old Street	Watkins	Richard	blacksmith	10	Onibury	in(GD)	yard	stable	18	0	0
924	134	Corve Street	Watkins	trustees	blacksmith	10	Onibury	house	garden		15	0	0
918	90	Lower Gaolford	Pugh	Thomas	blacskmith	10		house		premises	7	10	0
982		Dinham	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10		house	garden	foundry	30	0	
983		Dinham	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10		house			4	0	0
984		Dinham	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10			mill		11	0	0
975		Frog Lane	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10		house			9	0	0
976		Frog Lane	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10		house			3	0	0
977		Frog Lane	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10		house			3	0	0
978		Frog Lane	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10		house			3	0	0
979		Frog Lane	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10		house			3	0	0
980		Frog Lane	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10		house			3	0	0
981		Frog Lane	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10		house			3	0	0
982		Frog Lane	Hodges	Chaplin	ironfounder	10		house			3	15	0
971	HH	Castle Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfs	house	garden	stable	80	0	0
944	55	Broad Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfrs	house		stable	40	0	0
945	55	Broad Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfs			malthouse	13	0	0
970	38	Broad Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopeton Wfrs	house	garden		51	10	0
917	2	Brand Lane	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfs	house	garden		34	0	0
918		Brand Lane	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfs		garden		3	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

23		Brand Lane	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfs			stable			
57	us.S	Old Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton.Waf.	house	garden		24	0	0
70	50	Old Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfrs	house			12	0	0
71	48	Old Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfrs	house			12	0	0
72	46	Old Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfrs	house			12	0	0
73		Old Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfrs	house		premises	8	0	0
80		Linney	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton.Waf.		land	buildings	12	0	0
23	69	Corve Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfrs	house	premises		18	10	0
58	L.P.	St Mary's Lane	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfrs	house			3	0	0
59	L.P.	St Mary's Lane	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfrs	house	garden		9	10	0
70	L.P.	St Mary's Lane	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfrs		garden	orchard	8	10	0
71	L.P.	St Mary's Lane	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	10	Hopton Wfrs		yard	stable	5	10	0
54	35	Upper Gaolford	George	Mary	ironmaster	10	Bitterley	house	garden		3	0	0
55	36	Upper Gaolford	George	Mary	ironmaster	10	Bitterley		workshop		3	15	0
56	37	Upper Gaolford	George	Mary	ironmaster	10	Bitterley		malthouse		8	0	0
57	38	Upper Gaolford	George	Mary	ironmaster	10	Bitterley			stable	2	10	0
58	39	Upper Gaolford	George	Mary	ironmaster	10	Bitterley	house	garden		5	10	0
59	40	Upper Gaolford	George	Mary	ironmaster	10	Bitterley	house	garden		5	10	0
60	41	Upper Gaolford	George	Mrs	ironmaster	10	Bitterley	house	garden		3	15	0
98	50	Corve Street	George	Mary	ironmaster	10	Bitterley	house	garden	stable	7	10	0
99	51	Corve Street	George	Mrs	ironmaster	10	Bitterley	house			3	15	0
200	52	Corve Street	George	Mrs	ironmaster	10	Bitterley	house			3	15	0
201	53	Corve Street	George	Mrs	ironmaster	10	Bitterley	house			3	15	0
202	53A	Corve Street	George	Mrs	ironmaster	10	Bitterley	house			2	10	0
45		Quality Sq.	Lewis	GJ.	ironmaster	10	Knowbury			warehouse	7	10	0
46		Quality Sq.	Lewis	G.J.	ironmaster	10	Knowbury			gig house	3	0	0
54		Quality Sq.	Lewis	G.J.	ironmaster	10	Knowbury	house		warehouse	31	10	0
55		Quality Sq.	Lewis	G.J.	ironmaster	10	Knowbury	house(part)			10	0	0
53	9-II	Raven Lane	Halford	Thomas	whitesmith	11		house			8	0	0
54	9-II	Raven Lane	Halford	Thomas	whitesmith	11				shop	7	10	0
203		Upper Gaolford	Williams	Mary	whitesmith	11		house			3	0	0
26	22A	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house			3	0	0
27	22B	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house			3	0	0
28	22C	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house	garden		2	5	0
29	22D	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house	garden		3	0	0
30	22E	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house	garden		3	0	0
31	22F	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house	garden		3	15	0
57	48	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16				warehouse	7	10	0
58	48	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16				tanyard	19	0	0
59	48	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16			garden		3	0	0
56	50	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house	garden		4	10	0
57	51	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house	garden		4	10	0
58	p.H.	Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house	land	stable	45	0	0
59		Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house		premises	5	10	0
70		Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house		premises	7	10	0
71		Lower Gaolford	Gardiner	William	tanner	16		house		premises	3	15	0
31	75	Corve Street	Urwick	Benjamin	tanner	16		house			3	15	0
32	75	Corve Street	Urwick	Benjamin	tanner	16		house			2	10	0
33	75	Corve Street	Urwick	Benjamin	tanner	16		house			2	10	0
34	75	Corve Street	Urwick	Benjamin	tanner	16		house			2	0	0
35	75	Corve Street	Urwick	Benjamin	tanner	16				tan yard	15	0	0
47	82	Corve Street	Urwick	Benjamin	tanner	16		house	yard		18	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

259		St Mary's Lane	Urwick	Benjamin	tanner	16		house			1	10	0
760	49	Lower Gaolford	Smallwood	Mary	chandler	17	Coventry	house	garden		5	10	0
761	49	Lower Gaolford	Smallwood	Mary	chandler	17	Coventry	house	garden		4	5	0
762	49	Lower Gaolford	Smallwood	Mary	chandler	17	Coventry	house	garden		3	0	0
763	49	Lower Gaolford	Smallwood	Mary	chandler	17	Coventry	house	garden		3	15	0
764	49	Lower Gaolford	Smallwood	Mary	chandler	17	Coventry	house	garden		3	15	0
765	49	Lower Gaolford	Smallwood	Mary	chandler	17	Coventry	house	garden		2	10	0
574	5	Bull Ring	Cook	James	cooper	19		house			8	15	0
843	117	Lower Gaolford	Green	George	cooper	19		house			7	10	0
844	117A	Lower Gaolford	Green	George	cooper	19		house	yard	workshop	7	15	0
852	10	Tower Street	Morris	Benjamin	cooper	19		house			11	0	0
800	68	Lower Gaolford	Sankey	Mary	cooper	19		house	yard	workshop	7	10	0
811	81	Lower Gaolford	Bennett	Richard	turner	19		house	garden		7	10	0
336	59	Broad Street	Harper	Joseph	cabinet mk.	20		house	garden	workshop	44	15	0
337	59	Broad Street	Harper	Joseph	cabinet mk.	20		house			4	5	0
338	59	Broad Street	Harper	Joseph	cabinet mk.	20		house			4	15	0
339	59	Broad Street	Harper	Joseph	cabinet mk.	20		house			3	15	0
340	59	Broad Street	Harper	Joseph	cabinet mk.	20		house			3	15	0
341	59	Broad Street	Harper	Joseph	cabinet mk.	20		house					
064	54	Old Street	Felton	Joseph	cabinet mkr	20		house		premises	7	10	0
065	52	Old Street	Felton	Joseph	cabinet mkr	20		house			4	10	0
066		Old Street	Felton	Joseph	cabinet mkr	20		house			3	15	0
067		Old Street	Felton	Joseph	cabinet mkr	20		house			4	10	0
068		Old Street	Felton	Joseph	cabinet mkr	20		house			4	5	0
069		Old Street	Felton	Joseph	cabinet mkr	20		house			3	15	0
256		Raven Lane	Glover	Thomas	cabinet mkr	20		house			4	15	0
317		High Street	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21		house			15	0	0
560	1	King Street	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21		house			40	0	0
560	2	King Street	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21							
723	20	Lower Gaolford	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21		house		premises	3	10	0
724	21	Lower Gaolford	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21		house		premises	4	15	0
725	21A	Lower Gaolford	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21		house	garden		3	15	0
833	105	Lower Gaolford	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21		house		premises	7	10	0
834	106	Lower Gaolford	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21		house	garden		3	15	0
835	107	Lower Gaolford	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21		house	garden		3	15	0
836	108	Lower Gaolford	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21		house		premises	7	10	0
837	109	Lower Gaolford	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21			garden	stables	2	0	0
838	110	Lower Gaolford	Hotchkiss	Thomas	saddler	21		house	garden		4	0	0
145	51	Mill Street	Jones	James	saddler	21		house			11	0	0
146	50	Mill Street	Jones	James	saddler	21		house			10	0	0
581	12	Bull Ring	Jones	James	saddler	21		house			26	5	0
311	13	High Street	Roberts	Edward	saddler	21		house			18	15	0
650	23	Upper Gaolford	Meredith	Thomas	wheelwright	21			workshop		5	10	0
651	25	Upper Gaolford	Meredith	Thomas	wheelwright	21			shop		1	0	0
652	27	Upper Gaolford	Meredith	Thomas	wheelwright	21				gighouse	1	10	0
653	29	Upper Gaolford	Meredith	Thomas	wheelwright	21		house	garden	yard	10	0	0
417	35	Lower Broad St	Evans	William	wool man.	24		house	garden	factory	30	0	0
418	34	Lower Broad St	Evans	William(Jn	wool man.	24				mill	6	0	0
157	41	Mill Street	Davies	Miss	d.of glover	29		house	garden		41	10	0
120	17	King Street	Acton	Samuel	glover	29		house			18	0	0
167	29	Corve Street	Acton	Samuel	glover	29		house	garden	malthouse	30	0	0
168	30	Corve Street	Acton	Samuel	glover	29		house	garden	stable	29	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

169		Corve Street	Acton	Samuel	glover	29			granery	stable	7	10	0
587	15	Bull Ring	Jennings	William	glover	29		inn(E&C)			40	0	0
694		Upper Gaolford	Jennings	William	glover	29		house	garden		3	10	0
695		Upper Gaolford	Jennings	William	glover	29		house	garden		3	10	0
696		Upper Gaolford	Jennings	William	glover	29		house	garden		3	10	0
697		Upper Gaolford	Jennings	William	glover	29		house	garden		3	10	0
952	91	Old Street	Jennings	William	glover	29		house	garden		10	0	0
953	3	Friars Walk	Jennings	William	glover	29		house	garden		10	0	0
954	4	Friars Walk	Jennings	William	glover	29		house	garden		11	0	0
969		Fee	Jennings	William	glover	29		lane?			14	0	0
732	23	Lower Gaolford	Maund	John	glover	29		house	gaden		7	10	0
733	24	Lower Gaolford	Maund	John	glover	29		house	garden		?	?	
756	48	Lower Gaolford	Spear	Thomas	glover	29		house	garden		4	0	0
805	74	Lower Gaolford	Wilkes	Thomas	glover	29		house	garden		4	10	0
853	11	Tower Street	Acton	Samuel	glover(ret)	29		inn(Talbot)	yard	stable	20	0	0
854		Tower Street	Acton	Samuel	glover(ret)	29				blcks shop	3	15	0
855		Tower Street	Acton	Samuel	glover(ret)	29				slghtr house	3	15	0
341	58	Broad Street	Ashworth	John	hat maker	29		house			29	10	
115		Fish Street	Dalby	execs	hatter	29	Bromfield	house			2	15	0
116	13	King Street	Dalby	execs	hatter	29	Bromfield	house			15	0	0
117	14	King Street	Dalby	execs	hatter	29	Bromfield	house			10	0	0
118	15	King Street	Dalby	execs	hatter	29	Bromfield	house	garden	warehouse	27	0	0
193		Corve Street	Evans	Richard	hatter	29		house	yard	workshop	37	10	0
42		Quality Sq.	Jones	James	hatter	29				workshop	7	10	0
43		Quality Sq.	Jones	James	hatter	29			garden		2	0	0
49		Quality Sq.	Jones	James	hatter	29				stable	4	10	0
50		Quality Sq.	Jones	James	hatter	29		house			7	10	0
51		Quality Sq.	Jones	James	hatter	29		house	premises		7	10	0
312	12	High Street	Jones	James	hatter	29		house			18	15	0
224	70	Corve Street	Whatmore	John	shmkr(journ)	29		house			7	10	0
123	48	Bull Ring	Ashcroft	Edward	shoemaker	29		house			18	0	0
124	48	Bull Ring	Ashcroft	Edward	shoemaker	29				shop	6	0	0
535	1/22	Broad Street	Barker	Thomas	shoemaker	29		house	garden		17	0	0
536	20	Broad Street	Barker	Thomas	shoemaker	29		house	garden		15	0	0
262	26	Lower Raven L	Cook	William	shoemaker	29		house			4	15	0
263	28	Lower Raven L	Cook	William	shoemaker	29		house			3	15	0
249	14	Raven Lane	Needham	John	shoemaker	29		house		bakehouse	11	10	0
100		Dinham	Peach	Thomas	shoemaker	29			garden		4	10	0
101		Dinham	Peach	Thomas	shoemaker	29		house	garden		4	5	0
102		Dinham	Peach	Thomas	shoemaker	29		house	garden/buildings		3	0	0
103		Dinham	Peach	Thomas	shoemaker	29		house			3	0	0
104		Dinham	Peach	Thomas	shoemaker	29		house			3	0	0
105		Dinham	Peach	Thomas	shoemaker	29		house			3	15	5
106		Dinham	Peach	Thomas	shoemaker	29			garden		3	10	0
553	5	Broad Street	Peach	Thomas	shoemaker	29		house			14	0	0
209	12	Mill Street	Price	Francis	shoemaker	29		house	garden		3	15	0
210	19A	Mill Street	Price	Francis	shoemaker	29		house			3	15	0
211	19	Bell Lane	Price	Francis	shoemaker	29		house			4	5	0
212	18	Bell Lane	Price	Francis	shoemaker	29		house			3	15	0
213	17	Bell Lane	Price	Francis	shoemaker	29		house			3	15	0
359	48	Broad Street	Purslow	executors	shoemaker	29		house			10	5	0
360	47	Broad Street	Purslow	executors	shoemaker	29		house			7	10	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

361	46	Broad Street	Purslow	executors	shoemaker	29		house			8	0	0
362	45	Broad Street	Purslow	executors	shoemaker	29		house			4	15	0
363	44	Broad Street	Purslow	executors	shoemaker	29		house			3	0	0
364	43	Broad Street	Purslow	executors	shoemaker	29		house			2	0	0
1011	130	Fee	Purslow	executors	shoemaker	29		house	garden		3	0	0
1012	132	Fee	Purslow	executors	shoemaker	29		house	garden		3	0	0
325	2	High Street	Robinson	John	shoemaker	29		house			11	0	0
1289	103	Corve Street	Taylor	Edward	shoemaker	29		house		premises	9	0	0
1290	104	Corve Street	Taylor	Edward	shoemaker	29		house		stable	10	10	0
802	71	Lower Gaolford	Wilkes	Richard	shoemaker	29		house	garden		4	10	0
803	72	Lower Gaolford	Wilkes	Richard	shoemaker	29		house	gaden		4	10	0
1248	83	Corve Street	Bevan	Richard	tailor	29		house			6	0	0
1250		Corve Street	Bevan	Richard	tailor	29		house		bakehouse	10	0	0
1258		St Mary's Lane	Bevan	Richard	tailor	29		house			2	10	0
559	1	Broad Street	Jones	Thomas	tailor	29		house			20	0	0
1227	72	Corve Street	Walker	William	tailor	29		house			7	10	0
257		Raven Lane	White	James	tailor	29		house			4	15	0
307	17	High Street	Jones	Thomas	tailor(execs)	29		house			22	0	0
399	54	Lower Broad St	Barrar	Thomas	baker	31		house	garden		6	0	0
400	53	Lower Broad St	Barrar	Thomas	baker	31		house	garden		7	10	0
416	36A	Lower Broad St	Collins	Francis	baker	31	Richards C.	house	garden		6	0	0
1170	32	Corve Street	Cropper	Ellen	baker	31		house	garden		14	0	0
620	4	Tower Street	Crundall	execs	baker	31		house		premises	13	0	0
621	5	Tower Street	Crundall	execs	baker	31		house			11	5	0
222	6	Mill Street	Davenport	Mary	baker	31		house	garden		9	0	0
462		Lower Broad St	Davenport	Mary	baker	31		house	garden		14	0	0
463		Lower Broad St	Davenport	Mary	baker	31		house			5	0	0
464		Lower Broad St	Davenport	Mary	baker	31		house	garden		7	10	0
465		Lower Broad St	Davenport	Mary	baker	31		house			3	15	0
466		Lower Broad St	Davenport	Mary	baker	31		house			3	15	0
467		Lower Broad St	Davenport	Mary	baker	31		house			2	0	0
468		Lower Broad St	Davenport	Mary	baker	31		house			3	0	0
593	19	Bull Ring	Davenport	Mary	baker	31		house		bakehouse	24	0	0
38	6	Church Street	Harris	William	baker	31		house		bakehouse	20	0	0
44		Quality Sq.	Harris	William	baker	31				stable	2	0	0
549	8	Broad Street	Poole	Mary	baker	31	Shrewsbury	house		premises	28	0	0
237	27	Raven Lane	Whatmore	John	baker	31		house		premises	15	0	0
577	8	Bull Ring	Fletcher	Edward	confectioner	31		house		bakehouse	14	0	0
86		Dinham	Williams	John	mill	31		house	mill		22	0	0
57	8	Castle Street	Harding	Richard	malster	32		house	malthouse	stable	22	10	
1173		Corve Street	Acton	William	maltster	32		house			3	15	0
1174		Corve Street	Acton	William	maltster	32		house			3	0	0
1175		Corve Street	Acton	William	maltster	32		house			3	0	0
1176		Corve Street	Acton	William	maltster	32		house			3	0	0
1177		Corve Street	Acton	William	maltster	32			garden		2	10	0
1275	91	Corve Street	Acton	William	maltster	32		house	garden		4	15	0
1276	92	Corve Street	Acton	William	maltster	32		house	garden		3	0	0
1277	93	Corve Street	Acton	William	maltster	32		house	garden		2	10	0
1278	94	Corve Street	Acton	William	maltster	32		house	garden		2	10	0
1157	22	Corve Street	Davies	Richard	maltster	32		house	garden	malthouse	22	0	0
1251		Corve Street	Davies	Richard	maltster	32		house			3	0	0
1257		St Mary's Lane	Davies	Richard	maltster	32		house			5	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

708		Upper Gaolford	George	Edward	maltster	32		house			6	0	0
710	1	Lower Gaolford	George	Edward	maltster	32		house			14	0	0
711	2	Lower Gaolford	George	Edward	maltster	32			malthouse		9	0	0
712	2A	Lower Gaolford	George	Edward	maltster	32		house			3	15	0
1330	139A	Corve Street	Hand	James	maltster	32		house	garden	malth/stable	44	10	0
58	8	Castle Street	Harding	Richard	maltster	32				stable	4	0	0
1279	95	Corve Street	Harding	Miss	maltster	32		house	garden		2	10	0
1280	96	Corve Street	Harding	Miss	maltster	32		house	garden		2	10	0
1281	97	Corve Street	Harding	Miss	maltster	32		house	garden		2	10	0
1282	99	Corve Street	Harding	Miss	maltster	32		inn(GD)	garden		14	0	0
1283	100	Corve Street	Harding	Miss	maltster	32		house	garden		8	15	0
1291	105	Corve Street	Harding	Henry	maltster	32		house	garden	malthouse	29	0	0
575	6	Bull Ring	Hockey	Ann	maltster	32		house			9	0	0
791		Lower Gaolford	Hockey	Ann	maltster	32		house	garden		4	10	0
792		Lower Gaolford	Hockey	Ann	maltster	32		house	garden		4	5	0
1125	49	Bull Ring	Hockey	Ann	maltster	32		house		shop	15	0	0
1140	9	Corve Street	Hockey	Ann	maltster	32		house	garden	yard	31	0	0
1141	9A	Corve Street	Hockey	Ann	maltster	32		house	premises	stable	9	0	0
1332	141	Corve Street	Hockey	Ann	maltster	32				wagon office	16	10	0
1333	141	Corve Street	Hockey	Ann	maltster	32		house	garden		15	0	0
1327	137	Corve Street	Hughes	Thomas	maltster	32		house	garden	malth/stable	25	0	0
864	5	Old Street	Jones	James	maltster	32		house			10	0	0
864	5A	Old Street	Jones	James	maltster	32		malthouse	garden	stable	16	0	0
11225	71	Corve Street	Lamb	Laurence	maltster	32		house		malthouse	18	0	0
707		Upper Gaolford	Rawlings	William	maltster	32		inn(Fox)		stable	16	0	0
292	9	Raven Lane	Sankey	R.N.	maltster	32		house		stable	9	0	0
293	8	Raven Lane	Sankey	R.N.	maltster	32		house			6	0	0
1348	153	Corve Street	Wood	Thomas	maltster	32		house	garden		11	0	0
1349	153	Corve Street	Wood	Thomas	maltster	32				chapel?	3	15	0
1350	153	Corve Street	Wood	Thomas	maltster	32		house			6	0	0
1351	153	Corve Street	Wood	Thomas	maltster	32				malthouse	3	0	0
1352	153	Corve Street	Wood	Thomas	maltster	32				stable	2	0	0
1353	153	Corve Street	Wood	Thomas	maltster	32				stable	3	0	0
1354	153	Corve Street	Wood	Thomas	maltster	32		house	garden		9	0	0
1355	153	Corve Street	Wood	Thomas	maltster	32				coach house	4	15	0
1329	139	Corve Street	Hand	Jane	maltster (wid)	32		house			9	0	0
1334	142	Corve Street	Hand	Jane	maltster (wid)	32		house	garden	stables	15	0	0
1335	142	Corve Street	Hand	Jane	maltster (wid)	32				malthouse	9	0	0
1229	74	Corve Street	Hand	Jane	maltster(wid)	32		house			3	0	0
1304	114	Corve Street	Hand	Jane	maltster(wid)	32		house	garden	stable	19	0	0
1336	143	Corve Street	Hosie	Hannah	wid(malt)	32		house	garden		8	10	0
1337	144	Corve Street	Hosie	Hannah	wid(malt)	32		house	garden		7	5	0
1181		Linney	Philips	Thomas	watchmaker	34			garden	buildings	15	0	0
552	6	Broad Street	Herbert	William	watchmaker	35		house		premises	22	0	0
1119	16	King Street	Payne	George	watchmaker	35		house			30	0	0
233	5,7	Castle Street	Phillips	William	watchmaker	35		house	garden		34	0	0
324	3	High Street	Phillips	Thomas	watchmaker	35		house			15	0	0
1339	146	Corve Street	Gaskell	Mary	carrier	41		house	house		3	0	0
1340	146	Corve Street	Gaskell	Mary	carrier	41		house			3	0	0
1341	146	Corve Street	Gaskell	Mary	carrier	41			garden		1	0	0
1342	146	Corve Street	Gaskell	Mary	carrier	41		house			4	15	0
461		Lower Broad St	Jolly	John	carrier	41			garden		2	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

661	49	Upper Gaolford	Locke	John	haulier	41		house	garden		5	0	0
906		Old Street	Thomas	John	timber mrcht	42		house	garden		7	10	0
87		Dinham	Edwards	William	draper	45			land		20	0	0
261	24	Lower Raven L	Edwards	William	draper	45			garden	stable	13	5	0
617	42	Bull Ring	Gardener	Robert	draper	45		house			517	100	
294	7	Raven Lane	Jones	executors	draper	45		inn (W.Horse)		stable	16	0	0
235	1	Castle Street	Leake	John	draper	45		house	garden		26	5	0
236	1	Castle Street	Leake	John	draper	45		house	garden		16	0	0
273	89	Corve Street	Camel	execs	butcher	46		house	garden		9	10	0
274	90	Corve Street	Camel	execs	butcher	46		house	garden		7	10	0
297	4	Raven Lane	Coleman	Thomas	butcher	46				workshop	7	5	0
298	3	Raven Lane	Coleman	Thomas	butcher	46		house			7	10	0
557	3	Broad Street	Coleman	Thomas	butcher	46		house		shp/slghtrhs	25	0	0
045	3	Fee	Coleman	Thomas	butcher	46		house	garden		3	15	0
046	2	Fee	Coleman	Thomas	butcher	46		house	garden		3	15	0
524	17	Brand Lane	Cropper	Elizabeth	butcher	46		house	garden		17	5	0
569	10	King Street	Cropper	Elizabeth	butcher	46	Birmingham	house			22	0	0
108		Pepper Lane	Cropper	Elizabeth	butcher	46			slaughter hs	stable	3	0	0
412	39	Lower Broad St	Dayos	Samuel	butcher	46		house	garden		5	0	0
413	38	Lower Broad St	Dayos	Samuel	butcher	46		house	garden		3	15	0
414	37	Lower Broad St	Dayos	Samuel	butcher	46		house	garden		3	15	0
396	57	Lower Broad St	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house	garden/yard		7	5	0
397	56	Lower Broad St	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house	garden		3	0	0
398	55	Lower Broad St	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house	garden		3	15	0
578	9	Bull Ring	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house			7	10	0
600	26	Bull Ring	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house	garden		27	10	0
601	26A	Bull Ring	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46			yard	slaughterhs	11	0	0
602	27	Bull Ring	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house			11	0	0
603	28	Bull Ring	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house			3	15	0
604	29	Bull Ring	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house			3	15	0
605	30	Bull Ring	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house			3	15	0
606	31	Bull Ring	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house		premises	7	10	0
607	32	Bull Ring	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house		candle hs	3	0	0
629	4	Upper Gaolford	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		inn(Portcullis)			16	0	0
630	4	Upper Gaolford	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house			7	16	0
188		Linney	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46			land		20	0	0
189		Linney	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house	garden		12	10	0
190		Linney	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house			3	15	0
191		Linney	Dayus	Samuel	butcher	46		house			3	15	0
599	25	Bull Ring	Evans	Wm Ward	butcher	46		house		slaughterhs	22	10	0
558	2	Broad Street	Lewis	Ann	butcher	46	Aymestry	house			25	0	0
109		Pepper Lane	Lewis	Ann	butcher	46	Aymestry			warehouse	4	15	0
110		Pepper Lane	Lewis	Ann	butcher	46	Aymestry			stable	2	5	0
103	44	Bull Ring	Nash	John	butcher	46		house			15	0	0
61	10	Castle Street	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house	SUN INN		16	10	0
62	10	Castle Street	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46				stable	17	15	0
310	14	High Street	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house			18	15	0
314	10A	High Street	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house		shop	15	0	0
445	118	Lower Gaolford	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house	garden		8	10	0
446	119	Lower Gaolford	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house	garden	bakehouse	9	0	0
447	120	Lower Gaolford	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46				drying room	2	0	0
448	121	Lower Gaolford	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house			2	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

849	123	Lower Gaolford	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house			2	0	0
850	124	Lower Gaolford	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house			2	0	0
851	125	Lower Gaolford	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house			2	0	0
079	30	Old Street	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house		premises	7	10	0
080	28	Old Street	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		in(WH)	yard	stable	15	0	0
081		Old Street	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house			7	10	0
082		Old Street	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house			2	10	0
083		Old Street	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46		house			2	10	0
111		Pepper Lane	Pitt	Benjamin	butcher	46			slaughter hs	stable	7	10	0
313	11	High Street	Price	John	butcher	46		house			12	0	0
33		Cross	Lewis	Anne	wid(butcher)	46	Aymstrey	house			36	15	0
4		Linney	Lewis	Anne	widow	46	Aymestry	house	garden		5	0	0
5		Linney	Lewis	Anne	widow	46	Aymestry		yard	stable	5	0	0
669	57	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48				stable	2	10	0
670	58	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuek	beer retlr	48		house			2	0	0
671	59	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			2	0	0
672	60	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48				stable	1	10	0
673	61	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48				stable	1	10	0
674	62	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48				stable	1	10	0
675	63	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			3	0	0
676	64	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			2	15	0
677	65	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			3	0	0
678	66	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			2	0	0
679	67	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			3	15	0
680	68	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			3	15	0
681	69	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			3	15	0
682	70	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			3	15	0
683	71	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			4	10	0
684	72	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			5	10	0
685	73	Upper Gaolford	Jones	Samuel	beer retlr	48		house			5	10	0
64	12	Castle Street	Jay	Elizabeth	d, of publican	48		house			6	0	0
63	12	Castle Street	Jay	Elizabeth	d.of publican	48		house		stable	28	0	0
722	10	Lower Gaolford	Blainey	Dsusanah	innkeeper	48		inn(Half M)		premises	21	10	0
544	13	Broad Street	Bowen	Martha	innkeeper	48	Bromfield	house	garden		14	15	0
545	12	Broad Street	Bowen	Martha	innkeeper	48	Bromfield	house			3	15	0
546	11	Broad Street	Bowen	Martha	innkeeper	48	Bromfield	house			3	15	0
622	6	Tower Street	Bright	Francis	innkeeper	48		house		bakehouse	10	0	0
623	7	Tower Street	Bright	Francis	innkeeper	48		inn(BI.Lion)	yard	stable	15	0	0
624	8	Tower Street	Bright	Francis	innkeeper	48		house			10	0	0
628	3	Upper Gaolford	Cantrell	Ann	innkeeper	48		inn(Dolphin)			26	0	0
908	us.S	Old Street	Cantrell	Ann	innkeeper	48		house	garden		21	0	0
812	82	Lower Gaolford	Carter	John	innkeeper	48		house	garden		3	0	0
813		Lower Gaolford	Carter	John	innkeeper	48		house	garden		3	0	0
814		Lower Gaolford	Carter	John	innkeeper	48		house	garden		3	15	0
815		Lower Gaolford	Carter	John	innkeeper	48			garden		1	0	0
343	147	Corve Street	Carter	John	innkeeper	48		inn(Spread E)			14	15	0
548	9	Broad Street	Cooke	Elizabeth	innkeeper	48		inn (Angel)	yard	coach house	63	0	0
102	43	Bull Ring	Crump	William	innkeeper	48		house		premises	32	15	0
143	52	Mill Street	Davies	John	innkeeper	48		house	BLUE BOAR	stable	29	0	0
144	52	Mill Street	Davies	John	innkeeper	48	Mill Street		blacksmith's shop		5	10	0
302	5	Market Street	Davies	John	innkeeper	48		inn(Red Lion)		premises	27	0	0
303	4	Market Street	Davies	John	innkeeper	48		house			7	10	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

585	1	Church Walk	Evans	Matthew	innkeeper	48		house			6	10	0
588	2	Church Walk	Evans	Matthew	innkeeper	48		house			7	10	0
348	52	Broad Street	Green	Elizabeth	innkeeper	48		inn:Crown		stable	63	0	0
573	4	Bull Ring	Green	George	innkeeper	48		house			12	0	0
142	53	Mill Street	Griffiths	Mary	innkeeper	48		house	HOP POLE	stable	16	0	0
436	25	Lower Broad St	Harley	executors	innkeeper	48		house		premises	7	10	0
437	24	Lower Broad St	Harley	executors	innkeeper	48		house	garden		4	15	0
438	23	Lower Broad St	Harley	executors	innkeeper	48		inn (C. & H.)	garden		17	0	0
439	22	Lower Broad St	Harley	executors	innkeeper	48		house	garden		4	15	0
469		Lower Broad St	Harley	executors	innkeeper	48		house	garden		3	15	0
470		Lower Broad St	Harley	executors	innkeeper	48		house	garden		3	15	0
471		Lower Broad St	Harley	executors	innkeeper	48		house	garden		5	0	0
472		Lower Broad St	Harley	executors	innkeeper	48		house		premises	7	10	0
473		Lower Broad St	Harley	executors	innkeeper	48		house		premises	8	0	0
608	33	Bull Ring	Jones	John	innkeeper	48		house		bakehs/stable	17	0	0
964	101	Fee	Meyricke	Thomas	innkeeper	48		inn(H&Ch)	garden		10	15	0
965	101	Fee	Meyricke	Thomas	innkeeper	48		buildings	yard	orchard	8	0	0
583	14	Bull Ring	Pea	William	innkeeper	48		inn(Bull)		stables	40	0	0
704		Upper Gaolford	Philpots	John	innkeeper	48		inn(New)	yard	stable	13	0	0
191	9	Lower Mill St	Preece	Thomas	innkeeper	48		house	garden		4	15	0
192	8	Lower Mill St	Preece	Thomas	innkeeper	48		house	garden		4	15	0
193	7	Lower Mill St	Preece	Thomas	innkeeper	48		house	garden		4	15	0
352	9	Bell Lane	Pyefinch	William	innkeeper	48		house			5	5	0
353		Bell Lane	Pyefinch	William	innkeeper	48				malthouse	11	0	0
354	7	Bell Lane	Pyefinch	William	innkeeper	48		house			2	5	0
355	6	Bell Lane	Pyefinch	William	innkeeper	48		house			8	10	0
356	5	Bell Lane	Pyefinch	William	innkeeper	48		house			15	0	0
626	1	Upper Gaolford	Steenton	William	innkeeper	48		inn(Bell)		stable	16	0	0
248	6-19	Raven Lane	Vaughan	Thomas	innkeeper	48		inn:Raven	yard		21	0	0
1345	152	Corve Street	Wayne	Philip	innkeeper	48		house		stables	21	5	0
1346	152	Corve Street	Wayne	Philip	innkeeper	48				malthouse	10	5	0
1347	152	Corve Street	Wayne	Philip	innkeeper	48			garden		2	0	0
1087		Old Street	Williams	John	innkeeper	48				coach house	4	15	0
1089		Old Street	Williams	John	innkeeper	48				stable	2	0	0
1090		Old Street	Williams	John	innkeeper	48				coach house	2	10	0
1091		Old Street	Williams	John	innkeeper	48				stable	2	10	0
1092		Old Street	Williams	John	innkeeper	48		house		premises	7	10	0
1093	22	Old Street	Williams	John	innkeeper	48				stable	1	10	0
1094	20	Old Street	Williams	John	innkeeper	48				stable	1	10	0
1097	12	Old Street	Williams	John	innkeeper	48		inn(GL)			52	10	0
1098		Old Street	Williams	John	innkeeper	48		house		shop	13	10	0
1099		Old Street	Williams	John	innkeeper	48		house			7	10	0
224	4	Mill Street	Potters	Miss	innkpr(dau)	48		house		stable	16	15	0
35	9	Church Street	Amies	Thomas	publican	48		house			14	0	0
36	8	Church Street	Amies	Thomas	publican	48		house	ROSE/CROWN		35	0	0
1287	102	Corve Street	Coleman	Richard	publican	48		inn(TH)			22	0	0
1288		Corve Street	Coleman	Richard	publican	48		house	garden		6	0	0
970	H/J	Fee	Key	Wiliam	victualler	48		inn(H&J)	yard	stables	13	0	0
971		Fee	Key	William	victualler	48		house	garden		3	15	0
972		Fee	Key	William	victualler	48		house	garden		3	15	0
1002	110	Fee	Key	William	victualler	48		house	garden		4	10	0
333	68	Broad Street	Harding	Mrs	wid (wine m.)	48		house			41	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

130	8	Dinham	Harding	Mary (Mrs)	wid(innkpr)	48		house	garden		6	0	0
131		Dinham	Harding	Mary (Mrs)	wid(innkpr)	48		house	garden		4	15	0
132		Dinham	Harding	Mary (Mrs)	wid(innkpr)	48		house			3	15	0
335	60	Broad Street	Pearce	Mrs	wid(wine m)	48		house		premises	15	15	0
1105	46	Bull Ring	Massey	Francis	wine mcht	48		house	brewhouse	stable	46	10	0
1106	11	King Street	Massey	Francis	wine mcht	48		house			20	0	0
1107	12	King Street	Massey	Francis	wine mcht	48		house		premises	18	0	0
304	3	Market Street	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		inn (Hand/Bell)			14	0	0
305	2	Market Street	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		house		brewhouse	7	0	0
306	1	Market Street	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		house		premises	20	0	0
334	67	Broad Street	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		house			15	0	0
793		Lower Gaolford	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48			orchard	premises	9	0	0
794	62	Lower Gaolford	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		house	garden		2	0	0
795	63	Lower Gaolford	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		house	garden		2	10	0
796	64	Lower Gaolford	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		house	garden		4	10	0
797	65	Lower Gaolford	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		house	garden		3	15	0
798	66	Lower Gaolford	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		house	garden		3	15	0
129		Corve Street	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		house			4	15	0
1137	7	Corve Street	Harding	Elizabeth	wine mrcht	48		house	garden		26	5	0
59	8	Castle Street	Powell	Edward	wine mrcht	48				stable	3	15	0
181		Lower Mill St	Sawyer	John	wine mrcht	48			land		16	0	0
184		Lower Mill St	Sawyer	John	wine mrcht	48			cider mill/land		7	10	0
185	14	Lower Mill St	Sawyer	John	wine mrcht	48		house		premises	7	10	0
186	13	Lower Mill St	Sawyer	John	wine mrcht	48		house	garden		3	15	0
187	12	Lower Mill St	Sawyer	John	wine mrcht	48		house		premises	8	0	0
1121	18	King Street	Felton	William	bookseller	51		house			20	5	0
1122		King Street	Felton	William	bookseller	51			cellar	shop	15	0	0
572	3	Bull Ring	Griffiths	Thomas	bookseller	51		house			26	10	0
547	10	Broad Street	Jones	Richard	bookseller	51		house	garden		38	10	0
550	7	Broad Street	Jolly	John	china dealer	52		house		workshop	22	0	0
551	7A	Broad Street	Jolly	John	china dealer	52		house			5	10	0
234	3	Castle Street	Botfield	Thomas	ironmaster	52	Hopton Wfs	house		stable	44	0	0
47		Quality Sq.	Smith	H. & J.	ironmingers	52				warehouse	9	10	0
924	73	Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		malthouse		7	10	0
925	75	Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London	house	garden		15	0	0
926	77	Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London	house	garden		15	0	0
927	79	Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London	house	garden		15	0	0
928		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London	house	garden		15	0	0
929		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London	house	garden		15	0	0
930		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London	house	garden		18	15	0
931		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London			rope walk	8	0	0
932		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London			brickard	10	0	0
933		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
934		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
935		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
936		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
937		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
938		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
939		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
940		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
941		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
942		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

943		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
944		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
945		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
946		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
947		Old Street	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		garden				
973	58	Fee	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London	house		bakehouse	9	0	0
974	60	Fee	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London	house	garden		6	0	0
062	1	Frog Lane	Armstrong	Isaac	ironmonger	52	London		yard	stable	7	0	0
576	7	Bull Ring	Egginton	execs	ironmonger	52		house		premises	28	10	0
609	34	Bull Ring	Egginton	execs	ironmonger	52		house		premises	22	0	0
753	44	Lower Gaolford	Egginton	execs	ironmonger	52		house			2	10	0
754	45	Lower Gaolford	Egginton	execs	ironmonger	52		house			4	10	0
755	46	Lower Gaolford	Egginton	Edward	ironmonger	52			garden	nailshop	6	0	0
866	9	Old Street	Egginton	execs	ironmonger	52		house		premises	13	0	0
867	10	Old Street	Egginton	execs	ironmonger	52		house		premises	23	15	0
11		Linney	Hodson	William	ironmonger	52		house	garden		7	10	0
12		Linney	Hodson	William	ironmonger	52				nail shop	4	10	0
13		Linney	Hodson	William	ironmonger	52		house			5	10	0
14		Linney	Hodson	William	ironmonger	52		house			3	15	0
15		Linney	Hodson	William	ironmonger	52				stable	3	15	0
16		Linney	Hodson	William	ironmonger	52				warehouse	2	15	0
167	29	Mill Street	Penny	Thomas	ironmonger	52		house	garden		12	0	0
168	28	Mill Street	Penny	Thomas	ironmonger	52		house	garden		8	10	0
169	27	Mill Street	Penny	Thomas	ironmonger	52		house	garden		3	15	0
170	27A	Mill Street	Penny	Thomas	ironmonger	52			garden		3	0	0
39	5	Church Street	Smith	Humphrey	ironmonger	52		house			19	15	0
41		Quality Sq.	Smith	Humphrey	ironmonger	52				warehouse	4	0	0
52		Quality Sq.	Smith	Humphrey	ironmonger	52		house			7	10	0
318		High Street	Smith	Humphrey	ironmonger	52		house			15	0	0
319	8	High Street	Smith	Humphrey	ironmonger	52		house			22	0	0
561	3	King Street	Smith	John	ironmonger	52		house			45	0	0
059	3	Frog Lane	Smith	John	ironmonger	52		house			3	0	0
060	2	Frog Lane	Smith	John	ironmonger	52		house			3	0	0
061		Frog Lane	Smith	H. & J.	ironmonger	52				nailshop	3	0	0
331	140	Corve Street	Smith	John	ironmonger	52		house		premises	27	0	0
192		Linney	Bishop	Benjamin	grocer	53				stable	3	0	0
194	46	Corve Street	Bishop	Benjamin	grocer	53		house	garden		5	10	0
195	47	Corve Street	Bishop	Benjamin	grocer	53		house	garden		4	5	0
196	48	Corve Street	Bishop	Benjamin	grocer	53		house	garden		3	15	0
197	49	Corve Street	Bishop	Benjamin	grocer	53		house	garden		3	15	0
37	7	Church Street	Coates	William	grocer	53		house			10	0	0
532	11	Brand Lane	Ellis	James	grocer	53		house			4	10	0
533	10	Brand Lane	Ellis	James	grocer	53		house			3	15	0
534	23	Broad Street	Ellis	James	grocer	53		house			32	10	0
60	8	Castle Street	Harding	William	grocer	53		house			15	0	0
81		Dinham	Harding	William	grocer	53		house			6	0	0
491		Frog Lane	Harding	William	grocer	53		house			3	0	0
492		Frog Lane	Harding	William	grocer	53		house			3	0	0
493		Frog Lane	Harding	William	grocer	53		house			3	0	0
494		Frog Lane	Harding	William	grocer	53		house			4	10	0
495		Frog Lane	Harding	William	grocer	53		inn(WhShf)		stables	14	0	0
565	7	King Street	Harding	William	grocer	53		house			11	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

566	8	King Street	Harding	William	grocer	53		house			9	0	0
567	9	King Street	Harding	William	grocer	53		house			12	0	0
568	9A	King Street	Harding	William	grocer	53		house	garden		44	0	0
571	2B	Bull Ring	Harding	William	grocer	53		house			32	0	0
112		Pepper Lane	Harding	William	grocer	53			warehouse	stable	9	0	0
113		Pepper Lane	Harding	William	grocer	53			warehouse		3	0	0
114		Pepper Lane	Harding	William	grocer	53					4	15	0
79		Dinham	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house	garden		2	15	0
80		Dinham	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			?	?	?
886	23	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			5	0	0
887	24	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			2	10	0
888	25	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house		premises	7	10	0
889	26	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			3	0	0
890	27	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			3	0	0
891	28	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			3	0	0
892	29	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			3	0	0
893	30	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			3	0	0
894	31	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			7	10	0
895	32	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			3	0	0
896	33	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			2	10	0
897	34	Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			3	0	0
898		Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			3	10	0
899		Old Street	Noakes	Mary	grocer	53		house			7	10	0
616	41	Bull Ring	Penny	William	grocer	53		house			13	10	0
34	10	Church Street	Pugh	George	grocer	53		house			40	0	0
218		Bell Lane	Smith	William	grocer	53				shop/yard	?	?	?
579	10	Bull Ring	Smith	William	grocer	53		house			12	0	0
580	11	Bull Ring	Smith	William	grocer	53		house			24	10	0
856	12	Tower Street	Thompson	Jane	grocer	53		inn(Oak)		stable	16	5	0
857	13	Tower Street	Thompson	Jane	grocer	53		house			10	15	0
076	18/36	Old Street	Thompson	Jane	grocer	53		house		premises	14	0	0
327		The Cross	Tyler	Thomas	grocer	53		house			24	0	0
563	5	King Street	Edwards	William	mercier	53		house			52	0	0
564	6	King Street	Edwards	William	mercier	53		house			30	0	0
215	64	Corve Street	Greenhouse	Edward	mercier	53	Chip.Camden	house			3	15	0
216	65	Corve Street	Greenhouse	Edward	mercier	53	Chip.Camden	house			3	15	0
217		Corve Street	Greenhouse	Edward	mercier	53	Chip.Camden			stable	2	0	0
218		Corve Street	Greenhouse	Edward	mercier	53	Chip.Camden			stable	2	0	0
219		Corve Street	Greenhouse	Edward	mercier	53	Chip.Camden			warehouse	2	10	0
220	66	Corve Street	Greenhouse	Edward	mercier	53	Chip.Camden	inn(Unicorn)			18	5	0
868	11	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			9	0	0
869	12	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	15	0
870	13	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			2	5	0
871	14	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	0	0
872	15	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	0	0
873	16	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	0	0
874	17	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	0	0
875	18	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	0	0
876	19	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			2	0	0
877	20	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	10	0
878	21	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	15	0
879	22	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	15	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

880	23	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	15	0
881	24	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	10	0
882	25	Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	0	0
883		Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			3	10	0
884		Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			4	15	0
885		Old Street	Dean	John	shopkeeper	53		house			5	10	0
816		Lower Gaolford	Painter	Thomas	shopkeeper	53		house		premises	7	10	0
817		Lower Gaolford	Painter	Thomas	shopkeeper	53		house			3	15	0
007	120	Fee	Thompson	Jane	shopkeeper	53		house	garden		3	15	0
008	122	Fee	Thompson	Jane	shopkeeper	53		house	garden		3	15	0
009	124	Fee	Thompson	Jane	shopkeeper	53		house	garden		3	15	0
010	126	Fee	Thompson	Jane	shopkeeper	53		house	garden		3	15	0
863	3	Old Street	Thompson	Jane	shopkpr	53		house	yard	warehouse	34	0	0
075	40	Old Street	Wright	Hannah	shopkpr(wid)	53		house		premises	12	0	0
118	19	Dinham	Thompson	Jane	wid(grocer)	53	Ludford	house	garden		7	10	0
284		Corve Street	Prodgers	Edward	banker	56			orchard	malth/stable	10	10	0
285	101	Corve Street	Prodgers	Edward	banker	56		house	garden	premises	9	0	0
286		Corve Street	Prodgers	Edward	banker	56		house	garden		9	0	0
521	22	Brand Lane	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house			11	10	0
975	62	Fee	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house	garden		3	15	0
976	64	Fee	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house	garden		3	15	0
977	66	Fee	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house	garden		2	10	0
978	68	Fee	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house	garden		2	10	0
979	70	Fee	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house		premises	2	10	0
980	70A	Fee	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house			3	15	0
017		Fee	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house	garden		3	0	0
018		Fee	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house	garden		3	0	0
047	1	Frog Lane	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house			3	0	0
048	14	Frog Lane	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house			3	15	0
049	13	Frog Lane	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house			3	15	0
050	12	Frog Lane	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house	garden		3	0	0
051	11	Frog Lane	Wellings	assigns	banker	56		house	garden		3	0	0
527		Brand Lane	Rocke/Eyton		bankers	56			yard	stable/Coach	7	10	0
528		Brand Lane	Rocke/Eyton		bankers	56				gig house	2	2	0
538	18	Broad Street	Rocke/Eyton		bankers	56		house	garden		48	0	0
78		Dinham	Hill	Samuel	labourer	57		house			7	10	
618	2	Tower Street	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house			10	0	0
820	92	Lower Gaolford	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house	garden		4	10	0
821	93	Lower Gaolford	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house	garden		4	10	0
822	94	Lower Gaolford	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house	garden		4	10	0
823	95	Lower Gaolford	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house	garden		4	10	0
827	99	Lower Gaolford	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house		premises	7	10	0
828	100	Lower Gaolford	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house	garden		3	15	0
829	101	Lower Gaolford	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house	gaden		7	0	0
830	102	Lower Gaolford	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house	garden		3	15	0
831	103	Lower Gaolford	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house	garden		3	15	0
832	104	Lower Gaolford	Jenkins	Mrs	supervisor	58		house	garden		3	15	0
275		Barnaby Lane	Goode	George	tax collector	58		house	garden		4	15	0
124	14	Dinham	Williams	Mrs	wid(excise)	58	Hereford	house	garden		10	0	0
349	51	Broad Street	Sankey	R.N.	post office	59		house			28	0	0
503	29	Broad Street	Baker	Elizabeth	executors	62		house	garden		22	0	0
610	35	Bull Ring	Harris	Captain	Navy	62	Kington	inn(Kams)			15	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

611	36	Bull Ring	Harris	Captain	Navy	62	Kington	house			3	15	0
612	37	Bull Ring	Harris	Captain	Navy	62	Kington	house			3	15	0
613	38	Bull Ring	Harris	Captain	Navy	62	Kington	house			3	15	0
614	39	Bull Ring	Harris	Captain	Navy	62	Kington	house			3	15	0
615	40	Bull Ring	Harris	Captain	Navy	62	Kington	house			3	15	0
516	3	Brand Lane	Wellings	George	Cpt(army)	63		house	garden		38	0	0
220	8	Mill Street	Knight	T.execs.	independent	64	Downton	house	garden		36	0	0
56	8	Castle Street	Anderson	George	lawyer	64		house	premises		16	15	0
153	43	Mill Street	Clarke	L.T.	lawyer	64				stable	3	0	0
750	41	Lower Gaolford	Downes	William	lawyer	64		house			5	10	0
751	42	Lower Gaolford	Downes	William	lawyer	64		house			3	15	0
752	43	Lower Gaolford	Downes	William	lawyer	64		house			2	10	0
322	5	High Street	Lloyd	John	lawyer	64		house			13	5	0
323	4	High Street	Lloyd	John	lawyer	64		house			13	5	0
497	BG	Broad Street	Lloyd	John	lawyer	64				offices	14	0	0
498	BG	Broad Street	Lloyd	John	lawyer	64		house	garden	stables	49	0	0
542	15	Broad Street	Lloyd	William	lawyer	64		house	garden		45	0	0
968		Fee	Lloyd	William	lawyer	64		buildings	land		30	0	0
507	25	Broad Street	Morris	George	lawyer	64		house	garden		22	0	0
508	25	Broad Street	Morris	George	lawyer	64		house	garden		22	0	0
509	24	Broad Street	Morris	George	lawyer	64		house	garden	stables	40	0	0
510	10	Brand Lane	Morris	George	lawyer	64		house			5	0	0
511	9	Brand Lane	Morris	George	lawyer	64		house			8	10	0
512	8	Brand Lane	Morris	George	lawyer	64		house			4	10	0
117	20	Dinham	Russell	C.J.	lawyer	64		house	garden		4	10	0
32		Cross	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	64		house			25	15	0
315	10	High Street	Grieves	John	chemist	65		house			12	0	0
316		High Street	Grieves	John	chemist	65		house			15	0	0
378	71	Lower Broad St	Grieves	John	chemist	65		house		bakehoused	8	15	0
379	71	Lower Broad St	Grieves	John	chemist	65		house			3	15	0
380	71	Lower Broad St	Grieves	John	chemist	65		house			3	15	0
381	71	Lower Broad St	Grieves	John	chemist	65		house			3	15	0
865	7	Old Street	Grieves	John	chemist	65		house	garden		24	5	0
562	4	King Street	Grounds	Ambrose	chemist	65		house			32	0	0
506	26	Broad Street	Whittall	Henry	chemist	65		house	garden		19	10	0
596	22	Bull Ring	Whittall	Henry	chemist	65		house			20	0	0
597	23	Bull Ring	Whittall	Henry	chemist	65		house		smithy	20	0	0
598	24	Bull Ring	Whittall	Henry	chemist	65		inn(Feather)	garden	stables	47	0	0
104	45	Bull Ring	Whittell	Henry	chemist	65		house		premises	45	0	0
369	39	Broad Street	Thorpe	widow	doctor	65		house	garden		42	0	0
342	57	Broad Street	Evans	Thomas	druggist	65		house			15	0	0
343	56	Broad Street	Evans	Thomas	druggist	65		house			37	0	0
264	30	Lower Raven L	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon	65				stable	3	15	0
265	32	Lower Raven L	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon	65				smith's shop	3	15	0
299	2	Raven Lane	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon	65		house			16	0	0
300	1	Raven Lane	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon	65					2	0	0
301	6&7	Market Street	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon	65		inn(Old Red Lion)		premises	28	0	0
143	11	Corve Street	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon	65		house		premises	48	0	0
144	11A	Corve Street	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon	65				gig house	7	0	0
145	12	Corve Street	Wakefield	Richard	surgeon	65		house	garden		12	0	0
95		Dinham	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65		house			3	15	0
98		Dinham	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65			garden		3	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

194	6	Lower Mill St	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65		house	garden		3	15	0
195	5	Lower Mill St	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65		house	garden		3	15	0
196	4	Lower Mill St	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65		house	garden		3	15	0
197	3	Lower Mill St	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65		house	garden		3	15	0
198	2	Lower Mill St	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65		house	garden		3	15	0
250	13	Raven Lane	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65		house		premises	7	10	0
350	50	Broad Street	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65		house		stables	40	0	0
500	32	Broad Street	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65		house	garden		19	10	0
967		Fee	Adams	Jemima	wid(surgeon)	65		buildings	land		21	0	0
200		Lower Mill St	Broome	John	wid(surgeon)	65				stable	3	15	0
48		Quality Sq.	Baines	Jane	wife (Dr)	65		house			3	0	0
330	4	Church Street	Baines	Jane	wife(Dr)	65		house			7	10	0
331	2	Castle Street	Baines	Jane	wife(Dr)	65		house			13	10	0
949	?	Old Street	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmaster	68			land		12	0	0
950	?	Old Street	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmaster	68		house					
96		Dinham	Robinson	John	schoolmaster	68		house	garden		3	15	0
97		Dinham	Robinson	John	schoolmaster	68		house	garden		2	15	0
177	22	Lower Mill St	Tinson	William	schoolmaster	68		house		premises	24	5	0
543	14	Broad Street	Tinson	William	schoolmaster	68		house	garden		19	0	0
159	24	Corve Street	Tinson	William	schoolmaster	68		house		premises	13	10	0
160		Corve Street	Tinson	William	schoolmaster	68				malthouse	120	0	0
146	13	Corve Street	Jordan	Elizabeth	schoolmistres	68		house	garden	stables	26	5	0
6		Linney	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house	garden		12	0	0
7		Linney	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house	garden		12	0	0
8		Linney	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house	garden		12	0	0
9		Linney	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house	garden		12	0	0
10		Linney	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house	garden		12	0	0
19		Linney	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68			garden		3	0	0
20		Linney	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68			garden		2	0	0
23		College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house	garden		12	0	0
24		College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house			12	0	0
25		College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house			11	0	0
26		College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house	garden		7	10	0
27		College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house			3	15	0
28		College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house			4	10	0
29		College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house			2	10	0
30		College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house	garden		17	15	0
31		College	Edwards	Thomas	schoolmstr	68		house			11	0	0
149	49	Mill Street	Robinson	John	schoolmstr	68		house	garden		7	0	0
150	48	Mill Street	Robinson	John	schoolmstr	68		house	garden		9	0	0
151	47	Mill Street	Robinson	John	schoolmstr	68				stable	9	0	0
225	3	Mill Street	Smith	Miss	schoolmstrss	68		house		premises	21	15	0
226	2	Mill Street	Smith	Miss	schoolmstrss	68		house		premises	18	0	0
301	113	Corve Street	Hodges	execs	clergy	69		house		stable	32	0	0
77		Dinham	Lloyd	Revd.	clergy	69		house			4	0	0
110		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house			2	19	0
74		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house	garden	stable	38	0	0
89		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house			3	0	0
90		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house			4	15	0
91		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house			3	15	0
92		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house			3	0	0
93		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house			3	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

94		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house			5	15	0
107		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house			3	15	0
108		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house			3	0	0
109		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69			garden	stable	4	15	0
111		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house			2	10	0
112		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house	garden		4	15	0
113		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69			garden		1	10	0
114		Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69			garden		2	0	0
119	18	Dinham	Meyricke	Robert	clergy	69		house	garden		11	0	0
199		Lower Mill St	Pardoe	George	clergy	69		house	garden		7	10	0
525	16	Brand Lane	Pardoe	George	clergy	69	Hopton Cas.	house	garden		12	4	0
22		College	Rector		clergy	69		house	garden		11	0	0
584	d.Hs	Church Walk	The Reader		clergy	69		house	garden		12	0	0
515	4	Brand Lane	Edwards	Elizabeth	Eliza	69		house	garden		22	0	0
526		Brand Lane	Edwards	Elizabeth	Eliza	69			garden		4	0	0
1127		Bull Ring	Anthony	Sarah	hairdresser	70		house		premises	11	10	0
1161	25	Corve Street	Taylor	Thomas	ostler	70		house			5	10	0
1162		Corve Street	Taylor	Thomas	ostler	70		house			5	10	0
1163		Corve Street	Taylor	Thomas	ostler	70		house			3	15	0
332	69	Broad Street	Griffiths	Catherine	hairdresser	71		house			16	0	0
839		Lower Gaolford	Coppack	James	agent	72	London			stable	4	10	0
840	114	Lower Gaolford	Coppack	James	agent	72	London	house		premises	7	10	0
841	115	Lower Gaolford	Coppack	James	agent	72	London	inn(Queens	garden	workshop	7	10	0
537	19	Broad Street	Lewis	Ann	butcher	72		house	garden		30	0	0
1302	Cond	Corve Street	Croismore	Chas.Louis	Count	72			land	stable	13	0	0
1303	114	Corve Street	Croismore	Chas.Louis	Count	72			land	coachhouse	9	0	0
242	22	Raven Lane	Nash	Frederick	Esq	72	London				9	0	0
243	21	Raven Lane	Nash	Frederick	Esq	72	London				2	10	0
244		Raven Lane	Nash	Frederick	Esq	72	London				2	10	0
285	10	Bell Lane	Mytton	Henry G	Esq.	72	Cleobury N.	inn:Swan			10	0	0
346	54	Broad Street	Baxter	James	Esq.	72		house			48	0	0
346	54	Broad Street	Baxter	James	Esq.	72							
1032	2	Temeside	Charlton	E.L.	Esq.	72		house	land	stable	9	0	0
171	26	Mill Street	Dunne	Thomas	Esq.	72	Leintahl E.	house			7	10	0
172	25	Mill Street	Dunne	Thomas	Esq.	72	Leinthall E.	house			4	15	0
173	24	Mill Street	Dunne	Thomas	Esq.	72	Leinthall E.	house			5	15	0
174	23B	Mill Street	Dunne	Thomas	Esq.	72	Leinthall E.	THEATRE			27	10	0
175	23A	Mill Street	Dunne	Thomas	Esq.	72	Leinthall E.		garden		6	0	0
176	23	Mill Street	Dunne	Thomas	Esq.	72	Leinthall E.		garden		4	10	0
278		Lower Raven L	Dunne	Thomas	Esq.	72	Leinthall E.			stable	5	0	0
284	11	Bell Lane	Mytton	Henry G	Esq.	72	Cleobury N.	house			6	0	0
1		Castle Walk	Rogers	Edward	Esq.	72	Stanage	house	garden		16	0	0
2		Castle Walk	Rogers	Edward	Esq.	72	Stanage		garden		1	0	0
53		Quality Sq.	Thomas	John	Esq.	72		house			9	15	0
326	1	High Street	Turner	Edward	Esq.	72	Clunton	house			30	0	0
351	49	Broad Street	Davies	Edward(Tr)	Gent	72	Diddlebury	house		workshop	29	15	0
152	44	Mill Street	Downes	John Fox	Gent	72	Ashford C,	house	premises		27	10	0
328	138	Corve Street	Mallett	Mary	Gent	72		inn(SG)			22	10	0
18		Linney	Powell	Charles	Gent	72	Diddlebury			warehouse	4	0	0
21		Linney	Powell	Charles	Gent	72	Diddlebury	house			17	0	0
259		Lower Raven L	Thomas	John	Gent	72		house	garden		6	15	0
281	7	Lower Raven L	Turner	Edward	Gent	72	Clunton			coach house	2	5	0

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282	5	Lower Raven L	Turner	Edward	Gent	72	Clunton	house			5	0	0
283	3	Lower Raven L	Turner	Edward	Gent	72	Clunton	house			4	10	0
153	19	Corve Street	Coates	Edward	Gent.	72		house	premises	stable	7	10	0
154		Corve Street	Coates	Edward	Gent.	72				malthouse	6	0	0
155	20	Corve Street	Coates	Edward	Gent.	72		house	garden		10	10	0
156	21	Corve Street	Coates	Edward	Gent.	72		house		premises	24	0	0
246	81	Corve Street	Coates	Edward	Gent.	72		house		premises	28	0	0
138	8	Corve Street	Davies	James	Gent.	72		house	garden	land	37	10	0
139	8A	Corve Street	Davies	James	Gent.	72			coach house	table	9	0	0
923	71	Old Street	Philips	Mr	Gent.	72	Little Hrfd	house	garden		18	15	0
006		Fee	Powell	Charles	Gent.	72	Diddlebury		land				
164	28	Corve Street	Thomas	John	Gent.	72	independent	house	garden		29	0	0
165		Corve Street	Thomas	John	Gent.	72			land		10	0	0
183		Linney	Turner	Edward	Gent.	72	Clunton		land		16	0	0
948	?	Old Street	Vaughan	I.B.	Gent.	72	Bromfield	house			25	0	0
135	5	Corve Street	Vaughan	James B.	Gent.	72	Bromfield	house	garden		14	10	0
1338	145	Corve Street	Baugh	Elizabeth	independent	72		house	garden		26	0	0
502	30	Broad Street	Baxter	Elizabeth	independent	72		house	garden		18	10	0
373	35	Broad Street	Dunne	Thomas	independent	72	Leinthall E.	house	garden		27	5	0
374		L.Raven Lane?	Dunne	Thomas	independent	72	Leinthall E.	house		workshop	16	0	0
1226		Corve Street	Duppa	Thomas	independent	72	Cheney Long	stable			2	0	0
372	36	Broad Street	Duune	Thomas	independent	72	Leinthall E.	house	garden		38	0	0
221	7	Mill Street	Graham	James	independent	72		house	garden		36	10	0
123	15	Dinham	Green	Misses	independent	72		house	garden		12	0	0
539	17	Broad Street	Green	Miss	independent	72		house	garden		33	0	0
219	9	Mill Street	Knight	T.execs	independent	72	Downton	house	premises	office	40	0	0
1142	10	Corve Street	Mallet	Mrs	independent	72		house		premises	22	5	0
295	6	Raven Lane	Matthews	Miss	independent	72		house			9	0	0
1147	14	Corve Street	Matthews	Mrs	independent	72		house	garden	stable	24	0	0
138		Castle Street	McGhie	Mary (Mrs)	independent	72		house			36	10	0
139	56	Mill Street	McGhie	Mary (Mrs)	independent	72		house			22	0	0
232	9	Castle Street	Morris	Philip	independent	72	Clun	house		premises	26	10	0
99		Dinham	Nash	Frederick	independent	72			garden	barn	3	15	0
128	10	Dinham	Nash	Frederick	independent	72	London	house	garden		53	0	0
129	9	Dinham	Nash	Frederick	independent	72	London	house	garden		13	15	0
72		Dinham	Powis	Earl of	independent	72	Welshpool	house	garden		51	0	0
73		Dinham	Powis	Earl of	independent	72	Welshpool				15	0	0
88		Dinham	Powis	Earl of	independent	72	Welshpool	house	garden		7	10	0
121	16	Dinham	Powis	Earl of	independent	72	Welshpool	house	garden		10	0	0
122		Dinham	Powis	Earl of	independent	72	Welshpool		office	stable	8	10	0
1148	15	Corve Street	Pritchard	Thomas	independent	72		house		premises	19	10	0
201		Lower Mill St	Pritchett	trustees	independent	72		house	garden		13	10	0
140	55	Mill Street	Rhuddall	Mrs	independent	72	Bristol	house			21	15	
371	37	Broad Street	Rogers	Ellen, Miss	independent	72		house	garden		34	0	0
126	12	Dinham	Syer	executors	independent	72	Onibury	house	garden	stable	30	0	0
127	11	Dinham	Syer	executors	independent	72	Onibury	house	garden		38	0	0
133		Dinham	Taylor	William	independent	72	Aymestry			stable	2	10	0
134		Dinham	Taylor	William	independent	72	Aymestry	house	garden		18	5	0
135		Dinham	Taylor	William	independent	72	Aymestry		malthouse		9	0	0
136		Dinham	Taylor	William	independent	72	Aymestry	house			3	15	0
137		Dinham	Taylor	William	independent	72	Aymestry	house			3	0	0
505	27	Broad Street	Turner	Edward	independent	72	Clunton	house	garden		40	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

513		Brand Lane	Turner	Edward	independent	72	Clunton			stables	6	10	0
514		Brand Lane	Turner	Edward	independent	72	Clunton			stables	8	0	0
65	14	Castle Street	Vaughan	J.R.	independent	72	Bromfield	house	premises		44	0	0
178	1er.V	Lower Mill St	Vaughan	J.B.	independent	72		house		premises	64	5	0
180		Lower Mill St	Vaughan	J.B.	independent	72			garden		10	0	0
328	1&2	Church Street	Vaughan	J.B.	independent	72	Bromfield	inn: Harp			18	15	0
204	17	Mill Street	Wheeler	Ann	independent	72		house	garden		9	15	0
141	54	Mill Street	Anderson	George	lawyer	72		house			34	0	0
120	17	Dinham	Meyricke	Miss	Louise	72		house	garden		17	0	0
320	7	High Street	Coppach	James	pol.manager	72	London	house			12	2	0
321	6	High Street	Coppach	James	pol.manager	72	London	house			12	0	0
287	23	Bell Lane	Alcock	Thomas	politican	72	Surrey	house			9	0	0
286	22	Bell Lane	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			9	0	0
288	24	Bell Lane	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			9	0	0
289	25	Bell Lane	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			9	0	0
290	26	Bell Lane	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			9	0	0
291	27	Bell Lane	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			20	0	0
913	51	Old Street	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house	garden		10	10	0
914	53	Old Street	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house	garden		7	10	0
915	55	Old Street	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house	garden		7	10	0
916	57	Old Street	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house	garden		11	0	0
955	93	Fee	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			4	15	0
956	95	Fee	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			3	15	0
957		Fee	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			3	15	0
958		Fee	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			3	15	0
959		Fee	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			3	0	0
960		Fee	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			3	0	0
961		Fee	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			2	0	0
962	97	Fee	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			2	15	0
963	99	Fee	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey			stable	2	10	0
084	26	Old Street	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house			6	0	0
085	24	Old Street	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey	house		premises	15	10	0
086		Old Street	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey			stable	1	10	0
088		Old Street	Alcock	Thomas	politician	72	Surrey			coach house	2	5	0
326	136	Corve Street	Hodges	Miss	spinster	72		house	garden		13	0	0
554	4	Broad Street	Valentine	Catherine	spinster	72		house		shop/wareh.	28	0	0
555	4A	Broad Street	Valentine	Catherine	spinster	72		house		premises	10	0	0
556	4B	Broad Street	Valentine	Catherine	spinster	72			malthouse		9	0	0
207	13	Mill Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72		house	garden		18	0	0
260	16	Lower Raven L	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72				coachhouse	4	0	0
261	18	Lower Raven L	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72				stable	4	0	0
279	15	Lower Raven L	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwarton	house			3	0	0
280	13	Lower Raven L	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwarton	house			3	0	0
365	42	Broad Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwarton	house			4	15	0
366	41	Broad Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwarton	house			11	0	0
367	40	Broad Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwarton	house	garden	coach house	45	0	0
368	40A	Broad Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Butwarton	house			7	10	0
292	105A	Corve Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwarton	house	garden		7	10	0
293		Corve Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwarton	land	garden	buildings	12	0	0
294	107	Corve Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwarton	house	garden		6	15	0
295	108	Corve Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwaton	house	garden		3	15	0
296	109	Corve Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwarton	house	garden		2	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

297	110	Corve Street	Boyne	Gustavus	Viscount	72	Burwarton	house	garden	buildings	22	0	0
389	63	Lower Broad St	Adams	Mrs	wid(Gent)	72		buildings	garden		6	0	0
390	63	Lower Broad St	Adams	Mrs	wid(Gent)	72		house	garden		3	15	0
391	63	Lower Broad St	Adams	Mrs	wid(Gent)	72		house	garden		3	0	0
392	63	Lower Broad St	Adams	Mrs	wid(Gent)	72		house	garden		3	0	0
393	63	Lower Broad St	Adams	Mrs	wid(Gent)	72		house	garden		3	0	0
394	63	Lower Broad St	Adams	Mrs	wid(Gent)	72		house	garden		3	0	0
501	31	Broad Street	Hutchins	independent		72		house	garden		40	0	0
166	30	Mill Street	Charity Trs			81		house	garden		19	15	0
179		Lower Mill St	Charity Trs			81			garden		5	0	0
182		Lower Mill St	Charity Trs			81			mill/premises		27	0	0
202	GS	Mill Street	Charity Trs			81		house	garden		30	0	0
446		St John's Close	Charity T's			81			stone yard		2	0	0
447		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			2	0	0
448		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			2	0	0
449		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			2	0	0
450		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			2	0	0
451		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			2	0	0
452		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			2	0	0
453		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			2	0	0
454		St John's Close	Charity T's			81			garden		2	0	0
455		St John's Close	Charity T's			81			garden		4	0	0
456		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			3	15	0
457		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			3	15	0
458		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			3	15	0
459		St John's Close	Charity T's			81		house			3	15	0
460		St John's Close	Charity T's			81			garden		3	0	0
166		Corve Street	Charity T's			81			land	buildings	8	0	0
347	53	Broad Street	Lane's Charity			81		house	yard	workshop	36	15	0
063	56	Old Street	Lane's Charity			81		house	garden		7	10	0
987	84	Fee	Red Lion Club			81		house	garden		5	10	0
988	86	Fee	Red Lion Club			81		house	garden		5	10	0
989	88	Fee	Red Lion Club			81		house	garden		4	5	0
260		St Mary's Lane	Sun Club			81		house	garden		7	0	0
632		Upper Gaolford	Town Council			81			timb.yard		7	10	0
777		Lower Gaolford	Town Council			81			garden			10	0
784		Lower Gaolford	Town Council			81			garden			10	0
951			Town Council			81			land		14	0	0
172		Corve Street	Town Council			81		house	garden		7	10	0
236	76	Corve Street	Town Council			81		house	premises		7	10	0
228	73	Corve Street	Diddlebury	Parish		91		house	garden		4	15	0
366		Gas Pipies	Edwards	and Co.		91					40	0	0
227	1	Mill Street	New Buildings			91				museum	43	15	0
228	11	Castle Street	New Buildings			91				shop/reading	26	10	0
229	11	Castle Street	New Buildings			91				office	17	15	0
230	11	Castle Street	New Buildings			91				Savings B,	17	15	0
231	11	Castle Street	New Buildings			91				Ball Room	52	5	0
3		Castle Walk	Town Council			91			garden		4	0	0
183		Lower Mill St	Town Council			91			waterworks		50	0	0
625		Tower Street	Town Council			91		house			7	10	0
709		Upper Gaolford	Town Council			91			weighing m.		4	0	0
772 B.M.		Lower Gaolford	Town Council			91			garden		4	0	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

773	B.M.	Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
774		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
775		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
776		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
778		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
779		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
780		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
781		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
782		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
783		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
785		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
786		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
787		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
788		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
789		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
790		Lower Gaolford	Town Council		91		garden		10	0
966	3-07	Fee	Town Council		91		garden		4	0 0
1033		Temeside	Town Council		91	mill		stable	24	0 0
1042		Fee	Town Council		91		garden		3	0 0
1043	5	Fee	Town Council		91	house		pigsty	6	0 0
1126		Bull Ring	Town Council		91	house			10	0 0
1171		Corve Street	Town Council		91		land	yard	11	0 0
1178	6	Linney	Town Council		91	house	garden		15	0 0
1182		Linney	Town Council		91		land		5	0 0
1184		Linney	Town Council		91	house	garden		12	0 0
1185		Linney	Town Council		91		land		6	0 0
1186		Linney	Town Council		91		land		16	0 0
1187		Linney	Town Council		91		land/yard	buildings	16	0 0
1266		New Road	Town Council		91	house	garden		2	0 0
1267		New Road	Town Council		91	house	garden		3	0 0
147	GH	Mill Street			91		office		9	0 0
148	GH	Mill Street			91		office		9	0 0
1528		Union Gas Company			91	gas pipes			70	0 0
15095	18	Old Street	Independent	Chapel	92	house		premises	5	10 0
15096	14	Old Street	Lecturer		92					
1522		Brand Lane	Nat.Society		92	school			7	10 0
1900		Old Street	Prim.Soc.		92	house			7	10 0
1901		Old Street	Prim.Soc.		92	house			3	10 0
1902		Old Street	Prim.Soc.		92	house			2	10 0
1903		Old Street	Prim.Soc.		92	house			4	5 0
1904		Old Street	Prim.Soc.		92	house			4	5 0
1905		Old Street	Prim.Soc.		92	house			5	0 0
1377	72	Lower Broad St	Wesleyan S.		92	house			14	15 0
211		Corve Street	Lowe	Anne Mrs	99	house			7	10 0
212		Corve Street	Lowe	Anne Mrs	99	house			3	15 0
213		Corve Street	Lowe	Anne Mrs	99	house			3	15 0
214		Corve Street	Lowe	Anne Mrs	99	house			7	0 0
2003	112	Fee.	Powell	Jane widow	99	house	garden		6	0 0
2004	114	Fee	Powell	Jane widow	99	house			1	10 0
2434		Lower Broad St	Bradley	Mr	99	Tugford	house	garden	9	15 0
2435		Lower Broad St	Bradley	Mr	99	Tugford	house	garden	10	15 0
2638		Upper Gaolford	Bray	Charles	99				4	10 0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

276		Barnaby Lane	Brown	John		99		house	garden		4	0	0
277		Barnaby Lane	Brown	John		99		house	garden		3	15	0
637		Upper Gaolford	Browne	Mrs		99		house	garden		4	10	0
639		Upper Gaolford	Browne	Mrs		99				stables	1	10	0
441	20	Lower Broad St	Carrier	Miss		99		house	garden		4	15	0
442	19	Lower Broad St	Carrier	Miss		99		house	garden		4	15	0
443	18	Lower Broad St	Carrier	Miss		99		house	garden		4	5	0
034		Temeside	Carver	James		99		house	garden		3	0	0
035		Temeside	Carver	James		99		house	garden		3	0	0
395	58	Lower Broad St	Chamberlain	Mr		99		house	garden		7	10	0
237	76	Corve Street	Child	William		99		house	garden		3	15	0
240		Corve Street	Child	William		99		inn(Q.Arms)			20	0	0
241		Corve Street	Child	William		99			garden	buildings	3	0	0
242		Corve Street	Child	William		99			garden	bark barn	5	0	0
243	79	Corve Street	Child	William		99		house			4	0	0
244	80	Corve Street	Child	William		99		house		smithy	1	10	0
245		Corve Street	Child	William		99			garden	coal yard	1	10	0
431		Lower Broad St	Colerick	Edward		99		house			3	0	0
432		Lower Broad St	Colerick	Edward		99		house	garden	stables	7	10	0
433		Lower Broad St	Colerick	Edward		99		inn (Bell)	garden		19	10	0
206	4/15	Mill Street	Davies	Mrs		99				stable/gig hs	7	10	0
019		Fee	Davies	John		99		house	garden		7	10	0
020		Fee	Davies	John		99		house	garden		7	10	0
75		Dinham	Evans	Richard		99		house	premises		11	0	0
76		Dinham	Evans	Richard		99			garden		2	0	0
408	43	Lower Broad St	Fowler	Mr		99	Kington	house	garden		5	0	0
409	42	Lower Broad St	Fowler	Mr		99	Kington	house			5	0	0
410	41	Lower Broad St	Fowler	Mr		99	Kington	house			3	15	0
411	40	Lower Broad St	Fowler	Mr		99	Kington	house			1	10	0
223	5	Mill Street	Frogatt	Elsie		99		house	garden	school	30	0	0
489		Frog Lane	Gethen	Mrs		99		house			2	0	0
490		Frog Lane	Gethen	Mrs		99			garden		3	15	0
115		Dinham	Griffiths	John		99		house	garden		7	10	0
323	133	Corve Street	Griffiths	Mrs		99		house	garden		12	0	0
005	116	Fee	Gulliver	Mr		99		house	yard		4	15	0
136	6	Corve Street	Hall	Mrs		99		house	garden		21	10	0
100		Old Street	Harrington	Charles		99		in(B&L)			25	0	0
101	42	Bull Ring	Harrington	Charles		99		house			11	0	0
357	3	Bell Lane	Harris	Mr		99		house			7	10	0
358	1	Bell Lane	Harris	Mr		99		house	yard	brewhouse	7	10	0
130		Corve Street	Haycock	Edward		99		house		smithy	7	10	0
131		Corve Street	Haycock	Edward		99		house		premises	7	10	0
132	1	Corve Street	Haycock	Edward		99		inn(Comp)		premises	23	10	0
133		Corve Street	Haycock	Edward		99		house	garden		8	0	0
134		Corve Street	Haycock	Edward		99		house			8	0	0
241	23	Raven Lane	Hickman	Margaret		99		inn:Plumbers			9	5	0
245	20	Raven Lane	Hickman	Margaret		99		house		premises	6	0	0
246	20	Raven Lane	Hickman	Margaret		99		house			2	10	0
247	20	Raven Lane	Hickman	Margaret		99		house			4	15	0
799	67	Lower Gaolford	Horse & J.	Friendly Society		99		house	garden		3	15	0
531	12	Brand Lane	Jones	Miss		99		house			11	0	0
044	4	Fee	Jones	Mr		99		house	garden		3	15	0

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

221	67	Corve Street	Lloyd	C.and J.		99	Acton Round	house		malthouse	19	5	0
222	68	Corve Street	Lloyd	C.and J.		99	Acton Round	house			3	0	0
344	150	Corve Street	Massey	Mr		99		inn(Holy L)			13	10	0
329	3	Church Street	Milner	Mrs		99		house			8	0	0
301	69	Lower Gaolford	Morris	Mrs		99		house	garden		4	10	0
504	28	Broad Street	Palmer	Mrs		99		house		premises	20	0	0
158	23	Corve Street	Passey	Mr		99		house		premises	19	0	0
40	2	Castle Street	Paytoe	Joseph		99		house			11	0	0
253		Corve Street	Paytoe	Joseph		99		house			2	10	0
254	85	Corve Street	Paytoe	Joseph		99		house			2	10	0
255		Corve Street	Paytoe	Joseph		99		house			2	10	0
238	26	Raven Lane	Pearce	Mrs		99		house	yard		9	0	0
325	135	Corve Street	Pennie	Miss		99		house	garden	stable	29	0	0
496		Frog Lane	Powles			99		house		premises	8	0	0
705	10	Upper Gaolford	Price	Mr		99		house			3	0	0
706	8	Upper Gaolford	Price	Mr		99		house			2	10	0
588		Bull Ring	Pryce	Mrs		99		?			3	0	0
589	16	Bull Ring	Pryce	Mrs		99		house	garden		8	0	0
590		Bull Ring	Pryce	Mrs		99			malthouse		8	0	0
591	17	Bull Ring	Pryce	Mrs		99		house			8	10	0
592	18	Bull Ring	Pryce	Mrs		99		house	garden		18	0	0
240	24	Raven Lane	Roberts	Mrs		99		inn:Plough		premises	18	0	0
319	3	Tower Street	Steenton	Mr		99		house			7	0	0
440	21	Lower Broad St	Stephens	Mr		99		inn (Paul P)		premises	11	0	0
594	20	Bull Ring	Taylor	Mrs		99		house		premises	22	0	0
595	21	Bull Ring	Taylor	Mrs		99		house		premises	9	5	0
483		Frog Lane	Tipton	William		99		house	garden		3	15	0
484		Frog Lane	Tipton	William		99		house	garden		2	10	0
485		Frog Lane	Tipton	William		99		house	garden		2	10	0
486		Frog Lane	Tipton	William		99			garden		3	0	0
487		Frog Lane	Tipton	William		99		house	garden		4	10	0
488		Frog Lane	Tipton	William		99		house	garden		4	10	0
149	16	Corve Street	Warburton	Mary		99	Stanton Lacy	house		bakehouse	8	15	0
150		Corve Street	Warburton	Mrs		99	Stanton Lacy	house	garden		3	15	0
151		Corve Street	Warburton	Mrs		99	Stanton Lacy	house			3	0	0
306		Corve Street	Warburton	Mrs		99	Stanton Lacy	house	garden		5	10	0
307		Corve Street	Warburton	Mrs		99	Stanton Lacy	house	garden		3	15	0
252		Corve Street	Ward			99		house			3	0	0
256		St Mary's Lane	Ward			99		house			2	10	0
208	12A	Mill Street	Weaver	Robert		99		house	garden		8	15	0
274		Barnaby Lane	Weaver	Mary (Mrs)		99		house	garden		7	10	0
419		Temeside	Wellings			99				mill	14	15	0
296	5	Raven Lane	White	John		99		house			7	10	0
251		Raven Lane	Williams	Mrs		99		house		premises	6	0	0
252		Raven Lane	Williams	Mrs		99		house			4	15	0
156	40	Mill Street				99		house	garden		17	0	0
474		Frog Lane				99		house	garden		1	10	0
633		Upper Gaolford				99		house			3	15	0
634		Upper Gaolford				99		house			3	15	0
179		Linney				99			land	buildings	12	0	0
230		Corye Street				99		house			2	0	0
249		Corve Street				99							

Appendix 5: Ludlow properties, 1843, first occupation/social status, then place of residence

265		New Road				99		house	coalyard	stable	7	10	0
308		Corve Street	Warburton	Mrs		99	Stanton Lacy	house	garden		3	15	0